

Migrants' Compromised Careers

Migrants' Experiences of the Educational System
and Integration into the Swedish Labor Market

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Abstract

This study contributes to the understanding of the labor market establishment of the first generation of migrants in Sweden. Sweden has for decades been a country which experienced net immigration, and it is a major recipient of refugees and migrants arriving for reasons of family reunion. Compared to other European countries, Sweden has one of the lowest employment levels among migrants. The study has a specific focus on the transferability of migrants' foreign acquired educational qualifications to the Swedish labor market. Through interviews with migrants arriving in Sweden for humanitarian- family reunion reasons, this study focuses on their experiences of the Swedish system of integration. Through using Bourdieuan concepts of habitus, capital and field, it investigates the labor market trajectories of the interviewed migrants. The migrants are enrolled at vocational training courses. In order to complement the interviews with them, a few teachers at the vocational training are also included in this thesis, in order to hear their experiences of the Swedish system of integration and education and its effect on the labor market establishment of migrants. The main findings of this study demonstrate that the Swedish system of education and integration often fails to unlock the competences of the interviewed migrants, and their foreign acquired educational qualifications are often devalued. This thesis suggests that there are discriminatory structural hindrances as to why the foreign acquired educational qualifications of many migrants are not valued on equal terms as native attained educational credentials. The skills required on the Swedish labor market, the preferences of employers and the migrant's ability to present his or her qualifications, are all part of the negotiations that shape the labor market outcomes for migrants. The labor market establishment is also influenced by migrants' social relations, surrounding culture and financial situation.

Key words: migrants, labor market integration, devaluation, foreign acquired credentials

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Table of Contents

1	Introduction.....	1
1.1	Purpose	2
1.2	Research Questions	3
1.3	Research Limitations.....	3
1.4	Disposition	4
1.5	Definitions.....	4
2	Previous Research.....	5
2.1	Introduction	5
2.2	Unlocking Migrants' Competencies.....	7
2.3	Increasing Risks in the Labor Market	8
2.4	Importance of Labor Market Integration.....	10
2.5	Ethnic Discrimination	11
2.6	Importance of Swedish Language Skills and Social Networks.....	12
3	Research Methodology	14
3.1	In-depth Interviews	14
3.2	Ethical Considerations.....	15
3.3	Interviewed Teachers	16
3.4	Interviewed Migrants	16
3.5	Formulation of the Interview Questions.....	19
3.6	Interview Context.....	19
3.7	Implementation of the Interviews	20
3.8	Analysis of the Interviews.....	21

4 Theoretical Framework.....	22
4.1 Capital, Field and Habitus	22
4.2 Social Capital and Social Networks	24
4.3 Cultural Capital	25
4.4 Critique of Bourdieu's Forms of Capital.....	27
5 Analysis.....	29
5.1 Migrants' Labor Market Trajectories	29
5.2 Unlocking the Competencies of Migrants.....	31
5.3 Learning the Swedish Language	35
5.4 Relevance of Social Contacts.....	37
5.5 Balancing Individual Ambitions with Family Commitments	40
5.6 Labor Market Exclusion.....	41
5.7 Actors Involved in the Integration of Migrants.....	43
5.8 Discussion	46
6 Conclusion	48
6.1 Future Research.....	50
7 References.....	52
Appendix 1: Profiles of Interviewees	62
Appendix 2: Interview Requests in English	67
Appendix 3: Interview Requests in Swedish	69
Appendix 4: Interview Guides in English.....	71
Appendix 5: Interview Guides in Swedish.....	74

Abbreviations

EU	European Union
IFAU	Institute for Evaluation of Labour Market and Education Policy
IOM	International Organization for Migration
MPI	Migration Policy Institute
OECD	Organization For Economic Co-operation and Development
RIR	Swedish National Audit Office - Riksrevisionen
SCB	Sweden Statistics - Statistiska Centralbyrån
SFI	Swedish For Immigrants - Svenska För Invandrare
SNS	Centre for Business & Policy Analysis - Studieförbundet Näringsliv & Samhälle
SOU	Swedish Official Inquiries of the Government - Statens Offentliga Utredningar

1 Introduction

Immigration to Sweden has been extensive during the last fifty years and today about 1.5 million or 16 percent of the inhabitants in Sweden are foreign born (Sweden Statistics SCB, 2014b). Sweden has received significant numbers of migrants relative to its population, compared to other EU countries (Emilsson, 2014b; Bäckman et al., 2014). While the main share of migrants arrive to Sweden due to humanitarian reasons or for family reunion, recent years have seen an increase of intra-EU migrants since Sweden entered the European Union in 1995. In 2008 the Swedish labor reforms opened the country up for labor migration of migrants from non-EU countries (Bevelander & Dahlstedt, 2012).

The employment gap between native individuals and foreign born living up to five years in Sweden is largest in Sweden compared to all other European countries (Emilsson, 2014b; Szulkin et al, 2013, p.23; Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). The risk of unemployment for foreign-born individuals in Sweden is three times as high as for native-born individuals (RIR, 2014b, p.15). The migrant populations in other European states has however a different composition compared to Sweden, which receives a higher ratio of refugees compared to other states where labor migration has been more commonly occurring (Emilsson, 2014). The employment levels for a large share of migrants are however healthy, especially for the groups of highly educated migrants and intra-EU migrants, in particular from the Scandinavian countries (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014). The employment participation of migrants arriving to Sweden due to family reunion or humanitarian reasons, are however challenging for Swedish integration policy (*ibid*). The Centre for Business and Policy Studies (SNS, 2014) argues that poor labor market integration among humanitarian refugees in Sweden is mainly due to the lower educational level of the group. 40 percent of the humanitarian migrants arrive to Sweden with only an elementary education (RIR, 2014b). The skills of this group of migrants are in general less in demand in the Swedish labor market, which is characterized by a highly skilled labor force, and where higher levels of Swedish language skills and education are a pre-requisite for a majority of the available jobs (SNS, 2014). Among humanitarian refugees, less than one third possess a post-secondary education, according to Statistics Sweden (SCB, 2014). 14 years after arrival in Sweden, only half of the migrants with elementary schooling were employed, while the corresponding figure for migrants with secondary education were nearly 70 percent, and 75 percent for migrants with tertiary education (Bevelander & Irastorza, 2014).

Situated against this background, this study tells the stories of migrants arriving to Sweden through channels of humanitarian aid or family reunion, and their experiences of the Swedish system of integration. The migrants are currently enrolled in vocational training with good chances of employment in a profession that is in demand among employers. But not all migrants arriving to Sweden manage as well. Many migrants have troubles learning Swedish, and only 47 percent of migrants studying the Swedish language completed studies at the highest level of Swedish For Immigrants (SFI), a level which corresponds to the lowest level of pass in a secondary school Swedish class (Swedish Employment Agency, Arbetsförmedlingen, 2013). Students who fail the Swedish courses are excluded from studying at higher levels, such as upper secondary level school or vocational training. Failing to learn the local language or integrating into the labor market of the receiving country, negatively affects migrants' chances of integrating into Swedish society and living a satisfactory life (Constant et al., 2006).

In the changing life situation caused by migration, the careers of many migrants have been disrupted or even deprived. International research on migrant labor market establishment focuses on their struggle to have foreign qualifications recognized, and experience of a lowering of their status in the labor market (Chiswick et al. 2007, 2012; Suto, 2008; Liversage, 2009; Fossland, 2013). In the Swedish context, few studies have examined the transferability of migrants' foreign skills (Mattsson, 2001; Mella & Salmonsson, 2013). Migrants' own perception of the Swedish system of labor market integration and education, and experiences of how their skills have been treated since arrival in Sweden, is a field which is insufficiently examined. This study aims to step into this void.

1.1 Purpose

The main objective of this master thesis is to examine the transferability of the interviewed migrants' educational and professional qualifications. The migrants' own perceptions of how and if their talents and work experience have been managed by the Swedish system will be portrayed. The interviewed migrants are the first generation of migrants, arriving to Sweden due to humanitarian or reasons of family reunion. Interviews with the first generation of migrants are chosen since the selected group generally has a lower participation in the labor market than the second or third generation of migrants (RIR, 2014b). The migrants who are interviewed arrived as adults to Sweden, and are at the time of the interviews enrolled in vocational training.

For a deeper insight into the educational system and the labor market integration of migrants, teachers at the vocational schools are also interviewed. Especially the roles of the Swedish Employment Agency and the courses in Swedish For Immigrants (SFI) are examined through stories from the migrants and teachers. Foreign-born individuals enrolled in vocational programs will be interviewed for two reasons. Partly since vocational training often leads to successful labor market integration for foreign as well as native-born students, and is therefore interesting to study. The other reason behind the selection of vocational students is in order to access their first-hand knowledge of the Swedish integration and educational system. Their acceptance onto the vocational training course implies that they have successfully completed courses in Swedish For Immigrants and elementary school, which are experiences that this study also aims to portray and discuss.

1.2 Research Questions

Migrants

How do the migrants perceive their current position in the Swedish labor market? In what way has the Swedish system of integration and education shaped their labor market trajectories?

Teachers at the Vocational Training

How does the current system of education and integration treat the competencies of migrants?

1.3 Research Limitations

This qualitative study is based around four in-depth interviews with teachers at vocational training courses in Skåne, and seven interviews with students who have migrant backgrounds enrolled in these training courses. While eleven interviews is a relatively small interview scope, the interviews nonetheless provides an understanding of the experiences of the interviewed migrants and teachers. The migrants who are interviewed are the first generation of migrants, and arrived from developing countries to Sweden, either as refugees or individuals who married Swedish citizens. The thesis only discusses the realities of this group of migrants, and not the situation for individuals with other migrant backgrounds. The study is culturally limited since the geographical area for conducting the interviews is the county of Skåne in Sweden.

1.4 Disposition

The thesis will commence with an introduction on the current situation of migrants on the Swedish labor market, followed by an overview of previous research of migrants' labor market integration. Thereafter the research methodology chapter will expand on the qualitative method of interviews upon which this thesis is based. The theoretical framework will then follow, which consists of Bourdieuian concepts of capital, habitus and field. In the analysis chapter, the interviews are examined through the theoretical framework and previous research presented in this thesis. The main findings of the analysis will be debated in a concluding section. The thesis will end with a conclusion followed by suggestions for future research.

1.5 Definitions

Migrant

In this paper a migrant refers to a foreign citizen granted permission to settle in Sweden for various reasons, such as marriage, family reunion, humanitarian or economic reasons. The migrants who were interviewed in this study are humanitarian refugees or individuals arriving to Sweden due to marriage with a Swedish citizen.

Integration

While the term integration includes social, cultural, economic and political dimensions, this thesis mainly focuses on the economic integration or the labor market establishment of migrants. Social integration is also studied in terms of the migrants' social networks and their importance for the labor market integration of the migrants. According to studies (Bengtsson, 2004; Suto, 2008) an empiric connection exist between the different dimensions of integration, implying that a lack of economic integration would counteract the political and social integration of migrants. Hosseini-Kaladjahi (1997) defines a group to be economically integrated if enjoying the same economic living standard and socioeconomic status as the population at large. Diaz (1996, p.87) suggests that economic integration is essentially about influence and power. According to the Swedish Authority of Integration, (Integrationsverket, 2004, p.9-15) the individual perspective of labor market integration is the incorporation into the working life and access to socio-economic and income status. Social integration is defined as migrants' access to a Swedish social network, when foreign born individuals in different contexts develop relationships with native born citizens (*ibid*).

2 Previous Research

This chapter includes an overview of the previous research in the labor market integration of migrants, from peer-reviewed academic publications, documents and reports from state institutions and non-governmental organizations. After a brief historical background on migration in Sweden and the establishment of migrants in the Swedish labor market, an overview of the Swedish system of integration and education will follow. Thereafter, Swedish and international studies concerning the labor market integration of migrants with a specific focus on the situation for migrants in Sweden will be presented. The coming chapter will also include previous research on the role of social contacts and importance of local language skills for the labor market integration of migrants, and the effects of ethnic discrimination for the labor market outcomes of migrants. A section of this chapter includes studies on the transferability of migrants' skills and qualifications from the sending to the receiving country.

2.1 Introduction

Until the 1970s, migration to Sweden mainly consisted of labor migrants (Ekberg & Hammarstedt, 2002). The 1970s marks a shift in immigration to Sweden from a majority of the individuals being labor migrants, to an increasing number of refugees and individuals migrating here for family reunion and marriage migration (Lundh & Ohlsson, 1997, p.27-28; IFAU, 2014). While foreign-born individuals had a high rate of employment and earnings until the mid-1970s, the employment rate of humanitarian refugees and marriage migrants has since then continuously decreased compared to native Swedes (Bevelander, 2010; Bevelander & Dahlstedt, 2012; Szulkin et al. 2013; Jansson, 2013). As in many other OECD countries, the average employment and earnings rate is higher for native born citizens compared to foreign born (Ekberg & Hammarstedt, 2002; Edin et al., 2004). During the last decade the number of issued residence permits has almost doubled (RIR, 2014b, p.39). In 2012, 2013 and 2014, more than 110 000 residence permits were issued each year (Migrationsverket, 2014). The war in Syria has during recent years led to a large number of refugees seeking protection in Sweden. Refugees from countries such as Afghanistan, Eritrea, Iraq and Somalia are also turning to Sweden for asylum.

Aiming at creating a more effective establishment for newly arrived migrants who arrive in Sweden due to humanitarian reasons, the previous government in late 2010 implemented an introduction program named 'etableringsreformen' (Bevelander & Irastorza,

2014). The reform resulted in several alterations of Swedish integration policies (Riksrevisionen 2013), e.g. that the main responsibility for labor market integration of newly arrived humanitarian migrants shifted from municipalities to the Swedish Migration Board (Migrationsverket) and the Swedish Employment Agency (Arbetsförmedlingen). Humanitarian migrants receiving a permanent residence permit within the last 36 months are entitled to an establishment allowance provided that they participate in activities prescribed by the establishment reform, such as an orientation of Swedish society, classes in Swedish For Immigrants, labor training activities at private or public companies, and accept job offers (Statskontoret, 2012; Swedish Government Offices, 2014c; Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). While the conditional nature of the establishment reform was assumed to result in humanitarian migrants more rapidly securing work, the Swedish National Employment Agency conclude in a report from 2014 that on average only three per cent of the migrants participating in the two yearlong establishment process were employed after its completion (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). Since most of the interviewed migrants arrived to Sweden prior to the implementation of the establishment reform, and since the policy only concerns humanitarian migrants, only one of the interviewed migrants has experienced the establishment reform. The other students arriving earlier experienced the previous system in which the municipalities had the main responsibility for the integration of migrants.

Many of the migrants arriving in Sweden experience the Swedish educational system, participating in courses in Swedish For Immigrants, elementary-, and upper secondary level schooling, and vocational- or university studies. The Swedish educational system has undergone large reforms during the last two decades, and currently has a mixed economy of welfare regarding its content and delivery (Skolverket, 2014; Lewin, 2014). Goal and result-oriented governance of Swedish education and a belief in market-inspired solutions began in the 1980s in line with New Public Management (Lewin, 2014; Politt & Bouckaert, 2004). In line with these ideas, the free school reform implemented in the early 1990s resulted in an expansion in the freedom of school choices for students. In recent years, the educational system has seen expanded roles in the private sector, and this expansion has occurred within different levels of schooling, and also within Swedish For Immigrants (SFI) and vocational training courses. The privatization of SFI and vocational training services has led to an increased number of private actors providing services to migrants (Skolverket, 2014). Currently, the services are procured through competitive bidding organized by the municipalities. The actor who wins the contract, is responsible for the specific services for

migrants in that municipality, resulting in that several different actors can provide services for a single migrant (*ibid*).

2.2 Unlocking Migrants' Competencies

As in many other OECD countries, the average employment and earnings rate in Sweden is higher for native born citizens compared to foreign born (Edin et al., 2004; Ekberg & Hammarstedt, 2002; Vilhelsson, 2002; Hammarstedt). Studies of the Swedish context by Larsson (1999) and Delander (2005), and international studies by Chiswick and Miller (2002, 2012) argue that a lack of language skills and little knowledge of the institutional structure in the host country are possible explanations to these employment differences. Other international studies, e.g. Benton et al. (2014) explain that poor incorporation of newly arrived migrants into the European labor market is due to "limited language proficiency, discrimination, and difficulties having their qualifications recognized and signaling how skills and experience meet employers' needs" (Benton et al, 2014, p.1). Rogstads' (2006) study from Norway detects both illegitimate and legitimate reasons for poor integration among migrants into the Norwegian labor market, such as education, knowledge of local conditions and local language skills. Suto (2009, p.417) concludes that foreign education is often devalued due to systematic prejudice, discrimination, and the unequal employment opportunities created by professional bodies, and that employment issues cannot be explained by the attributes of migrants. In the case of Sweden, Bursell concludes that ethnic discrimination by employers is one of the reasons for foreign-born individuals lower labor market establishment (Bursell, 2012, p.30-32). Mattsson (2001) equated the view of migrants in Sweden with economic racism, since they are portrayed as lacking country specific cultural skills, nearly impossible to overcome.

Crossing borders can lead to a devaluation of the individual migrants' qualifications. Studies explain this to a mismatch in qualifications on the new labor market, a failure to recognize foreign qualifications, and ethnic discrimination. Bauder (2003, 2005) argues that professional authorities responsible for licensing criteria and accreditation in Canada, systematically exclude migrants from high-level employments through devaluation of foreign credentials. Bauder (*ibid*) claims that this process cause a marginalization of migrants and a reproduction of specific characteristics of professional classes. Studies by Fernandez-Kelly (1995), Esses et al. (2003), Sweetman (2004) and Reitz (2007) argue that migrants' foreign acquired competences are devaluated compared to native-acquired education. Van Ngo and Este (2006) in their empirical research from Canada found that the

earnings of migrants with foreign university degrees were substantially lower than the earnings of native born with a corresponding, native-acquired, university degree. The authors noted that the disadvantage in earnings was larger for female migrants with advanced university degrees than for their male counterparts (*ibid*).

Chiswick and Miller (2008, p.162) in their study discuss the imperfect transferability of migrants' human capital, such as formal schooling, between country of origin and destination country. Mella and Salmonsson (2013, p.3) discusses the realities on the labor market for migrant physicians in Sweden, and find that their pre-migration investment in human capital is devalued in Sweden. The situation of professionally qualified and highly educated individuals ending up working in an unskilled profession has been described as 'brain drain' (Brandi, 2001) 'brain abuse' (Bauder, 2003), or 'brain waste' (Fossland, 2013). Contemporary conceptions of labor market segmentation and exclusion have emphasized the multidimensional causes to these issues. Samers (1998) concludes that the refusal to recognize migrants' foreign acquired qualifications, his or her place of origin and the migration status are affiliated with a segmentation of the work force (*ibid*). Shin and Chang (1988) wrote that the devaluation of migrants' human capital causes a segmentation of a profession. Many of the migrants arriving to Sweden end up in what Djuve (2008) labelled as 'border zones' of the Swedish labor market, and for that reason have lower chances of resuming their career prior to migrating, and are at higher risk for unemployment.

2.3 Increasing Risks in the Labor Market

Globalization affects the group of individuals with traditionally weaker positions on the labor market. Hacker (2008, p.146) writes about how the labor market today is less secure than previously, with higher levels of unemployment, temporary and low-paid jobs. Bäckman et al. (2014) argue that poorly educated migrants and young individuals are especially prone to unemployment and social exclusion. The higher numbers of students failing secondary school results in a vigorous competition for low skilled jobs between unemployed individuals, a competition in which foreign born individuals who lack Swedish skills are disadvantaged (*ibid*). An increasing number of migrants arriving in Sweden lack a upper secondary level school education (SNS, 2014; SCB, 2014). According to the Swedish Authority of Education (Skolverket, 2013), one fourth of the individuals participating in SFI have a maximum of six years of education (Stadskontoret, 2012; SCB 2012). As many as 90 percent of the participants in Swedish For Immigrants in the municipalities of Säter and Solna are at a similar educational level (Jansson, 2013, p.59).

According to estimations by Eurostat (2014) and Centre for Business and Policy Analysis (SNS, 2014), jobs demanding university education are expected to increase in the following years, while jobs demanding secondary school education will be fewer. Jansson (2013, p. 59) argue that high initial salaries in many professions lead to fewer available jobs for individuals with lower educational backgrounds. 35 percent of the students who fail to graduate from secondary school are unemployed (Eurostat, 2014; Skolvärlden, 2013). Due to employers' higher educational demands, the Swedish Employment Agency recommends a supplementary education in order for individuals to remain employable in the long term (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014).

Studies by Lundborg (2013) indicate that migrants with a higher level of education are more successfully integrated into the Swedish labor market compared to migrants with lower education (Lundborg 2013, p.221). International research demonstrates similar results, and concludes that higher levels of education increase the employment opportunities for foreign-born (Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Sum et al. 2004; Comings & Soricome, 2007; MPI, 2014). Banarjee and Verma (2009) emphasize that education leads to new knowledge and an expansion of the migrants' social network and capital in the new society. Bevelander & Dahlstedt (2010) suggest that higher education not only benefits refugees' labor market participation but also other foreign-born individuals' establishment in the labor market. The authors write that vocational education equips the individual with the required skills for the labor market and therefore is more likely to lead to employment for foreign born individuals than theoretical education (*ibid*). A study by Forslund and Vikström (2011) indicates that vocational education decreases unemployment rates by 20 percent. Benton et al. (2014) conclude that individuals with origins outside the Nordic countries and individuals without a university degree are especially benefited the vocational training, and that the training could be the stepping stone for poorly educated individuals which will lead to a middle-skilled job.

Newly arrived women are employed to a lower extent than their male counterparts in Sweden. Especially large is the difference in employment between males and females originating from Africa and Asia (RIR, 2014, p.46). Therefore, this thesis include a gender perspective which influenced the interview questions, and made it a deliberate goal that half of the interviewees were women. According to studies by Sweden Statistics, SCB (2011), the median income as a share of native-Swedish born women was for women born in Asia living in Sweden for five to ten years, 22.2 percent, or in other words more than 80 percent lower compared to incomes of Swedish born women. The corresponding figure for

Africa-born women born was 24.9 percent. The figures for men born in Asia living in Sweden for five to nine years was 44.2 percent, and for Africa-born men 48.9 percent. In other words, the average incomes for individuals living in Sweden for five to ten years was twice as high for men born in Asia and Africa compared to the incomes from women from the same geographical region (Riksrevisionen, 2014a).

Research by Arbetsförmedligen (2013, p.30-2) states that the lower employment rate of foreign born women is not due to a lower motivation to work or less participating in workplace anchored activities. According to statistical studies by the Swedish National Audit Office (RIR, 2014, p.46), the gender factor the single largest explanation to the differing labor market outcome for newly arrived male versus female individuals. Several international studies (Cooke, 2007; Meares, 2010; Fossland, 2013) conclude that migration especially decelerate the careers of women. Man (2004) utilizes the concept of deskilling to describe the set-back in the career of Chinese women since their migration to Canada. Studies by Vosko (2000, 2006) conclude that temporary, uncertain work positions, could lead to an especially vulnerable situation for women with family obligations. In line with these findings, Liversage (2009) describes the phase after arrival to a new country as especially vulnerable for women in terms of finding employment.

2.4 Importance of Labor Market Integration

“I hope I will find a job, cause without job
you don’t have anything!” (Fatima M5)

Previous research has emphasized the significance of labor market integration for the individual migrant. Shuval (2000) highlights the importance of an individual migrant to be able to exercise his or her profession in the new country in order to establish a sense of belonging. Constant et al. (2006) emphasize the significance of fast labor market integration for the overall process of integration for migrants. Employment could favor the migrants’ acceptance of the new life and their identification with the destination country, while long term unemployment and the inability to be financially self-supporting could cause economic and social exclusion, as well as insecurity and ill-health for the individual (ibid). Suto (2009) writes that “employment of immigrants is an important marker of resettlement because economic success increases the likelihood of social and cultural integration” (ibid, p.418).

Viewed from a society perspective, the provision of unemployment compensation for a large group economically puts an economic strain on the state budget. The

Swedish welfare state is characterized by universal social benefits, based on high participation rates in the labor market for both genders and a relatively even distribution of income (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Lahelma et al. 2002; Pierson, 2007; Björnberg, 2012). In order to finance the current and future welfare state, sufficient tax revenues through income taxes are required. Receiving many foreign-born individuals and failing to integrate these individuals on the labor market could cause social tensions within society, according to the Swedish National Audit Office (RIR, 2014b, p.15). Inadequate labor market participation and defective utilization of refugee's competence also causes a decline in production (*ibid*). The normative logic of welfare state policies is based on the assumption of full citizenship for all citizens, which presumes that economic inequality between individuals are not too large. This assumption is related to Marshalls' notion of social rights (Marshall, 1950). If citizens are singled out as dependent on social benefits, they will not be perceived either by themselves or by others as full-standing citizens of the political community (Titmuss 1968; Rothstein 1994). An empiric connection exists between the possibility of economic, cultural and social integration. A lack of economic integration, referring to long-term unemployment, would also counteract the political integration of individuals. A study by Bengtsson (2004, p.10) argues that if certain groups in the population do not perceive themselves as full-standing citizens, this might influence if they consider it meaningful to engage in political, social or cultural matters.

2.5 Ethnic Discrimination

A fundamental factor in the labor market integration of migrants is the relationship between the migrant population and the host society. If migrants are accepted and welcomed by the host society, it facilitates the labor market establishment of the individual migrant and his or her ability to contribute to the community. Discrimination towards foreign born individuals, on the other hand, negatively affects their salary and employment levels.

Ethnic discrimination is according to le Grand et al. (2004) and Ahmed (2004), a systematic discrimination of ethnicity and race causes migrants' lower employment and earnings rate compared to native born individuals. Bursell (2012, p.30-32) write that individuals with a typically Swedish name are twice as likely to be called for a work interview compared to job seekers with an African or Arabic name, despite having the exact same qualifications. Foreign born individuals changing their name to a more Swedish sounding name could 'de-stigmatize' them and increase their chances of being called to an interview, as

well as facilitate their communication with managers at work, and increase their salary level (*ibid*).

Eriksson et al. (2012) demonstrates that religious affiliation can cause discrimination for the concerned individuals. The authors argue in the case of Muslim individuals, that the religious factor causes more discrimination than the aspects of area of origin for foreign born individuals (*ibid*). Studies by Mattsson (2001) conclude that migrants are constructed as having shortfalls in the cultural skills necessary on the Swedish labor market. The author describes this type of culturally discriminating idea, as economic racism, which justifies hierarchies of ethnicity in the economy and in the job market, and argues that ‘racialized’ presumptions about skills, the nation, and culture, recreates a “spatial hierarchy of (dis)similarity”, which places non-western migrants at the bottom of the hierarchies of the labor market. Mella and Salmonsson (2013) find similar results to Mattsson (2001), in regards to the different premises and positions of non-western doctors on the Swedish labor market, compared to their Swedish or western colleagues. Mella and Salmonsson (2013) argued that due to the origin of the non-western doctors, they were constructed as culturally different, and devalued through the cultural demands placed on them, which the authors referred to as ‘cultural authorization’.

2.6 Importance of Swedish Language Skills and Social Networks

“I wanted to learn Swedish but I had no one to practice with...

I live in Sweden and you cannot find a job without knowing
Swedish” (Fatima M5)

Language skills are influential for the labor market integration and salaries of foreign born. The design of language courses are of crucial importance, and Swedish courses combined with job seeking are most effective for labor market integration of individuals (Comings & Soricone 2007; Dustmann & Fabbri, 2003; Sum et al. 2004). 53 percent of the migrants studying Swedish For Immigrants fail to complete the highest level, which corresponds to the lowest level of pass in Swedish in a secondary school (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2013). Research by Bonfanti and Nordlund (2012) demonstrates that individuals between 20 and 30 years old who fail the courses in SFI after ten years were 50 percent less likely to be employed, compared to individuals who had finished the courses in Swedish For Immigrants. Studies have displayed flaws in the SFI system, e.g. the difficulties of combining courses in SFI

within vocational training and tailor to specific profession (SOU 2013; RIR, 2014a). Lindgren (2010) suggest that foreign born individuals' chances of employment are benefitted by connections with native born, since these connections improve she Swedish language skills, and transfer Sweden specific knowledge, norms and attitude, which are all vital elements for foreign born individuals' labor market integration.

“At work I learned a lot of Swedish. In SFI I learned a vocabulary, but at work I practiced while talking to colleagues” (Badr M3)

Previous studies indicate the importance of migrants' access to social networks for his or her labor market integration, as well as the overall establishment in the host country (Svantesson, 2006a; Lindgren, 2010; Behtoui & Neergard, 2011). The research in this area has focused on the difference in informal contexts for foreign, compared to native born, individuals. The friends, family and other persons surrounding foreign born individuals have different characteristics than native born individuals, and this difference affects their labor market integration. Behtoui and Neergard, (2011) show in a case study of a Swedish industrial enterprise the importance of social networks for employees' work status and salaries. The study pointed out that a social network consisting of native born men led to more social capital than networks with foreign born women, since native men to a higher extent possessed higher posts in the enterprise and more influent positions in society at large. The study also detected that regardless of educational level, the individuals born outside Western Europe and North America had lower social capital than Swedish born individuals, which is an explanatory factor as to why this group of individuals had lower salaries and posts in the enterprise studied (*ibid*). Bäckman et al. (2014) studied the effect of social network on the labor market in Sweden, and detected that the size of a network and success in finding a job were positively correlated. Olli-Segendorf (2005) in her research found that migrants tend to utilize networks in their job search, and that migrants' network are more important and efficient than employment agencies, compared to the case of native born job seekers. Job mobility is in other words benefitted by the structures within the social networks. A study by Lindgren et al. (2010, p.3) concludes that relations in the workplace are of more importance than connections in the personal life of migrants, since neighbors do not necessarily interact with each other, while communication with colleagues is unavoidable.

Studies by Ahmed et al. (2010, 88-89) point out that foreign born are discriminated on the housing market and are sorted into different communities. Hedberg and Tammary (2010) suggest that employment opportunities for foreign born individuals living in

socioeconomically vulnerable areas are negatively affected by this factor. The lower probability of a foreign born acquiring a job cannot be explained on the fact that he or she are foreign born, but due to their lower disposable income.

A study by Arai et al. (1999) show that the gap in rates of employment and earnings between native and foreign-born workers in Sweden will converge with time. In contradiction to the findings by Arai, a study by Svantesson (2006b, p.4) shows a divergence in earnings and employment between native born and migrants, even 20 years after the migrants' arrival in Sweden (2006b, p.4). The labor market participation of migrants is a complex and multilayered process. Explanations for the generally lower employment rates of foreign-born compared to native born are under discussion in international research, and detects both legitimate and illegitimate hindrances for migrants entering the labor market.

3 Research Methodology

A qualitative method of in-depth interviews has been chosen since it is believed to be most suitable in order to explore the research questions in this thesis. This chapter will present the interviewees, and explain the steps used in the implementation and analysis of the interviews. The criteria for selecting the interviewees and the ethical considerations necessary to retain their anonymity are also discussed in the coming chapter.

3.1 In-depth Interviews

The method of in-depth interviews is best believed to capture the narratives of the migrants and teachers. The outcome and effectiveness of labor market integration policies are dependent on how they are perceived by users. Therefore a bottom-up perspective with interviews with migrants with an own experience of Swedish integration politics and educational system will be utilized. The interviews with teachers will provide insights to how teachers working within the system perceives it. For qualitative research aiming for a detailed and rich interview material, such as this study, Bryman recommend the use of in-depth interviews (Bryman 2012, p.470). In-depth, one-to-one interviews have also been chosen since this is believed to be a fitting method for exploring the thoughts and experiences of students and teachers on the vocational programs studied.

Bryman (2012, p.508) writes about the administrative burden associated with

organizing focus groups. Individual interviews are therefore more convenient to organize, since the interviewer and interviewee can be more flexible in deciding the time to conduct the interview (*ibid*). Additional reasons suggested by Bryman (2012) as to why the method of one-to-one interviews should be used are firstly, that they create a more informal setting compared to focus groups, beneficial for the interviewee to be able to share his or her thoughts (Bryman, 2012, p.41, p.577). Additionally, one-to-one interviews are preferred over focus groups since the latter are not suitable for the sensitive character of my research topic. The interviewed students are sharing their life stories, and might feel uneasy about sharing such personal information in front of a group (Bryman, 2012, p.66). Also, if the student or teachers would criticize the educational system or integration policies, he or she would perhaps feel uncomfortable sharing this in a focus group in front of several other people (*ibid*).

Interviews were conducted with seven students and three teachers from five different vocational training courses. In order to narrow down the research focus but also due to the practicality of traveling to conduct the interviews, all the vocational training courses are located in the county of Skåne. The students who were interviewed for this study were, at the time of the interviews, enrolled in vocational training. The teachers who were interviewed are employed at these training courses. The strategy to find potential interview participants consisted of contacting teachers in charge over the vocational training. The teachers' contact details were found at online web sites for the vocational schools, and contacted by e-mail. In the interview request sent out to the teachers, I asked to interview students who are the first generation of migrants with their origin from developing countries, who had moved to Sweden relatively recently. Teachers who replied to the interview requests and approved of the research focus asked students if they had any interest in participating in the interviews. This method was chosen because it seemed to be the only plausible way of getting in touch with the migrants and teachers. Since the teachers selected the students to interview, it is possible that the teachers consciously or unconsciously selected students who are especially motivated and fast learners.

3.2 Ethical Considerations

The students and teachers were prior to the interviews verbally and in writing briefed about his or her rights to refrain from answering the interview questions, and of the possibility to interrupt the interview at any time. The respondent was also informed about the full anonymity of his or her participation in the study (Forskningsrådet, 2011; Bryman, 2012,

p.138). In order to retain the anonymity of the interviewee, he or she has been given a fictive name, as well as a numbering, where M stands for migrant and T for teacher. M1 represents an interview with the first migrant interviewed, and T1 represents an interview with teacher 1. Due to the anonymity of migrants and teachers, the professions studied at the vocational training are not revealed. The five different vocational training courses have instead been labeled from A to E. The age of the interviewee has been labeled in intervals of five years, as well has the arrival year to Sweden been divided into intervals of three years (Appendix 1).

3.3 Interviewed Teachers

The three interviewed teachers were interviewed from three different vocational programs and employed by educational associations in Skåne (Appendix 1). The teachers were selected based on the criteria that they should have a substantial experience as teachers but also have a general responsibility for vocational training. All of the selected teachers had the formal job title of educational consultant, with around fifteen to thirty years of experience as teachers in vocational training. In the first pilot interview, a teacher with around thirty years of experience in vocational training spoke freely about the research topic (Anders T1). This first pilot interview gave insights to the reality of vocational training and the labor market integration of foreign born individuals, information that had not appeared in the literature that was reviewed. Since the contact with the teachers was via e-mail, I had the possibility of sending out the interview guide prior to the interviews with them. At occasions I also received the e-mail addresses of the students, and could also send them the interview questions beforehand.

3.4 Interviewed Migrants

While the migrants shared some common characteristics such as having completed elementary school degrees and Swedish For Immigrants courses, the backgrounds of the interviewed students were diverse, in terms of gender, country of origin, educational level and work experience (Appendix 1). In this study, all of the interviewed students with migrant backgrounds are enrolled in vocational training, lasting normally five to twelve months. While the vocational training contains of two main categories of students, this study only include interviews with one group of students. The group of student attending vocational training which is not represented in this study, are referred to the vocational training by the Swedish Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen) as part of a labor market training, and are not required to have completed elementary school or courses in Swedish For Immigrants

(Anders T1 pilot). Additionally they are given social benefits or unemployment insurance for participating in the vocational training. This thesis only includes interviews with students who enter the education after having completed elementary school and SFI courses. This type of vocational training is equal to an upper secondary level school level, and the students are therefore given grants and study loans (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). The reason for this selection is that since the study partly focuses on foreign born people's experiences of the educational system, it is therefore vital that the interviewed individuals have experience from e.g. SFI and elementary school in Sweden. An additional reason is that it is practical for the students who are interviewed to have completed courses in SFI, in order for them to understand the interview questions, and for me as an interviewer to understand their reply. In the interview requests sent out to teachers, it was therefore specifically mentioned that the students should have completed elementary school and courses in Swedish For Immigrants.

Since the students receive study grants and a few of them take study loans in order to afford to study, it can be debated if they are more motivated to study than is the case of other students who receive unemployment insurance or social benefits to pursue the vocational training. Since interviews were only conducted with the students enrolled at vocational training at a upper secondary level school level, and lacked interviews with students attending the vocational training as part of labor market training, a comparison and eventual differences between the two groups about motivation and incentives to vocational studies is however not possible in this study. The implications of this selection must be considered regarding the extent to which the students are representative of an 'average' vocational student with a migrant background.

All the migrants who were interviewed arrived in Sweden between 2003 and 2011 from developing countries outside Europe. One of them originated from South America, three were from Asia, and three were from Africa. All of them were between 22 and 30 years when arriving to Sweden, with an average age of 26. At the time of the interviews the average length of residence in Sweden was eight years, with an average age of 34 years. Five of the interviewees arrived in Sweden as a result of marriage to a Swedish citizen and two individuals arrived here as refugees. All of the migrants have work experience from their country of origin, and either work experience or at least experience from an internship in Sweden. They were at the time of the interviews enrolled in vocational training courses in which they had no previous educational or professional experience in, with the exception of Lalita (M7) who is studying a vocational corresponding to her previous working experience. Since the admission requirements for entering the vocational training are that the candidates

will have completed courses in Swedish For Immigrants up to level D, the students spoke fluent Swedish. Apart from the Swedish language the students spoke at least two additional languages. One of them spoke four languages, and two of them spoke five languages. Due to the difference in labor market participation between male and female migrants, according to previous research, the aim was an equal balance between male and female interview respondents, in order to include different perspectives on the topic. In total five of the interview respondents were female and five were male (Appendix 1).

The educational levels of the migrants who were interviewed can be categorized into three different levels of education; higher, medium or a lower level. The highly educated group of migrants, namely Analiza (M2), Emmanuel (M1) and Badr (M3), prior to migration completed or commenced university studies. They are re-educating themselves through the vocational training, in a completely different professional area. Emmanuel has not entered the labor market in Sweden, but is hoping that the vocational training will lead to employment. While both Badr (M3) and Analiza (M2) have been employed in low-skilled professions since their arrival in Sweden, they are using the vocational training courses as a stepping stone to reach higher skilled professions with more secure labor markets. Out of the group of migrant whom were interviewed, Kodjo (M6), can be said to have a middle level of education since he completed upper secondary school in his country of origin. Kodjo has since arrival to Sweden also had a low-skilled job as a dustman and in construction cleaning, and aim to reach a medium-skilled position after completion of the vocational training. For the migrants with a lower level of education are Fatima (M5) and Lalita (M7) long-term unemployed, while Estefania (M4) promptly entered the labor market after arrival in Sweden.

The migrants' integration into the Swedish labor market are dependent on both the system of integration, and on the actions of the individual migrant. Discussing integration politics, Folkesson (2012, p.268) writes that integration is not merely a political notion, but a process that is shaped according to the actors involved. The informants in this study are perceived as active subjects in the integration process, whose choices and actions are influent in shaping their existence in Sweden. As actors they are also affected by the Swedish labor market and integration politics. Each interviewed individual migrant lives in a different reality depending on their individual background, experience, motivation and strategies for finding a job. The method of verbal material is selected since it is believed to transmit the knowledge and experiences of migrants themselves, a view that is perhaps often neglected. Individuals' subjective perceptions could make structures in the society visible, and

detect how the individual citizen relates to these structures. The interviews with individuals is hoped to explain the synthesis between the system and the individual. The actors are present in different arenas and contexts, with specific rules and norms that they need to be familiar with (Folkesson, 2012). For a foreign-born individual, examples of arenas could be the Swedish labor market, the neighborhood, the work-place, the network of fellow country-men or organizations. The interactions and relationships between individuals are shaped by social power and are interchangeable. Certain contacts could facilitate access to certain contexts, such as the labor market. The interview questions cover the respondents' relationship with these fields and contacts, e.g. the situation the respondent has learnt the Swedish language, and gained connections which could be of importance for his or her professional life.

3.5 Formulation of the Interview Questions

The interview questions are formulated in line with the aim of this study (Kvale, 1996). The questions aim to touch upon all the different phases migrants often experience after their arrival in Sweden, in order to explore their expectations and experiences of the Swedish labor market and educational system. The questions directed to teachers touch upon the overall system of integration and education (Appendix 4 & 5). The aim for the interview questions was for them to be clear, easily understood, and as far as possible for them to be free of assumptions and biases. While the interviews were focused around the interview questions, the interviewees were free to divert from these questions and expand on the topics of interests to them. The interviews therefore had a character of open conversations, with a steady focus on the study purpose. The interviews can be described as semi-structured, which according to Bryman (2012, p.246) ensures the flexible nature of the interview, while retaining the structure needed in order to accomplish the purpose of this study. Due to the nature of the study, which attempts to explore foreign born' experience of the integration and educational system since their arrival in Sweden, a large number of questions were asked. The interview guide included 57 questions for the interviewed students and 14 questions for the teachers. In addition to these questions, follow-up questions were added to the interviews depending on the topics discussed by the interviewee (Appendix 4 & 5).

3.6 Interview Context

Important to consider is that the interview findings are created in a specific context, and that the interview situation inflicts on the story told by the informant. An outsider interviewing an individual could affect what the individual chooses to tell (Folkesson, 2012, p.91). The

interviewer and respondent meet for the first time during the interview and therefore the latter might not trust the interviewer with sensitive information, despite the fact that the individual is granted full anonymity in this study. The fact that the respondents are part of a vocational class, might possibly affect how he or she addresses the quality of the training. Due to this, the quality of the vocational training as such is not considered in this paper.

Several of the questions directed towards the migrants had a retrospective character about their previous experiences during their life in Sweden, of the questions affects the respondents' replies. In a few of the questions the migrants are asked to recall how they experienced a certain situation in the past, such as SFI courses during their first period in Sweden. Some of the migrants who were interviewed were asked about situations that occurred when they had just arrived in Sweden, a few years back in time. The memory of a certain situation is selective, meaning we only tend to remember a part of a situation (Folkesson, 2012, p.91). This also has an impact on the interview findings. The interviews did however not only include retrospective questions, but also about the migrants current situation and their beliefs about the future. The interviewees in the interview situation therefore construct their identity (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Bourdieu (2000) writes that individuals in an interview situation tend to accentuate their agency and foreshorten their personal imperfections. The present situation of the respondent will also affect how they recall a situation in the past. The current situation for most of the students was unemployment. If interviewed at a later stage and in a different situation, the replies could have differed. That is, if similar questions were asked to the individual student a year later when the individual have a different life situation, the interview answers could have been different to the interview findings of this study.

3.7 Implementation of the Interviews

Out of the eleven interviews, nine followed the interview guide found. Two of the interviews were pilot interviews conducted before the interview questions were finalized. One teacher was interviewed twice, the first interview being a pilot interview and the second interview at a later stage in the research process followed the then finalized interview questions. The first interview with a student was also a pilot interview. The two pilot interviews were conducted at an early stage in the research process, in order to get an understanding of if the questions were suitable for the research focus, and to get a clearer idea of which questions that should be included in the final version of the interview guide. The pilot interviews were also vital in the sense of identifying possible flaws in the phrasing of the questions. That the questions

were easily understood was of importance, especially since the migrants were not linguistically perfect in the Swedish language.

The interview guide influenced the direction of the interview to a varying extent. Dependent on the respondents, some interviews took the shape of a dialogue, while others had a more structured character. Some respondents were reticent and others gave more detailed answers. The respondents were encouraged to freely elaborate on or raise any topic he or she found to be of importance. While the interviews have the character of a dialogue, in order to allow the respondents to freely elaborate on the interview topics, the interview questions in the interview guide were however asked, in order to cover all the topics of interest in the research. While the interviews had no established upper time limit, the aim was to keep the interviews with the students to around 60 minutes, and for the teachers between 60 and 90 minutes. The length of the interviews varied between 40 to 65 minutes for the interviewed students. The length of the interviews with teachers varied between 50 minutes to 110 minutes and for the interviewed teachers. As recommended by Tim May (2001, p.139), the interviews were audiotaped. Brief notes were also taken in a notepad in order to after the interview read through the notes after each interview.

3.8 Analysis of the Interviews

In order to not lose out any vital section of the interview responses, the transcription of each interview required extensive listening and analyzing. Each wording, fluctuation and emphasis was taken into consideration when deciding which sentences would be transcribed. Due to the relatively large number of eleven interviews it did not seem relevant to transcribe each word from all the interviews. The sentences that were deemed not to contain information of importance for the study, were not transcribed. Some of the questions were asked only to receive an overview of the background of the interviewed migrants, such as country of origin, age, etc., and for those questions it was more the facts rather than the exact order of words that was of importance.

The interviews were analyzed through a qualitative content analysis inspired by the writings of Graneheim and Lundman (2008). After transcribing the interview material, it was repeatedly read in order to receive an overview. The sentences that included relevant and significant information for the research questions were highlighted, while most of the surrounding text was kept in order to keep the context intact. Analyzing the interview material it became clear that the interview respondents sometimes repeated themselves and expressed

themselves with different words but with identical meanings. In order to make the interview material more manageable, text that was clearly redundant was removed.

The significant sentences were grouped in different themes which correspond to the obvious or more underlying main messages of the interviews (Graneheim & Lundman, 2008, p.171). Themes were used in order to get a clear overview of the topics of this study for me and for readers of this study (Graneheim & Lundman, 2008), and to facilitate the comparative analysis of interviews Bryman (2012, p.487). The bottom-up perspective which allowed the interviewees to freely discuss topics they found interesting, has contributed to the thematic divide of the interview material and to the focus of this study. The literature review conducted throughout the thesis process has also shaped the interview themes. Certainly I as a researcher have influenced the focus of this study. The analysis contains quotations which I selected as the most succinct sentence in order to express the opinions of the interview respondents. The questions I have chosen to ask in the interview guide and the selected theories for analyzing the interviews are also colored by my research interests and perspectives.

4 Theoretical Framework

4.1 Capital, Field and Habitus

The interviews in this study explore the resources or capital, that the migrants who were interviewed brought to Sweden, in terms of educational and professional qualifications, and examine if these resources have been unlocked and valued since their arrival in Sweden. These resources of the migrants who were interviewed, and their ability to be transferred to the Swedish labor market, will be illuminated through a Bourdeian conceptual framework of capital, field and habitus (Bourdieu, 1985, 1990a, b; 1991; 2005).

Migration and resettlement cause a change in field and social context, to which the migrant has to adapt. The pre- and post-migration social and physical arenas of migrants are referred to in this study as fields. Each field values specific types of capital differently (Bourdieu, 1977; 1990). The valuation of migrants' capital in the Swedish labor market, or field, is thus dependent on this field to recognize the specific capital. Loyal (2009, p.463) argue that habitus of migrants are shaped in the economic, political and social fields of the sending country, while the field of the receiving country alters it. The habitus travels with

migrants, who arrive to the field in the country of arrival, as new players in the game, bringing with them different capital. Bourdieu's concept of field can be understood as positions, constructed dependent on how capital is distributed within that field. The power relations within a field are the result of the distribution of capital (Bourdieu, 1991). According to Bourdieu, each individual carries a portfolio of capital of a certain composition and volume, and the importance of the capital differs from individual to individual (Bourdieu, 1986).

In order to explain the structure of the social world without using economic logic, Bourdieu (1986; 1990) developed the concept of cultural capital referring to educational credentials, skills and knowledge, economic capital originating from property or money, and social capital applying to contacts and membership in groups (Bourdieu, 1990). These types of capital can all be described as symbolic capital, since they are dependent on the acknowledgement and logic of knowledge (Bourdieu, 1990). This study will examine the labor market establishment of migrants in Sweden through two of the sub-types of symbolic capital, namely cultural capital and social capital. Migrants' pre-migration formal schooling can be described as part of their habitus, where their cultural capital was shaped. The main emphasis in this study is placed on the transferability of the cultural capital, or the formal schooling of the interviewed migrants, to the Swedish labor market. Social capital is chosen in order to investigate which role social capital, in the shape of social networks, has for the labor market establishment for migrants in Sweden. Economic capital, the third type of symbolic capital, is not believed to contribute to the analysis of the interviews and is therefore not included in the theoretical framework.

Crossley (2008, p.89) describes capital as attributes and possessions of the individual, and argues that "individuals who have a similar volume and composition of capital are more likely to meet, interact and form relationships (because, for example, they can afford the same type of housing, send their children to the same schools, etc.) – which is key to understanding the similarities in their habitus and lifestyles" (Crossley, 2008, p.89). A field could be explained as the social and physical spaces where habitus takes place (Bourdieu, 1991). Swartz (2002, p.62) explains Bourdieu's concept of habitus as "deeply internalized dispositions, schemas, and forms of know-how and competence, both mental and corporeal, first acquired by the individual through early childhood socialization." In an interpretation of Bourdieu by Broady (1998, p.20), the dispositions of habitus are stored in individuals, where a limited number of principles allows them to think, act, value and perceive social situations. Their thoughts, actions, perceptions and values are not the product of externalities, but the

result of an encounter between the habitus of individuals, in a specific social context (*ibid*). The habitus can be strengthened, reinforced, or transformed, for example if an individual ends up in new life conditions, such as migration. A given habitus enables certain strategies, that in relation to the surrounding circumstances, allow a certain freedom for individuals to act in a social situation (Bourdieu, 1991, Broady, 1998, p.25).

4.2 Social Capital and Social Networks

In the following section the concepts of social capital and social networks will be discussed in regards to their relation to the interviewed migrants' integration into the Swedish labor market. The analysis is focused on the interviewed migrants' current social capital and networks in Sweden. The theory of social capital is used for analyzing what importance social networks have for migrants in Sweden with regards to their integration in the labor market. In the previous studies reviewed, social capital and social networks, especially work-related social contacts and relations with native born, appeared to be of paramount importance for migrants' labor market establishment. In the interviews with the migrants in this study, their social networks had not been of major importance for their labor market establishment. This resulted in less emphasis being placed on social capital in this theoretical framework.

While this thesis use the concept of social capital in the theoretical tradition of Bourdieu, the concept of social capital has been defined differently by scholars (see Portes & Sensenbrenner, 1993). While it was the economist Glenn Loury (1977) who first presented the concept of social capital, it was Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988; 1990) and Robert Putnam (1993; 1995) who identified its broader importance to society. According to Bourdieu (2005, p.246), his definitions of the concept "differs from the definitions which has subsequently been given in American sociology and economics." Social capital has generally been associated with works of Robert Putnam (1993; 1995) and James Coleman (1988; 1990), which theoretical structures significantly differ from the works written by Bourdieu or other scholars in his tradition (Wall et al., 1998). While the writings of Coleman and Putman were connected to 'economic rationality' and emphasized the role of social capital in the community and family, for improving the human capital for future generations, Bourdieu's work related to how difference in access to resources reinforces social hierarchy (Flap & Völker, 2004, p.9). In this study, the discussion of social capital surrounds Pierre Bourdieu's notion of the concept, and other scholars' development of the concept in his tradition.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p.119) defined social capital as the resources of a group or individual, aggregated by virtue of a reliable social network consisting of relatively

institutionalized relationships of reciprocal recognition and association. Mahar, and Wilkes (1990) pointed out the convertibility of social capital as its key characteristic, namely that it can be translated to other types of capital, such as economic capital (*ibid*). Especially in regards to migration research, scholars often point at the positive aspects with social capital in its ability to accumulate other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman 1990; Harker et al 1990). Social capital can be accessed through memberships in social networks and institutions, and can be converted to other types of capital, in order for an individual to maintain or improve his or her status in society (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988 in Palloni et al., 2001). Bourdieu writes that the social and economic returns of educational qualifications are dependent on social capital to support them, and argue that an individual with an educational degree, without connections might not find employment matching his or her degree (Bourdieu, 1986, p.244). Lin (2001) defines the concept of social capital as a ‘relational asset’ and distinctive from public or collective goods such as for example norms, trust or culture (Lin, 2001, p.10). Sorana Toma (2012) defined migrants’ social networks as an individual-level social capital which could shape the outcomes for the individual migrant.

4.3 Cultural Capital

Cultural capital will in this study be discussed in terms of educational qualifications that migrants bring to Sweden, in terms of their formal schooling from their country of origin. The concept will be utilized as a theoretical argument explaining the processes of devaluation and segmentation of the educational credentials of the foreign born labor force in Sweden. The starting point in the discussion of cultural capital will begin from Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of cultural capital.

Cultural capital and other symbolic capital, are produced and distributed in fields. According to Bourdieu (2006), symbolic fields enact hierarchies which misrecognize and discriminate those outside the field. Symbolic capital, such as cultural capital, recreate the unequal relations of power in the economic field (Bourdieu, 1993). The relations of power and class in the economic field and in the fields of symbolic capital, are although distinctly distanced from one another, reversible (*ibid*). For this reason, the labor market outcome of migrants in the economic field, is dependent on to what extent their cultural capital is handled and valued in the symbolic field. In his studies of the cultural capital, Bourdieu has shifted between three different levels of cultural capital. The embodied cultural capital which is signaled through a corporeal representation, meaning possessions of an individual passively or consciously acquired, partly inherited through traditions, socialization and culture. The

objectified capital relates with the appropriation and consumption of cultural goods, such as work of arts (Bauder, 2003, p.702). This study focuses on the third type of cultural capital, namely the institutionalized cultural capital such as educational degrees, titles and formal education (Broady, 1998, p.19; Brubaker, 2005, p. 757). Since it is the transferability of the migrants' formal education that is studied in this thesis, it is only the type of institutionalized cultural capital that is relevant for the topic examined.

Bourdieu believed that the French educational system, through formal education, recreates relationships of symbols and power between social classes. Formal education is therefore a location for social reproduction and inequality (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, 1979; Bourdieu 1986, 1991). Brubaker (2005, p.757) suggested that "the concept of cultural capital denotes the ensemble of cultivated dispositions that constitute such schemes of appreciation and understanding." The accumulation of cultural capital begins in the family and requires an investment of time. The investment payoffs could be entrance to university studies, the labor market, and access to social contacts (*ibid*). Brubaker (2005, p.758) argues that the rewards of the investment in cultural capital is however not self-evident, but dependent on internalized dispositions in a system, and mechanisms of gate-keeping, "that regulate access to desirable positions by somehow taking account of cultivated dispositions – by attending, for example, the intangibles of style and manner." The French examination is according to Bourdieu one such gate-keeping mechanism (Bourdieu, 1991). That students who follow the shared accepted norms and institutional standards are favored by school teachers in evaluations, are one of the main arguments of the concept of cultural capital, according to Winingar and Lareau (2003). Students from the social classes in dominance of a society learn the 'correct' cultural values at home, values which teachers favor in evaluations, and which set the standard when evaluating other students (*ibid*). In a study by Lamont and Lareua (1988), the term cultural capital represents the academic standards which are important for accessing or being excluded from higher status groups, resources and/or employment. In order for the students to understand 'the rules of the game', the formal education injects students with a habitus corresponding to the principles of dominance in that specific field, a habitus that is arbitrarily assumed to be superior compared to other habitus (Bourdieu, 1984, p.71).

Bourdieu argued that cultural capital can accumulate independently of socioeconomic status through culture or 'cultivation' (Bourdieu, 1996a). Cultural capital and other symbolic capital, is not automatically transferred in a unified manner to the members of a status group or social class (*ibid*). Hage (1998, p.54) argues that the integration of migrants

and ethnic groups, and their accumulation of cultural capital, is related to the cultural dispositions and possession brought by these groups. A study by Bauder (2003) utilized the concept of cultural capital in order to give a cultural interpretation of the devaluation of the migrants' foreign credentials in the Canadian labor market. Fossland (2013) studied how migrants, despite possessing cultural capital, faced cultural, social and formal hindrances for entering the Norwegian labor market. The interviews in the mentioned study revealed that despite employers claiming that they wished to employ highly educated migrants, the employers in reality rarely interviewed or hired job seekers of foreign backgrounds.

The writings of Bourdieu have been used for studying class (Bourdieu, 1993). Migrants or the skills of migrants cannot be described as a social, cultural or economic homogenous class. Bauder in a study refers to a 'secondary job market' for migrants (Bauder, 2003, p.701). Bauder draws parallels between Bourdieu's arguments that inherited class belongings in the French educational system were translated into economic privilege (Bourdieu 1984; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977), and his study on the Canadian context where he argues that origin of institutionalized cultural capital functions as a labor market distinction. Bauder (2003) suggests that this is due to Canadian professional organizations with support from legislation, favoring the domestically educated labor force in front of the foreign trained. "Education no longer reproduces national class structure: now it enforces the division of labor according to national origin and place of education" (Bauder, 2003, p.701). The skills of foreign trained doctors arriving to Sweden, has been described by Mella and Salmonsson (2013, p.20) as a culturally constructed 'second class' of professionals. The scholars analyzed how the "immigrant physician is constructed in a dichotomy relationship to the normative 'Swedish' physician." The authors added an ethnocentric dimension of cultural capital in their study, describing how the cultural markers, which they found while studying how the capital of non-western doctors depending on their origin were assessed through a 'cultural authorization', affecting their possibilities to become doctors in Sweden. Once authorized as doctors, the physicians with migrant backgrounds were perceived to be best suited to take care of patients with the same background, marginalizing this group of doctors (Mella & Salmonsson, 2013).

4.4 Critique of Bourdieu's Forms of Capital

The writings and arguments of Bourdieu have been critiqued on several aspects, for example that they refer to the existing interaction between the social classes in the 1960s and 1970s French and Algerian society, and due to this cannot be directly transferred to another type of

society (Goldthorpe, 2007; Haynes, 2009). The difficulties of measuring and defining the concept of social capital has also been criticized (Haynes, 2009). Critics of the social capital argues that while James Coleman and Pierre Bourdieu have been influential in the development of the notion of social capital, it prevails an economic concept, with similar reasoning as economists of rational choice, such as Gary Becker (Haynes, 2009, p.6; Fisher, 2005, p.156). This study handle the issue of defining the concept of social capital, through clearly stating the definition of the concept that is used, and being aware of its limitations.

Broady (1991, 1998) writes that it can be problematic to directly import the approaches of Bourdieu to Sweden, without adapting them to the new context. Critique by Goldthorpe (2007) points at studies where researchers have detached the concept of cultural capital from its setting, and imported it to their context of study, leading to a misinterpretation of the concept, not compatible with the theoretical beliefs of Bourdieu (Goldthorpe, 2007, p.12). Due to the aforementioned critique of the Bourdieuan concepts of capital and field, the concepts were not transferred to a Swedish context and this study, without taking in consideration the limitations of these concepts. The use of Bourdieu's concepts of capital and field presumes that the author and reader are aware of the limitations of the concepts, which norms that are entrenched in the concept, and that the approaches are defined and adapted to fit the intended context, as done in this study. Broady (1998, p.185) writes that Bourdieu's concepts of field and capital were based on the French context in which the cultural and scientific fields are highly centralized, which is not the case in Sweden. While Bourdieu based his reasoning on how the cultural capital is consolidated within the French elite, consisting of leading social classes and families, similar positions of power in Sweden rather correspond to the institutions, organizations and professional societies, which utilize the educational system to recruit pupils or supporters (*ibid*). The role of the aforementioned actors of institutions, organizations and professional societies, are also what this study refers to as influencing when analyzing how the institutionalized cultural capital of migrants is valued in Sweden. The close connection between the writings of Bourdieu and the French societal context, led to this minor adaptation of the Bourdieuan concept of cultural capital. The reader must be aware of this adaptation of the concept, due to its applicability to this study and the Swedish context.

5 Analysis

The analysis section which follows contains quotations from the conducted interviews, divided by the different themes of this study. The quotations are analyzed through concepts in the theoretical framework and literature review. The labor market trajectories of the interviewed migrants and the valuation and transferability of foreign acquired educational credentials are analyzed through the theoretical framework of cultural capital. The role of the migrants' social contacts and network in regards to their labor market establishment will be examined with the concept of social capital. A concluding discussion will assemble the main findings of this analysis.

5.1 Migrants' Labor Market Trajectories

Bourdieu's (1992) notion of 'trajectories' applies to the movements of individuals within a stratified social field, from one position to another. The trajectories of the migrants whom were interviewed differed. While many of the interviewed migrants initially after arrival in Sweden attempted to re-enter into former profession or studies, this was not possible, due to different reasons. How the capital of migrant's is valued in the new context or the new field, is decisive for the labor market outcome or the migrants' position in the field. The valuation of foreign acquired qualifications and the employability of the migrant are dependent on a negotiation between employer, employment agency, individual migrant, and authorities in power of valuing foreign qualifications.

All of the interviewed migrants arrived to Sweden with substantial cultural capital. They speak several languages and were prior to migrating to Sweden either students or professionals. A migrant who has invested in education and career in their home country generally creates expectations of resuming the career in the new country of residence. Since that the migrants, due to different reasons were not able to resume their educational/professional pre-migration trajectory, they made the decision to retrain themselves in a vocational training course in which they have no previous experience or education in. The exception is Lalita (M7) that studied a profession which she worked with in her country of origin. For all of the migrants, the vocational training was the first education they attended, apart from SFI studies, since their previous studies in their home countries. The migrants are, despite their mature age of around 35 years, beginners in a profession, and newcomers to an unknown field. Migrants who were university students or professionals in

their home country are now beginners in a practical vocation, studying in a language they are often not comfortable with.

Moving to a culturally and geographically distant country such as Sweden alters the habitus for many of the migrants. Loyal (2009) proposed that the habitus of migrants are shaped in the economic, political and social fields of the sending country, and altered in the field of the receiving country. Broady (1998, p.24) suggested in accordance with the writings of Bourdieu (1993) that the habitus can be transformed, e.g. if an individual ends up in new life conditions. Migrating to a new country with an unknown field is one example of such changed life conditions. In the old and familiar field, the habitus of the individual was acquired through the upbringing, in the family and in school, which values and ideas possibly mirrored the social expectations, values, and demands of that society. The formal education or the institutionalized cultural capital, was therefore, more or less, shaped in accordance to the demands of the labor market of the system of the sending country. While the previous habitus perhaps was reinforced by the previous, native field, a migration to a new field and change of life conditions possibly transforms the habitus of the individual (Bourdieu, 1991; Loyal, 2009). In the migrants' home countries they possessed a certain habitus which enabled certain strategies or actions of the individual. A university student e.g. could assume that his or her education would lead to a certain status in the given society. The surrounding circumstances however changed as a result of the migration to Sweden, and the migrants were required to adapt their habitus to the new economic field, the Swedish labor market. Enrolling in vocational training courses in professions in which the migrants had no previous experience in, over perhaps is overqualified for, could be seen as a strategy to fit in on the Swedish labor market.

While the professions taught in vocational training might not be within the field that the migrants have previous experience in, the vocational training is an opportunity for migrants to learn a craft useful in the trade or industry sector in Sweden. Migrants who have difficulties in learning Swedish, can still become successful in professions with lower demands on Swedish skills. According to previous studies, vocational training has a high chance of leading to a job since it is focused in the professions that have a large demand for workers. It is in those professions in demand that migrants can overcome the language and institutional barriers which often hinders them from entering more skilled professions (Luna et al., 2008; Bevelander & Dahlstedt, 2010, 2012; Forslund & Vikström, 2011; MPI, 2014) Answering the interview question; "In general, how do you like your life in Sweden?", all migrants expressed that they were at a stage in life where they wanted a change. They either

entered the vocational training from unemployment, or from a career in a low-skilled profession in which they saw no future in. They all hoped that the vocational training would lead to a career and future life that would be easier and more fulfilling than their life so far in Sweden. Many of them, especially so for those with higher education from their home countries, expressed disappointment and distress relating to how the Swedish system so far had handled their foreign acquired qualifications.

5.2 Unlocking the Competencies of Migrants

“Personally I consider it very tragic when we fail making good use of the foreign competency. There are companies in Sweden who are forced to leave Sweden due to that they cannot find the labor force needed, and at the same time we have individuals who fail to enter the labor market. Everyone benefits by shortening the time it takes for a migrant to integrate on the labor market, the state, the industries, and the individual migrants. To fit all the pieces of puzzles together, I believe that is our largest challenge!” (Anders T1)

While many of the migrants who were interviewed possessed institutionalized cultural capital from their home countries, they experienced difficulties in finding a labor market trajectory in the Swedish labor market which corresponded to their previous educational and professional experience. The interviews indicate that the migrants’ foreign attained credentials are devalued. Many of the interviewed migrants are pessimistic towards how their academic and professional qualifications are valued in Sweden. The interviewed migrants describe several barriers to entering the Swedish labor market, such as lengthy validation process of their educational and/or professional skills, skills that frequently are not acknowledged on the Swedish labor market. Migrants often have to cross uncountable hindrances before and if their competencies can be transferred to the Swedish labor market. Badr (M3) is a 30 year old man who speaks the Swedish language well and seems very social. He studied a few years in tourism in his country of origin, speaks several languages, and has work experience matching his education, as a check-in-agent at an airport. He currently studies to become a machine operator, and has given up his chances of working in the same profession in Sweden, after suggesting it to the Swedish Employment Agency;

“I have tried to get my old career back in Sweden. But you get a headache when you try! So I stopped trying to continue my old career” (Badr M3)

In line with the story told by Badr, several of other interviewed migrants (Emmanuel, Analiza) said that imperfect skill transferability was noticeable for them, and that their educational qualifications, or their institutionalized cultural capital, had not been recognized, but rather devalued in Sweden. Some of the students who were interviewed also describe how they had even felt discouraged in their professional ambitions since their arrival in Sweden. The migrants therefore had chosen a labor market trajectory of retraining, entering into vocational training which would give them formal proof of institutionalized cultural capital, valued in Sweden. In the stories told by the interviewed migrants and teachers, the students with migrant background appeared to be overqualified for the vocational training course they attended, both in terms of educational level and professional experience. Analiza (M2) is a female student who studied two years at university to become a teacher in mathematics in her country of origin before migrating to Sweden. She recalled her experience of the courses in SFI, that she participated in after arriving in Sweden;

“My SFI teacher told me to skip several steps in the SFI, but I wanted to learn the new language thoroughly. The teachers did not understand why I wanted to learn Swedish perfectly since they said that I would anyways not become a teacher or a journalist in the future... I think her reasoning was strange! I told them, but I have children, I need to be able to learn them proper Swedish. After more than ten years in Sweden, I still have problem with the grammar and written Swedish since I did not receive the basics in the language!” (Analiza M2)

According to Analiza, her motivation for learning Swedish was not correctly handled by the SFI teacher. She was told by the SFI teacher to lower her high ambitions and realize that she would not need to speak perfect Swedish since she would not become a teacher or journalist. Since Analiza completed two years of studies in mathematics to become a teacher in her country of origin, it could have been possible to resume her education and become a teacher in Sweden, especially since teachers in mathematics are in high demand in the Swedish labor market. One could argue that it is ‘brain waste’ (Bauder, 2003) that an ambitious, intelligent women with an academic background like Analiza, currently attends a practical vocational training course. In the interviews she spoke about her dream of becoming an engineer in Sweden, once she has learnt sufficient Swedish to attend the program. For some migrants, such in the case of Analiza, the vocational training seems to function as a plan B, or C. Analiza is one of many migrants whom were former academics in their home countries,

attending vocational training in a practical profession in Sweden. The interviewed teachers conform to this, and showed that the competencies of migrants were often not taken into account in the Swedish system;

“We have many migrants in our vocational training who are doctors, who are not let in on the Swedish labor market due to lacking language skills” (Anders T1)

“Out of our students, not many have experience within the vocation we study but many are highly educated from their home country, such as teachers, economists, radiologists. And now they will work in kitchens here in Sweden! We do not capture the competency that these migrants possess!” (Margareta T3)

The teachers testify about vocational students who are doctors and teachers, despite the high demand for these professions in Sweden. The phenomenon referred to as ‘brain drain’ (Brandi, 2001), ‘brain abuse’ (Bauder, 2003) or ‘brain waste’ (Fossland 2013) is apparent in the interviews. Emmanuel (M1) had completed four years of dentistry school when he fled with his family from Africa due to humanitarian reasons. After several attempts to validate his academic grades, Emmanuel began to realize that the four years of university from his home country proved unusable on the Swedish labor market.

“I studied four years at dentistry school and had two years left when I fled to Sweden. I wished to continue on the same professional path, but I soon realized that would be very, very difficult. I did everything to try to complement my education in dentistry in Sweden! But they said I have to start all over again, study upper secondary level school from the beginning, followed by university. But I already studied years of mathematics, chemistry, biology, in my home country! I didn’t want to do it again, and this time to have to do it in Swedish!” (Emmanuel M1)

In the case of Emmanuel it implies that his institutionalized cultural capital from his home country has lost value in Sweden, since he cannot resume his previous four yearlong education in dentistry. In order have a chance to work as a dentist in Sweden; he ought to first redo upper secondary level school followed by dentistry school. Logically, a foreign acquired education should be expected to benefit the labor market establishment of migrants in Sweden. It is however not evident that a migrant with a foreign acquired education and work skills is perceived as a highly skilled worker in Sweden. Csedö (2008) differs between the

notions of ‘highly skilled’ and ‘highly qualified’ migrants, and argue that migrants who have managed to make their skills and education recognized on the labor market of the country of destination are ‘highly skilled’, distinct from ‘highly qualified’ migrants whose skills are not acknowledged in the new context. Csedö emphasizes that a higher level of education of the migrant, does not automatically lead to a larger human capital in the country of destination. Bauder (2003) suggests that the origin of where the educational qualifications, or the institutional cultural capital, were acquired is decisive for the labor market outcome of the migrant. In what way the Swedish system values or rather devalues the institutionalized cultural capital, such as the educational qualifications of Emmanuel (M1), is an indication of the relations of power within that symbolic field (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu (1990), suggests that the relations of power within the symbolic field also recreate the same relations in the economic field, referring here to the labor market. That the Swedish system did not acknowledge the foreign acquired education of e.g. Emmanuel (M1), is a loss for the Swedish labor market since his competency in dentistry will never benefit the Swedish society. Additionally, it is at a personal level a loss for Emmanuel who is not allowed to work in a profession he has invested time and money educating himself in.

In line with the writings of Bourdieu (1991) and Brubaker (2005, p.758), the rewards of investments in cultural capital are not self-evident. The institutionalized cultural capital is reliant on the internalized dispositions in the system and the mechanisms of gate-keeping to acknowledge it. One could argue that in the Swedish system, the gate-keepers of the field are employers, professional societies and state authorities that through their powerful position in the field, determine the value of migrants’ foreign acquired capital. In the field of the Swedish labor market, the gate-keepers of employers, professional societies, and state authorities, sets the ‘correct’ cultural markers of educational qualifications required in order for an individual to enter a profession in the Swedish labor market. Hanlon (1998, p.47) propose that the perception of professionalism is the outcome of “cultural battles which indicate who is considered highly skilled and who is not, and what is considered cultural capital and what is not.” The migrants are new players in the economic field, the Swedish labor market. It is the gate-keepers to the field, who are influential determining the worth of the new players’ capital.

The Swedish systems’ perception and measurement of what educational qualifications that are ‘culturally authorized’, using the concept coined by Mella and Salmonsson (2013), are an example of the unequal power relations in the symbolic field. The unequal relations of power can be connected to the writings by Bourdieu (1991) concerning

the French educational system, in which the dominant classes learn and are favored by possessing the ‘correct’ and accepted norms and institutional standards, which sets the standard for evaluation other individuals in the society. Writings by Bourdieu (2006) discussed how symbolic capital such as cultural capital, enacts hierarchies which misrecognize and discriminate those outside the field. A terminology by Robbins (2005) describes the ethnocentric construction of the ‘other’ is depending on what is perceived as ‘natural’ and what is ‘we’. The cultural capital of migrants is often viewed as different, while Swedish cultural capital is rather favored on the Swedish labor market before foreign cultural capital that is divergent to the Swedish norm. To exemplify, the Swedish labor market tends to be more welcoming to doctors educated in Europe or the US, than doctors with a degree from Africa or Asia (Mella & Salmonsson, 2013).

One could argue that the national Swedish norm of cultural capital, influences how the migrants’ foreign cultural capital, such as educational qualifications, is perceived and valued in Sweden. It appears as if the larger differences between the culture of the migrant and what is referred to as Swedish culture, the lower valued are the skills and competencies that make up the cultural capital of the migrant. The more similar culture to Swedish culture, in the country where the foreign degree was acquired, the greater trust the Swedish system has for the degree, or the institutionalized cultural capital of a migrant. Students brought up with the ‘correct’ cultural values and behavior, are the individuals educated in Sweden or neighboring countries with similar cultural heritage and cultural capital. Just as cultural capital from migrants’ home countries are connected to their cultural heritage, language and nation, so is the cultural capital accumulated in Sweden, in the form of educational qualifications, a symbol of Sweden as a nation. The students who do not master the Swedish culture which is arbitrarily assumed to be superior, are the first generation of migrants who are educated abroad with assumingly different institutional standards and lower quality compared to the Swedish educational system.

5.3 Learning the Swedish Language

“After the education I hope to find a job, but I do not think it will be easy. The main problem is my language, if you do not know Swedish then it is difficult to find a job” (Fatima M5)

Learning the local language is perhaps the most important cultural capital for migrants in a new country (Delander et al., 2005). Several of the interviewed migrants feared that their lack of Swedish skills was the greatest obstacle for them entering the labor market in the vocation they are currently studying. The interviewed teachers also brought this up as an issue. Many of the interviewed students expressed that the classes in Swedish For Immigrants (SFI) were not enough for learning a good level of Swedish. Analiza (M2) explained her impression of the SFI courses she attended;

“They mixed someone who had university degree with someone
who did not know anything, and only had elementary education.
SFI has a strange system!” (Analiza (M2)

To include migrants with greatly differing educational backgrounds in the same SFI class, leads to that the different students have different learning paces and ambition levels. An academic possibly aim at resuming his or her professional career in Sweden, and intends learning a high level of Swedish, and perhaps the language needed for a specific profession. For illiterate students whom have not been able to attend sufficient schooling in their country of origin, requires a longer time period to learn the basics of the language. To place these two groups of students in the same SFI class, leads to that the students with high ambition levels and educational backgrounds are slowed down and discouraged in their learning. For the students with lower educational background in need of a slower tempo in order to learn, the mixing of students puts pressure on them to move faster in their learning. Especially since the SFI classes might be the only occasion the migrants can practice the Swedish language with others, it is crucial that the classes match the needs of the students. Emmanuel (M1) said that;

“When I studied SFI I did not have a native Swedish person to
practice with...but I had a neighbor from India that I practiced
with sometimes. Despite this I succeeded with my SFI courses
since I had the will to do so. I believe that the language is the key
to open all doors. If you do not know Swedish then you cannot
get a good job!” (Emmanuel M1)

When learning a new language, practicing with a native speaker facilitates. Migrants newly arrived to Sweden often live in communities with other migrants. The segregation between migrants and native Swedish people are apparent in the interview findings. While five of the seven interviewed migrants have a native Swedish partner who they could practice Swedish with, three of them lacked other native Swedish friends. Analiza (M2) and Badr (M3), are the

exception. They have had an active working life since arrival in Sweden, and have met and have acquaintances with native Swedish people at work. Fatima and Emmanuel, the two migrants who arrived to Sweden as refugees, are the only migrants in this study not married to a native Swede. They also do not have one single native Swedish friend or acquaintance to practice Swedish with. Fatima (M5) explains that;

“Since my arrival in Sweden in 20XX I did not have anyone to practice Swedish with, and that’s a shame... Earlier I met up a few times with a Swedish women who was a volunteer and spoke with me in Swedish for a period of time, but she moved away from Skåne and was not able to help me anymore” (Fatima M5)

Previous studies have highlighted the correlation between good linguistic knowledge in the local language, and labor market integration and salary levels (Chiswick et al., 2005; Delander et al., 2005). Many migrants, such as the interviewees in this study, arrive to Sweden as adults and therefore have more difficulties learning a new language. While it is often expected from migrants to learn a good level of Swedish in order to get a job, these expectations might not be realistic since many migrants do not have a person with a good level in Swedish to practice with. The segregation between migrants and native Swedes is apparent in the interview findings. Several of the interviewed migrants pointed out the difficulties in getting to know a native-Swedish person. Estefania said that;

“It’s not easy to become friends with a Swede! You Swedes have a different culture and you grow up with the people that are your friends, and it’s difficult as an foreigner to come close to you!” (Estefania M4)

5.4 Relevance of Social Contacts

“Students with migrant background often do not have any connection with any native Swedish, and this affects how they manage to establish themselves on the labor market” (Johan T2)

Studies have highlighted the importance of social networks and social relations for migrants' integration in the labor market in their country of origin. While contacts with native-born individuals are especially important for migrants' establishment, since these contacts transmit Sweden specific knowledge and Swedish skills, also the relationships with fellow countrymen and other foreign born individuals are beneficial for migrants' establishment in society

(Behtoui, 2006). The migrant's access to work positions in Sweden which match their experience and qualifications is affected by the social environment and interpersonal relations surrounding the migrant. Some of the interviewed migrants have dreadful experiences behind them, fleeing from a war-torn country. To change environments and adapt to the new circumstances, are naturally easier if the migrant has friends and family already established in Sweden. According to studies (Svantesson, 2006a; Lindgren, 2010; Behtoui & Neergard, 2011), migrants who have an extensive social network surrounding them in Sweden, can get around the system and learn Swedish with greater ease, and hear about vacancies faster. A social network can therefore soften the impact for migrants arriving to a new field, and facilitate the adaptation to the new 'rules of the game'.

A majority of the interviewed students said that they lacked native-Swedish friends or acquaintances. Very few of the students who were interviewed stated that they possess a work-related social network or social contacts that could be useful in labor market establishment. The few native Swedish people that the migrants had been in contact with, were more distant relations such as colleagues at work whom the migrants do not associate with after working hours. Analiza and Badr are the only two of the migrants who were interviewed, that in their different work places, have been acquainted with native Swedes. While the spouses of five of the migrants were native Swedes, the other friends of the migrants were from the same national-, or at least regional background as themselves. The networks of the Swedish spouses function as an extended social network for the migrants. Such a close relation with a native Swede gives an advantage concerning the migrants' chances of learning Swedish and adapting to the new society. Estefania explains how her Swedish husband helped her learning Swedish;

"I did not learn much at SFI since we're only given papers, and I would have learned more by talking. We were around 20-25 students in one class with one teacher. After meeting my second husband who was native Swedish, the Swedish became easier!" (Estefania M4)

To be able to practice Swedish at a daily basis with a partner who is fluent in Swedish is helpful for the migrants learning the new language. A partner can also guide the migrant into the new society and facilitate the establishment on the labor market. The partner's network of family, friends and colleagues, functions as an extended social network for the migrant, and as a 'fast-track' to the Swedish society. For a migrant deprived of his or her cultural capital, a social network could in some regards mitigate for the negative effect. If the foreign attained

cultural capital of migrants' are not perceived as valuable by the Swedish system and employers, the social network of friends and family can facilitate the migrants entrance into the labor market. If one of the connections in the social network is an entrepreneur, the migrant could receive a job through this connection. If the migrants' family owns a family business, this could also be a way to enter the labor market. In case that the migrants' foreign acquired finance degree is not perceived sufficient to match the demands by employers, the same skills can prove useful as an accountant for the family business.

Previous studies have established the relevance of social connections for the labor market establishment of migrants. The interview findings of this study however brought attention to the lack of work-related relations of the migrants who were interviewed. Answering the interview questions "Do you know someone in Sweden who could offer you a job?", all of the migrants stated that they had no such connections. In the stories told by the interviewed migrants, it appeared as if there were not actively seeking connections which could lead to employment. Only a few migrants that were interviewed were active in social organizations. Answering the question, "Are you a member of any organization, such as a sports association or a religious association?" only Kodjo (M6) said that he took part in an organization with other members from same national background as him, who arranged dinners and parties together. While some of the migrants have many friends in Sweden, many of the migrants appeared to have close relations only within the family. Answering the interview question "Do you know any person here that you could turn to in case you have a problem or if you have a query?", they mentioned their spouse or other family members. Except for the migrants married to a native Swede, all close social relations of the migrants had similar national backgrounds as themselves, and none of the relations were work-related in terms that could lead to a job. While previous studies has emphasized the importance of work-related relations for the labor market establishment of migrants, the interviewed migrants appeared to lack access to the social capital which could be beneficial for their labor market establishment. The migrants whom had secured jobs in Sweden had done so without the help of social networks or connections. Analiza (M2) explained that;

"My friends don't give me any tip about job vacancies.

But I'll give them tip instead!" (Analiza M2)

5.5 Balancing Individual Ambitions with Family Commitments

The responsibility for a family can put pressure on migrants to provide for their family members, and choose to work in front of completing courses in SFI or higher education. Several of the interviewed students of both genders expressed the conflicting demands of studying and learning the Swedish language while doing full-time work. Kodjo (M6) explains;

“When I first came to Sweden, it was hard for me to study Swedish since my former wife was unemployed, and I had to find a job immediately as a dustman” (Kodjo M6)

For a female migrant, childbearing and maternal leave can lead to that the commitments to the child(ren) could consume time that could have been utilized to transfer the migrants' social and cultural capital to the Swedish society, for example through SFI studies, higher education or learning about the new society. A mother caring for children at home is perhaps not able to practice her Swedish, make friends and expand her social network in Sweden, which can defer her entrance into the labor market. Family commitments could also result in that job seekers are less flexible in taking on jobs or moving to vacant job positions. Analyzing the interview findings, the marital status of the migrants appear to affect how open they are to moving in order to secure employment. When asked the question; “Do you want to work in Skåne or could you consider moving somewhere else in order to find employment?”, all of the migrants who had children stated that they could not consider moving outside the region of Skåne in order to secure a job. While all of the female migrants were married, a couple of the male migrants were unmarried. These men said that they were willing to move, if offered a job in other locations than Skåne (Badr M3; Kodjo M6). The marital status or having children or not, might influence, but not determine the labor market establishment of the migrant who were interviewed. Two of the female students, Analiza (M2) and Estefania (M4) both have children and have been employed since arrival in Sweden, except during their maternal leave and very short periods of unemployment. They have managed to maintain the work-life balance of family commitments, employment, while attending Swedish language and vocational courses. In the interviews with the two women, they explained the hard work they had to put in, in order to maintain a work-life balance. They both felt the obligation to provide for their families, and therefore could not risk of being employed. Analiza described that it is very costly to be unemployed and that she therefore could not afford to be out of work, even for a week. Apart from her family in Sweden, she has a large family in her country of origin that she supports;

“Apart from studying full-time the vocational training, I work at a factory and also study a course in economy at high school level, while I take care of my two kids. So I don’t have time right now to spend time with friends and to party! It’s tough, but I have to struggle, and time passes by quickly” (Analiza M2)

Migrants’ social relations in the new country are influential in shaping the labor market trajectories. While family expectations for some female migrants could be to prioritize family commitments, motherhood could also be a strategy of refuge from an unwelcoming and uncertain labor market. Social expectations could also affect male migrants, who could feel pressured to shoulder the responsibility of being the breadwinner for the family instead of investing time and money in Swedish studies or in an education. Their opportunities to learn about the new society and language, and gain work-related knowledge are all contributing to their labor market establishment.

5.6 Labor Market Exclusion

“My life in Sweden is 50/50... I hope to find a job because it is boring to sit here without a job. Without a job you have nothing! A job gives the life better quality” (Fatima M5)

While Fatima (M5) and Lalita (M7) had been working in low skilled jobs in their home countries, they had difficulties in establishing themselves on the Swedish labor market. Arriving to Sweden between 2006 and 2008, they had already spent seven to nine years in Sweden, without finding a fitting job. In the interviews with them, they were also the individuals least content with life in Sweden. Fatima (M5) and Lalita (M7), belongs to the group of migrants interviewed with a lower educational level. They completed secondary school in their countries of origin. The literature overview concluded that migrants with a lower educational level are more prone to end up in unemployment in the Swedish labor market (SNS, 2014). Apart from a shorter period of employment as a cleaner, Fatima has been unemployed since her arrival in Sweden. She tells about her previous job as a cleaner;

“I myself found my first work in Sweden, I saw an ad in the newspaper. The work was in a hotel. But the job was very hard, a lot of stress, I was cleaning. I felt sometimes that I was treated like a slave by my employer, if you know what I mean... I chose

this vocational education because I wanted to work with people, and not as a cleaner" (Fatima M5)

Before migrating to Sweden due to humanitarian reasons, Fatima was employed in the manufacturing sector and also worked as a salesman in her home country. When talking about life in Sweden, she did not seem content with her current life situation. Since she does not have friends who speak Swedish, she has difficulties improving her language skills. She fears that her insufficient language skills could be an obstacle for finding employment. The main problem in her life situation appeared to be the long term unemployment that she struggled to get out of;

"You have to try hard yourself, and find jobs. I try, and try, and I am stubborn. But sometimes I become so tired of not getting any" (Fatima M5)

Lalita (M7) had not worked since her arrival in Sweden around eight years ago. While she was working in her home country prior to migrating to Sweden, she never entered the labor market in the new country. She is married and has been on maternity leave at one occasion. The Swedish language is challenging for Lalita and she believes this might hinder her in her future career. Lalita also explained that her low level in Swedish also affect her everyday life in Sweden;

"My life in Sweden is so, so... It is not easy living here and look for jobs, not knowing the Swedish language... But what to do, I cannot move back to my home country, I have kids and my husband here" (Lalita M7)

For migrants arriving in an unfamiliar country such as Sweden, they are challenged with new 'rules of the game' in the unfamiliar field. As seen in the stories told by Fatima and Lalita, some migrants struggle and fail to enter the labor market, which defers the integration in the society overall. Constant (2006) suggested that long term unemployment and the inability to be financially self-supporting could lead to social exclusion, as well as ill-health and insecurity for the individual.

5.7 Actors Involved in the Integration of Migrants

“The current system has lost a holistic approach, since the education efforts are split into several parts divided by procurement. The greatest problem is the lack of communication, since one individual migrant can have three, four different actors providing vocational training, SFI classes, SFI, and then the employment agency” (Anders T1)

For a newly arrived migrant, the Swedish system might seem complex, with different state authorities, state run educational institutions, and private actors involved in SFI, vocational training and upper secondary level school. The interviewed teachers pointed out that the system with multiple service providing actors to migrants, such as e.g. Swedish classes and vocational training, have caused a fragmentation of the system. The Swedish language courses (SFI), the Swedish language with vocational direction, the vocational training, and the employment agency, are all separated and could in theory be provided by four different actors. One individual migrant could therefore be expected to travel to four different providers and locations during one week. The teacher Anders tells;

“Today we have around thirty employment agency administrators and Komvux schools to keep in contact with in different locations in Skåne. That is pretty hard work that we have so many different actors that we need to keep in touch with, apart from the students at the training. If we have one student from Eslöv, not all students’ from there have the same employment agency administrator, but there are several! The same goes for all the other cities in Skåne”
(Anders T1)

Anders (T1) in the two interviews highlights the issue of communication between the different actors who provide services. It is for example not evident that the provider of vocational training is the same provider as the school providing classes in vocational Swedish. The learning progress and needs of the student can therefore risk being lost in the communication, or rather, lack of communication between actors. The teachers Anders (T1) and Margareta (T3) suggested that the system of competitive bidding between actors and the economic incentives of these actors, could lead to deteriorating quality of the services provided to migrants. Margareta said that;

“The number of different actors began to increase drastically five, six years ago. I personally believe this increase is due to that this

trade became more profitable with the last years increasing inflows of migrants. Competitive bidding and the procurement of services such as vocational training and Swedish classes is foremost about cutting down costs, and for the municipality to pay the lowest price”
(Margareta T3)

One of the main actors for the labor market integration of migrants is the Swedish Employment Agency. Several of the migrants who were interviewed criticize the agency for insufficient assistance;

“The employment agency did not help me to find job, they told me to do that myself, and when you have a job then we can give you support. But when you are new to Sweden you need help, it is a different system here in Sweden than in my home country. I was disappointed that I did not receive more help from the employment agency. So I found my own job” (Badr M4)

On the basis of the interviews, one key finding is that all migrants and teachers are critical towards how the Swedish system has managed to handle the talents and knowledge of migrants - their cultural capital. The interviewed migrants’ experience of the Swedish Employment Agency is that they have not received any employment through the agency and that they have to go through other channels to find jobs. When the migrants had just arrived to Sweden, some of them expressed in the interviews that they expected the Swedish Employment Agency to provide jobs for them, or at least guide them to available jobs. Since the Swedish Employment Agency has failed to find employment for the interviewed migrants, a few of them seem to have become more passive in their job seeking, while others managed to independently find a job. Fatima (M5) expressed a disappointment in the lack of assistance from the Swedish Employment Agency;

“During the two years that I was unemployed, I had no activities arranged by the employment agency. For other migrants who arrive here, I think it would be good if the employment agency helped them to find a job” (Fatima M5)

The slow process of booking meetings with the administrators at the employment agency and the actual assistance provided by them, were aspects criticized by the students. Badr (M3) stated that;

“I have tried to arrange a meeting with my former employment administrator and I had to wait like one month before I got a reply on e-mail or sms. It is incredible! If I did not have my own motivation, then I would have been home the whole time, not working like many others do if they have tried to get help from the employment agency, but not received any” (Badr M3)

During the one year Analiza (M2) was unemployed in 2013, she asked the Swedish Employment Agency to assign her to labor market training, but the agency said no, with the response that such trainings was intended for long-term unemployed individuals without labor market experience. The employment agency also told her that such training was pricey and that they therefore could not finance such labor market training for her. Like in the case for Analiza, Badr (M3) also suggested to the Swedish Employment Agency that he could begin vocational training after he became unemployed. The agency refused saying he had not been unemployed for long enough to be prioritized by them;

“They told me that it was not possible to be referred by them Until I had been unemployed for minimum one year, only after that year could I begin to queue to get into the vocational training. I asked them if they thought it was good if I went home and did nothing for a year, like many others that I know do, until they would pay the vocational training for me? I believe this is a huge problem in the system. I did not want to be unemployed for a year, just so that the employment agency would pay my vocational training and a-kassa (unemployment benefits). Therefore I decided it was worth it to take CSN study grants and to work extra in order to afford to study the vocational training” (Badr M3)

Instead of passively letting time pass with unemployment benefits in order to wait for the Swedish Employment Service to pay them for going to the vocational training, Analiza (M2) and Badr (M3) decided to work extra in order to afford to attend the vocational training. These individuals were ambitious, and despite the incentive by the Swedish Employment Agency to receive unemployment benefits, they decided to themselves save the money needed to afford the vocational training. But perhaps other individuals in their case would have remained unemployed, instead of financing their studies by working extra.

5.8 Discussion

The analysis has discussed the realities of the interviewed migrants, examining their labor market trajectories and their experiences of the Swedish educational system. The main findings of the analysis will be presented in this concluding section.

“If you struggle and look for jobs, I think it is easy to find. But if you wait for the Employment Agency, there is no chance you will get a job!” (Analiza M2)

Many migrants who were interviewed said that imperfect skill transferability was noticeable for them, and that their educational qualifications or their institutionalized cultural capital had not been recognized, but rather devalued in Sweden. Some of the students who were interviewed also described how they had even felt discouraged in their professional ambitions since their arrival in Sweden. The many obstacles lead to some migrants resigning in their attempts to have their educational and professional skills acknowledged in Sweden and valued by Swedish employers. A few of them became apathetic in their attempts in finding a job, and either ended up in unemployment or in a profession they are overqualified for. Many of the interviewed students appear to be aware of what Bourdieu referred to as ‘the cost of migration’ (Bourdieu, 1991). For some of the interviewed migrants, such as Fatima (S5) and Lalita (S7), the cost of migration caused a loss of their professional life. Although they worked prior to their migration to Sweden, Fatima and Lalita are now long-term unemployed almost ten years after arrival in Sweden. Djuve (2008) discussed how many migrants fail to enter the Swedish labor market and end up in ‘border zones’, from which it is difficult to re-enter the labor force.

The present system of integration demands that migrants are ambitious in learning Swedish, and forward-looking and active in their quest for jobs. Many of the migrants interviewed in this study can be described as success stories, since they have managed to complete the necessary courses in Swedish For Immigrants in order to enter the vocational training. Many of them entered the Swedish labor market at an early stage after arriving in Sweden. A few of them work full-time while simultaneously studying full-time at the vocational training courses. Colic-Peisker & Tilbury (2007) described goal-oriented migrants, who are prepared to work hard in order to rebuild their social and occupational status and become fluent in the local language, as ‘achievers’. ‘Achievers’ is indeed a fitting description of the students who are interviewed in this study. All of the interviewed students

arrived in Sweden when they were adults and had therefore already completed schooling in their home country. To have a fair chance of establishing themselves on the Swedish labor market, they needed to complement their education, which demands an extra effort. Some of the migrants have children to support or other family members in their home countries, while others have previous loans to pay off. The interview findings show that a few of the students work part or full-time in addition to the vocational training. This is the case of Badr (M3) who apart from attending the full-time vocational training courses, works extra since he feels obliged to support his family in his home country. Analiza (M2) also has a large family in her home country to provide for. She has found work in Sweden since her arrival, by being proactive and approaching companies. She does not have difficulties in securing work in Sweden, but plans to utilize the vocational training as a stepping stone from unskilled to skilled job positions. In line with Analiza, Estefania (M4) has worked since her arrival in Sweden and has independently managed to find job positions. Estefania, had despite her lower level of education, secured a job immediately after arrival in Sweden and has worked ever since. They appear to have compensated their lack of Swedish skills with an active approach to job seeking. Badr (M3) told a similar story of how he managed to stay employed since his arrival in Sweden.

The migrants who previously had been or were employed at the time of the interviews, had managed to find jobs even when they were newly arrived to Sweden, and had little knowledge in the Swedish language. None of them had heard of the job by being referred through a friend or other social contact. The literature overview emphasized social networks for the labor market establishment of migrants (Behtoui, 2006). The interview findings however showed that apart from the migrants who are currently employed, the interviewed migrants do not possess work-related connections. The relations of the migrants were of same national origin as themselves, except for the Swedish spouses that some of the migrants were married to. The ability that some of the migrants possessed, to independently navigate in a field that they were newly arrived to, was a contributing or perhaps the decisive factor for their success. Despite a lack of assistance from the Swedish Employment Agency, and a lack of Swedish skills and work-related connections that could lead to jobs, their own ability and hard work has taken them far. Many were deprived of their previous qualifications from their home countries upon arrival in Sweden, but through effort and struggle managed to enter a new career path in the vocational training. Bourdieu (1992, p.232) wrote that migration is “paid for by labor, by effort and especially by time.”

Migrants who need to provide for their families and who struggle with two jobs might not have the opportunity to attend SFI classes and improve their Swedish, in order to get the job he or she actually is qualified for. Learning the local language is perhaps the most important cultural capital for migrants in a new country, meaning the ability to speak and write comprehensible Swedish. As concluded in the interviews, except for the migrants with a native partner, many migrants do not have any Swedish-speaking individuals in their social networks to practice the new language with. A childbearing woman busy with household and family duties, who is not part of other networks or circles than the family, might not have the possibility to practice Swedish with anyone or to develop a social network, and therefore can have difficulties in entering the labor market. Migrants' realities in Sweden often do not give them a fair chance to become what they once were in their home countries. A doctor finds himself working as driver for a subway, while a dentist is retrained to work as a mechanic. What Bourdieu referred to as 'the cost of migration' is apparent in the interview findings of this study (Bourdieu, 1993).

6 Conclusion

This exploratory investigation has discovered that the foreign acquired competencies of the interviewed migrants are often not acknowledged in the Swedish system, which hinders the migrants from entering the Swedish labor market in positions matching their qualifications, or at all. Many individuals migrating to Sweden are compelled to give up their pre-migration career. This study has given examples of the deskilling of migrants' work and educational qualifications, and discussed both legitimate and illegitimate reasons for this.

The study examined the transferability of educational qualifications through the theory of institutionalized cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1990; 1993), and concludes that migrating to Sweden often leads to a reduced institutionalized cultural capital and a setback in career. This sacrifice of cultural capital is not just a loss for the individual migrant, but for Swedish society at large. If migrants' educational qualifications are to be transferred to the new society, they often need to be complemented or transformed with formal and informal skills in the destination country. However, migrants who have already invested time and money into an education and/or career in their home countries, might not be motivated or financially able to resume or complement their studies to match the demands of the Swedish labor market. The migrants' career trajectories are shaped by several factors, such as their

financial situation, surrounding cultural and social relations. This thesis examined the social capital and social networks of migrants, in terms of their importance for the labor market establishment of migrants. The social networks of the interviewed migrants were dominated by individuals with same national origin as the migrants themselves. The migrants appeared to lack work-related contacts, and therefore missed out on this important social capital for labor market establishment, as discussed in previous research (Olli-Segendorf, 2005; Svantesson, 2006a; Lindgren, 2010; Behtoui & Neergard, 2011).

This thesis argues that there are structural hindrances as to why the foreign acquired qualifications of many migrants are not valued on equal terms as education attained in Sweden. The skills required in the Swedish labor market, the preferences of employers and the individual are part of the negotiations that shape the labor market outcomes for migrants. The literature reviewed concluded that a Swedish-native sounding name could improve migrants' chances of being called to a job interview. However, it is not reasonable to expect a migrant to change their name in order to improve his or her position on the labor market. One could argue that hidden in the Swedish structure, namely in the institutions and employers valuing foreign acquired credentials, lies intolerance for what is foreign and what is different, and a perception that the Swedish educational system and institutions are superior to other countries. Discrimination towards foreign acquired education ultimately affects who ends up with the most attractive job positions. Migrants are welcomed into low paid professions in the Swedish labor market, and highly educated migrants are often seen working in professions they are overqualified for. Logically, a foreign acquired education should be expected to benefit the labor market establishment of migrants in Sweden. It is a paradox that despite the demand of e.g. educated doctors in the Swedish labor market, there are foreign educated migrants in Sweden who are not allowed to work within the profession. Sweden are importing doctors from other European countries, while we have doctors from developing countries who are Swedish citizens and currently living in Sweden. Bauder (2003) in the Canadian context discussed the creation of a 'secondary job market' for migrants, parallels could be drawn to the Swedish labor market. According to the interview findings in this thesis, and as seen in previous studies (Mattson, 2001; Mella & Salmonsson, 2013), the skills of migrants are often not perceived as valuable in the Swedish labor market. The question is; can Sweden afford to dismiss the foreign competencies of migrants?

It is not due to the attributes of migrants that many end up in unemployment in the labor market. Swedish labor market policies need to be altered to appreciate the strengths of migrants, and to capture their skills and qualifications. If the labor market does not accept

diversity of who can participate in it, it leads to an exclusion of people newly arrived to Sweden, and ultimately to that social hierarchies and power structures in the labor market and society are reinforced. In a war-tormented world, Sweden provides a safe haven for many humanitarian refugees fleeing from conflict-ridden countries. Migrants who become Swedish citizens are given the same formal rights as other nationals. In terms of giving migrants a fair chance in establishing themselves in society and on the Swedish labor market, several improvements should be carried out. The brain waste of foreign labor force should be investigated further by Swedish authorities, and the system should be improved in order to guarantee a fairer treatment of the migrants' skills and qualifications.

In its current shape, the system appears to be created for migrants with an exceptional ability, referred to in this study as 'achievers' (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). The interviewed migrants testify about the insufficient assistance from the Swedish Employment Agency, the issues of learning the Swedish language without knowing a Swedish person to practice with, and the difficulties in having their foreign qualifications acknowledged. Many migrants arriving in Sweden have difficulties in establishing in the labor market and in society overall. Arriving in an unfamiliar society, many migrants end up in unemployment and social exclusion. In order to facilitate the changed life situation of migrants, and ensure that the competencies of each individual migrant are unlocked, a well-functioning system receiving and providing services for the migrants is crucial.

6.1 Future Research

This master thesis has discovered that the foreign acquired competencies of interviewed migrants are often not acknowledged in the Swedish system, which hinders the migrants from entering the Swedish labor market in positions matching their qualifications, or at all. Previous studies indicates similar results. The finding of this thesis is therefore believed to be transferable beyond this study. The reader of this thesis must however be aware that the decision to use Bourdieuian concepts of capital and field implied certain limitations and adaptations of the concepts, for the applicability to the specific context of this study. The theories used in this study were chosen since they were considered to be best suited to analyze the interviews and literature review of this study. The elements that were selected from the Bourdieuian concepts, form a vital part of this thesis. The use of a different theoretical framework could however be interesting for future research, in order to achieve a different focus.

Keeping in mind the background of this study being a master thesis, the limited time and resources resulted in eleven interviews. Although the interviews provided valuable insights into migrants' perceptions of the Swedish system of integration and education, a larger amount of interviews could have provided additional perspectives. While this study focused on the experiences of migrants and teachers at vocational training courses, it would for future research be interesting to hear other actors involved in the labor market establishment of migrants in Sweden. For example, teachers at SFI and administrators at the Swedish Employment Agency would certainly provide valuable insights into the topic at hand. The group in focus in this study are migrants attending vocational training, a focus which included a wide scope of backgrounds of the interviewees. The migrants' educational levels and reasons for migrating to Sweden differed greatly, resulting in a diverse and rich interview material. For future research this wide range of migrants' backgrounds could be complemented with a specific focus on a certain group of migrants, such as refugees or migrants with a higher educational level. The knowledge gained in this thesis, in combination with other studies, could raise awareness of the situation for migrants already living in Sweden, and for those arriving in the future. Future research examining the issue of the devaluation of migrants' foreign qualifications is needed.

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Appendix 1: Profiles of Interviewees

Table 1. Interview Profile of the Interviewed Students

Fictive name	Continent of origin	Gender f/m	Year of arrival noted in 3 year intervals*	Migration due to	Age rounded off to intervals of 5 years*	Pre-migration education	Languages spoken	Work experience	Post-migration vocation training related to students previous educational or work background in Sweden or in country of origin?
Emmanuel M1	Africa	m	2009-11	Humanitarian reasons	35	4 years of dental university	4	2 month internship in Sweden	No
Analiza M2	Asia	f	2003-05	Marriage	35	2 years university studies to become a mathematics teacher	4	Worked since arrival in Sweden	No
Badr M3	Africa	m	2009-11	Marriage	30	2 years university studies in tourism	4	1 year from country of origin & worked since arrival in Sweden	No
Estefania M4	South America	f	2003-05	Marriage	40	9 years elementary school	3	Few years from home country & worked since arrival to Sweden	No
Fatima M5	Asia	f	2006-08	Humanitarian reasons	35	9 years of schooling	3	Few years from country of origin	No
Kodjo M6	Africa	m	2003-05	Marriage	35	upper secondary school	5	Entrepreneur in country of origin	No
Lalita M7	Asia	f	2006-08	Marriage	35	6 years elementary school	3	Few years from country of origin	Yes

Source: interviews conducted between 12th and 30th of March 2015

* to ensure anonymity of interviewees

Table 2. Interview Profile of the Interviewed Teachers

Fictive name	Job title	Gender f/m	Years spent working in professional field noted in intervals of ten years*	Work tasks
Anders T1	Educational consultant & teacher	m	20-30 years	Planning and scheduling the vocational training and teaching the vocational students. Keeping contact with clients such as the Swedish Employment Agency.
Johan T2	Educational consultant & teacher	m	10-20 years	Planning and scheduling the vocational training and teaching the vocational students. Keeping contact with clients such as the Swedish Employment Agency.
Margareta T3	Educational consultant & teacher	f	10-20 years	Responsible for all the vocational training in the specific vocational field in the county of Skåne. Planning, scheduling, teaching, and some accounting. Keeping contact with clients such as the Swedish Employment Agency.

Source: interviews conducted between 6th of March and 10th of April 2015

* to ensure anonymity of interviewees

Migrants

Emmanuel M1: Student pilot interview 1, 12/3 2015.

Pilot interview with male student at vocational training D. Emmanuel is around 30 years with his origins in the African continent. He fled due to humanitarian reasons to Sweden with his family between 2009-11. Emmanuel studied four years of dentistry at a university in his home country and speaks four languages. The interviewee made many efforts to validate his four years university studies at dentistry school, but claims this was not possible. He was requested by Swedish school authorities to re-do both his university and upper secondary level school studies in Sweden. After arrival to Sweden Emmanuel joined a soccer team which was mixed with native Swedes and foreign born, and he made his first acquaintances there. He has many acquaintances that are foreign born, and says that Swedish people are a bit cold and hard to get to know. Apart from studying SFI he conducted a two months long internship at a catering company as a method of practicing Swedish.

Analiza M2: Student interview 2, 25/3 2015.

Interview with female student from Asia at around 35 years, attending vocational training E. Analiza studied for twelve years in her home country, including two years at university to become a teacher in mathematics. She speaks four languages and moved to Sweden between 2004-06 to marry a Swedish citizen. During her SFI studies she found an internship which led to a two year-long employment at a company. She has been employed since arrival to Sweden, except one year when she was on maternity leave. She said that for her it was in many ways beneficial to have achieved a speedy labor market establishment. Her Swedish skills were benefitted from chit-chat with colleagues at her workplace, and she has been able to financially support her family with the salary earned. In Sweden she has made friends from her own country and acquaintances from different countries. After completion of the vocational studies she dreams about continuing her studies to become an engineer.

Badr M3: Student interview 3, 25/3 2015.

Interview with male student from Africa attending vocational training E. Badr moved to Sweden in between 2009-11 due to marriage to a Swedish citizen. He is around 30 years old and has fourteen years of education from his home country including two years of university studies in tourism. He speaks four languages and has one year of work experience as a check-in agent at an airport in his home country, a job he wished to continue in after his arrival in Sweden, but was not able to. After two months in Sweden he found his first job as washer-up at a restaurant and has been employed since then, later becoming a cleaner. He attended SFI

studies in combination with full time work, and concurrently with the vocational training he works at two jobs to be able to support himself and his family back home. He attends the vocational training in order to “become more than a cleaner in Sweden” (Badr M3). Since his arrival to Sweden he has made both foreign born and native Swedish friends in school and at work places.

Estefania M4: Student interview 4, 24/3 2015.

Interview with the female student Estefania from South America at vocational training A. She is around 40 years old and moved to Sweden between 2003-05 due to a marriage to a Swedish citizen. Before arriving in Sweden Estefania studied elementary school and has a few years of work experience from her home country. Currently she knows two languages apart from Swedish. Except for the time spent on brief SFI studies and one year long maternity leave, she has been employed since her arrival to Sweden. In Sweden she has made friends from her country of origin, who she met in the shopping mall Triangeln in Malmö. She also made native born Swedish friends from her workplace during her first employment as a cook’s assistant. After a few years in Sweden she remarried to a native-Swedish man.

Fatima M5: Student interview 5, 26/3 2015.

Interview with female student from Asia at vocational training C. Fatima is around 35 years old and has eleven years of schooling from her home country, but failed to complete upper secondary level school. She speaks three languages and has a few years of work experience in the manufacturing sector from her country of origin. She fled with her sister to Sweden due to humanitarian reasons between 2006-08. Fatima studied at upper secondary level school in Sweden and later conducted a few months long internship. She has also worked as a cleaner for a few months. Out of her nearly ten years in Sweden she has been employed one, been unemployed two years, and has studied upper secondary level school and SFI the remaining years. While she has a husband and friend from her home country, she has no native Swedish acquaintances and has difficulties learning the Swedish language.

Kodjo M6: Student interview 6, 30/3 2015.

Interview with a male student from Africa at vocational training D. Kodjo is around 35 years old and was an entrepreneur in his country of origin in the entertainment industry. He conducted twelve years of schooling in country of origin and speaks five languages. He migrated to Sweden between 2003-05 due to marriage to a Swedish citizen, and has worked full-time since then, simultaneously with SFI studies. Kodjo dreams about returning to his home country and starting his own business in the vocation he is currently training for.

Lalita M7: Student interview 7, 26/3 2015.

Interview with female student from Asia at vocational training C at an age around 35 years. Lalita attended a six year long schooling in her country of origin, speaks three language and has a few years of work experience in the service sector from her country of origin. She migrated to Sweden between 2006-08 due to marriage to a Swedish citizen. She studied SFI and elementary school in Sweden before attending the current vocational training. Lalita has never worked since her arrival in Sweden but has studied and been on maternity leave for her two children. She made friends from the same national background as herself, but has no native Swedish friends except for her husband. Lalita has difficulties learning Swedish perfectly and securing an employment. She hopes that the vocational training will give her a change to work in service sector as she did in her country of origin. She said that the different language and culture in Sweden sometimes make her miss her previous life in her home country.

Teachers

Anders T1: Teacher pilot interview 23/3 and second interview 6/3 2015.

I conducted two interviews with a male teacher at vocational training who has worked as a teacher for around thirty years. His formal title is an educational consultant, and his work tasks include teaching, planning and scheduling the vocational training, and keeping in contact with clients. He is passionate about his job and seeing students learn and improve.

Johan T2: Teacher interview 3, 8/4 2015.

Interview with male teacher at vocational training B. Johan is an educational consultant and has worked as a teacher on the vocational training as an educational association for around fifteen years. His work tasks are to plan the vocational training and to teach students. Other work duties include keeping in touch with clients. Johan is interested in seeing the development of students.

Margareta T3: Teacher interview 4, 10/4 2015.

Interview with female teacher at vocational training C. Margareta has the formal title of an educational consultant and has worked for an educational association for around fifteen years. She is responsible for all the vocational trainings for that association in the country of Skåne within the specific professional field. Her work tasks include teaching, planning, contact with clients, and some accounting. Margareta is passionate about the development of students, and seeing them succeeding in securing work.

Appendix 2: Interview Requests in English

Interview request sent to teachers

"Hello,

My name is Elin Lorentzson and study my last and final year at a master program in welfare policies and management at Lund University. I am currently writing my master thesis, and write to you to express my interest in interviewing students at vocational training at a upper secondary level school level. I am looking for students that are the first generation of migrants, meaning that they are not born in Sweden. They should be currently enrolled or already have completed a vocational training at a upper secondary level school level. I would like to conduct the interviews during the months of March or April. The interviews are estimated to take around one hour, and the interview respondents as well as the vocational school will remain anonymous throughout the study. If responsible staff for the vocational training approves of my study, I would like that teachers at the vocational training could ask their students fitting the interview criteria if they would be interested in participating in an interview. I would appreciate this since my thesis is built on the method of interviews.

My choice to interview students enrolled or that completed a vocational training is based on the fact that these trainings often lead to an employment. The focus of my study is however not on the vocational training in itself or how as a school conduct the vocational training. The study focus will be on the experiences from the educational system and integration policies that the students that are the first generation of migrants have since their arrival to Sweden. In order to be accepted to the vocational training, the students are required to have completed courses in Swedish for migrants as well as elementary school. They therefore possess experiences from the Swedish systems of integration and education, experiences that I would to capture in my interviews.

If you would like a more detailed description of my research focus and the planned interviews I attach a detailed draft in this e-mail covering these topics. If you have any questions you are more than welcome to contact me or my supervisor of the thesis, associate professor XXXXXXXX at the Department of Sociology of Lund University. He can be reached at his cellphone number XXXXXX or via e-mail XXXXXX.

Looking forward to your reply,

Best regards

Elin Lorentzson, Telephone. XXXXXXXXX, E-mail. XXXXXXXX^c

Information About the Study to Students and Teachers

Let the interviewee read the following information and also verbally explain the content. Assure that the respondent has understood the information.

Verbal and written information about the participation in the interview

My name is Elin Lorentzson and I am writing my master thesis and am conducting interviews as part of my thesis. The purpose with the study and the interview is to learn about the Swedish integration and educational system through the eyes of individuals with migrant background. The interview questions in this interview will discuss these topics. The interview will take around one hour. The information you reveal in the interview will remain anonymous, as well as your identity and personal characteristics. Nothing you say in the interview will be able to trace back to you or to the vocational school. The completed thesis will be published online and available for the public. The information you reveal in the interview might be utilized, and might be quoted in the thesis.

You have the right to refrain from answering questions, to interrupt an ongoing interview, or after conducted interview withdraw your participation. You also have the right to have a copy of the completed thesis sent to you, to verify the how the interview material was utilized.

Since I do not have the possibility to fast enough write down interview notes, I would appreciate if you would allow me to record the interview with a voice recorder. The recording will only be available and listened to by me. The recording will be erased once the thesis is completed.

If you do not agree to any of these terms you have the right to not participate in the interview. If you agree to these terms, the interview can be carried out. For any queries or objections after completion of the interview you can contact me:

Name: Elin Lorentzson

E-mail: XXXXXXXXXX”

Appendix 3: Interview Requests in Swedish

Interview Requests Sent to Teachers

”Hej,

Jag heter Elin Lorentzson och går sista året på min master i welfare policies and management vid Lunds Universitet. Jag skriver nu min master-thesis, och skriver till er då jag skulle vilja intervju elever som är första generations invandrare och som går eller som har genomfört en yrkesutbildning på gymnasial nivå. Med första generationens invandrare menas att de inte är födda i Sverige. Jag skulle gärna vilja genomföra intervjuer med någon eller några elever under mars eller april månad. Intervjuerna tar cirka en timme, och de elever jag intervjuar, samt skolan som yrkesutbildningen arrangeras på, kommer förbli anonyma i min studie. Om det går bra för ansvariga på Yrkesutbildningen skulle jag vilja att t.ex lärare på utbildningen kan kolla om det finns något intresse hos elever att delta i en intervju. Det skulle verkligen uppskattas då min uppsats bygger på intervjuer.

Jag har valt att intervju elever som går yrkesutbildningar då dessa ofta leder till jobb. Dock ska fokus i mina intervjuer inte ligga på utbildningen i sig, utan det jag vill fokusera på i intervjuerna är första generationens invandrares erfarenheter av svensk integrationspolitik och utbildningssystem. Jag ska alltså inte studera hur ni bedriver yrkesutbildningen, utan är intresserad av de kunskaper som elever som är relativt nyanlända till Sverige har fått på vägen dit. För att bli behörig till utbildningen har de antagligen gått på SFI och andra studieförberedande utbildningar, och fått med sig erfarenheter av det svenska utbildnings- och integrationssystemet, erfarenheter som jag skulle vilja fånga i mina intervjuer.

Om du skulle vilja läsa mer utförligt om mitt forskningsfokus bifogar jag i detta mail ett utkast på min frågeställning och vad jag hoppas få ut av intervjuerna.

Om du har några frågor är du välkommen att höra av dig till mig, eller till min handledare för uppsatsen, XXXXXXXX, Universitetslektor i Sociologi vid Lunds Universitet, telefon: XXX-XXXXXXX, e-post: XXXXXXXXX@soc.lu.se

Tacksam för svar,

Vänliga hälsningar

Elin Lorentzson’

Student vid Master in Welfare Policies and Management på Lunds Universitet

Mobil: XXXX-XXXXXX

E-post: XXXXXXXXXX”

Information About the Study for Students and Teachers

Låt informanten läsa följande information och förklara den även muntligt, samt försäkra dig om att han eller hon har förstått innehördens i informationen.

Skriftlig och muntlig information om intervjudeltagande

”Jag heter Elin Lorentzson och skriver min masteruppsats och gör intervjuer som en del av min uppsats. Syftet med studien och intervjun är att lära mer om de erfarenheter som individer med flyktingbakgrund har av det svenska integrations- och utbildningssystemet. Intervjuer med lärare vid yrkesutbildningar kommer även att intervjuas om hur elever med invandrark bakgrund klarar utbildningen. Intervjufrågorna i denna intervju kommer att handla om dessa ämnen. Intervjun kommer att ta ungefär en timme att genomföra. Allt du berättar i intervjun kommer att förbli anonymt och kommer inte kunna spåras till dig. Din identitet och personliga kännetecken, såsom ditt namn, ditt ursprung, eller skolan kommer att hemlighållas genom hela studien (Forskningsrådet 2011, 43). Den färdiga uppsatsen kommer att publiceras online, och kommer att finnas tillgänglig för allmänheten. Informationen du lämnar i intervjun kan komma att användas i den färdiga uppsatsen, och det du säger kan komma att citeras.

Du har rätt att avstå från att svara på frågor, avbryta pågående intervju, eller ångra din delaktighet efter genomförd intervju. Du kommer få min mail-adress om du efter genomförd intervju ångrar din delaktighet och inte vill att jag använder din intervju. Du har också rätt att få en kopia på den färdiga avhandlingen skickad till dig, för att försäkra dig om hur intervjumaterialet har använts.

Jag har inte har möjlighet att snabbt nog kunna anteckna ner intervjun på papper, och skulle därför uppskatta om jag fick spela in intervjun med en ljudinsplare. Det är endast jag som kommer att lyssna på inspelningen. Inspelningen kommer att raderas efter avhandlingen är färdigställd (Forskningsrådet 2011, 43).

Om du inte samtycker till något av ovanstående så behöver du inte genomföra intervjun. Om du ger ditt samtycke så kan intervjun genomföras. Om du har frågor eller invändningar efter genomförd intervju kan du kontakta mig:

Namn: Elin Lorentzson

E-mail: XXXXXXXXXXXX”

Appendix 4: Interview Guides in English

Interview Guide: Students

The background of the interview respondent

How old are you?

Which country do you come from?

Which year did you arrive to Sweden?

Were you living in a city or on the countryside?

How many years did you go to school before coming to Sweden? Which level of education do you have?

Do you have any working experience from your country of origin?

Before migrating to Sweden, what was your occupation in your country of origin?

Did you arrive here by yourself or did you move here with friends/family?

Did you already know someone living in Sweden when you moved here?

What is your mother tongue?

Except Swedish and your mother tongue, do you speak other languages?

After the notification of permanent residence permit

Did you live by yourself or together with someone?

In what neighborhood did you receive an accommodation?

Did you get good contact with your neighbors?

Did you make friends during your first time in Sweden? If yes, in what context did you meet them? If yes, are your friends foreign born or born in Sweden?

Information about the Swedish society

Did you receive any education about the Swedish society?

If yes, how was this education organized?

Swedish for migrants (SFI)

Were you offered classes in Swedish for migrants (SFI)?

If yes, how long did it take to get a seat?

How was the Swedish classes organized? How many hours per week? How many students per teacher?

Did you feel that the pace of the Swedish lectures suitable for you?

Was it possible to receive tutoring in your mother tongue as a way to facilitate the learning of Swedish?

During this time, did you have any person to practice the Swedish language with?

Did you pass the courses in Swedish for migrants? To which level?

If yes, which factors contributed to that you succeeded?

Job coaching

Were you assigned a job coach/employment officer at the employment agency?

If yes, what help did you receive from him/her?

Labor market preparing education/internship

Were you offered any labor market preparing education or internship?

If yes, how was this education/internship organized?

Could you visit a work place?

Did you get in touch a contact person at a work place that you could turn to if you have questions?

Elementary and/or upper secondary level school in Sweden (for the students studying this in Sweden)

How was your experiences of studying the elementary/upper secondary level school in Sweden?

How long time did it take for you to complete it?

Was it possible to combine the Swedish for migrants with the elementary/upper secondary level school?

Vocational training at a upper secondary level school level

How did you come up with the idea to study a vocational training?

For how long have you attended the vocational training?

How do you like the vocational training?

Did you make friends on the vocational training?

What is your goal with the training?

Do you believe that you will receive an employment after completion of the training?

Swedish language in the vocational training

Do you believe that your level in the Swedish language is sufficient to complete the training?

Have you received any extra support in the Swedish language during the training?

If yes, which actor is organizing these courses in Swedish?

The path towards the labor market

Do you have any work while you are studying?

How important is having a work for you?

Since your arrival to Sweden, have there been times when you have been unemployed?

Did you do any other activities when you were unemployed?

Do you know someone in Sweden who could offer you a job?

Labor market

Do you believe it is going to be easy or difficult to receive a job after completion of the vocational training?

Do you believe that you will like your future profession?

Do you want to work in Skåne or could you consider to move somewhere else in order to receive an employment?

The new life in Sweden

In general, how do you like your life in Sweden?

Do you know any person here that you could turn to in case you have a problem or if you have a query?

If you have friends in Sweden, how did you meet them?

Are you a member of any organization, such as a sports association or a religious association?

Final comment

Thank the interviewee for participating in the interview.

Interview Guide: Teachers

The education

What admission requirements do you have?

How long is the vocational training?

How much time do the students spend in school?

Is internship part of the education?

Students with migrant backgrounds

How large share of the students at the vocational trainings have a migrant background?

How large share of the students already have experience in the professional field?

What Swedish level does the average student with migrant background have?

Do you consider that their knowledge in Swedish is sufficient to complete the education?

If not, what needs improvement?

The system

Do you consider that the current system with vocational training functions well?

On average, how large share of the students with migrant backgrounds receive an employment after completion of the vocational education?

Do you think that this figure could be increased? If yes, in what manner?

How does the vocational training work in relation to the SFI/Swedish courses with a vocational direction? Could the system in general be improved in any way?

Final comment

Thank the interviewee for participating in the interview.

Appendix 5: Interview Guides in Swedish

Interview Guide: Students

Informantens bakgrund

Hur gammal är du?

Vilket land kommer du ifrån?

Levde du i en storstad eller på landet?

Hur många år har du gått i skolan? Vilken nivå av utbildning har du?

Har du någon arbetslivserfarenhet från ditt hemland?

Innan du migrerade till Sverige, vad hade du för sysselsättning i ditt hemland?

Vilket år kom du till Sverige?

Kom du till Sverige själv eller flydde du hit med vänner/familj?

Kände du någon som redan bodde i Sverige?

Vilket är ditt modersmål?

Förutom svenska och ditt modersmål, kan du några fler språk?

Efter beskedet om uppehållstillstånd

Bodde du själv eller delade du bostad med någon?

I vilket område fick du boende i?

Fick du/har du bra kontakt med dina grannar?

Fick du vänner under din första tid i Sverige? I så fall, i vilket sammanhang träffade du dem?

Var dessa vänner födda i Sverige eller utomlands?

Samhällsorienterande utbildning

Fick du någon utbildning om hur det svenska samhället ser ut? Till exempel hur den svenska arbetsmarknaden fungerar?

Hur var i så fall denna utbildning upplagd?

Svenskaundervisning (SFI)

Blev du erbjuten svenskaundervisning och hur lång tid tog det att få en plats?

Hur var i så fall denna undervisning upplagd? Hur många lektionstimmar per vecka? Hur många elever per lärare?

Kände du att svenskaundervisningen skedde i en takt som passade dig?

Fanns det möjlighet att få tillgång till svenskaundervisning med en lärare som även behärskade ditt modersmål?

Hade du någon person som kunde bra svenska som du kunde träna med?

Klarade du SFI-kurserna? Till vilken nivå?

Vilka faktorer var det i så fall som gjorde att du klarade dem?

Jobbcoaching

Blev du tilldelad en arbetsförmedlare/etableringscoach på arbetsförmedlingen?

I så fall, hur pass mycket hjälp fick du av honom/henne?

Arbetsmarknadsförberedande utbildning/praktik

Blev du erbjuden någon typ av arbetsmarknadsförberedande utbildning?

Hur var i så fall denna utbildning upplagd?

Fick ni besöka någon arbetsplats?

Fick du någon kontaktperson på någon arbetsplats som du kunde vända dig till med frågor?

Grundskola och gymnasium (för de elever som läst detta i Sverige)

Om du läste in din grundskola/högstadie- och/eller gymnasieutbildning i Sverige, hur var det att läsa in den/dem?

På vilket sätt läste du in den? Gick det att kombinera med SFI (Svenska För Invandrare)?

Yrkesutbildning på gymnasial nivå

Hur kom du på idén att läsa en yrkesutbildning?

Hur länge har du gått på yrkesutbildningen?

Hur trivs du på utbildningen?

Har du fått nya kompisar på utbildningen?

Vad är ditt mål med utbildningen?

Tror du att du kommer få ett jobb inom det du studerar på din yrkesutbildning?

Svenska i utbildningen

Tycker du att din nivå på svenska räcker till för att klara utbildningen?

Får du något extra stöd i svenska, till exempel kurser i yrkessvenska?

Vem är i så fall arrangör till denna?

Vägen in på arbetsmarknaden

Jobbar du vid sidan om utbildningen?

Hur viktigt är det för dig att ha ett jobb?

Sedan du kom till Sverige, har du det varit perioder då du varit arbetslös?

Hade du några andra aktiviteter då du var arbetslös?

Känner du någon i Sverige som skulle kunna ge dig ett jobb?

Arbetsmarknad

Tror du att det blir lätt eller svårt att hitta ett jobb efter du är klar med din utbildning?

Tror du att du kommer trivas i din framtida yrkesroll?

Vill du skaffa ett jobb i Skåne när du är klar eller skulle du hellre vilja bo och jobba någon annanstans?

Det nya livet i Sverige

Hur trivs du i Sverige överlag?

Har du någon person här du kan vända dig till om du har problem eller undrar över något?

Om du har vänner i Sverige, var har du träffat dem?

Är du med i någon typ av förening/organisation som till exempel en idrottsklubb eller religiös förening?

Det svenska systemet

Tycker du att det svenska utbildningssystemet fungerar på ett bra sätt?

Tycker du att det svenska systemet har lyckats med att ta vara på din erfarenhet och talanger?

Tycker du att du har lyckats förverkliga dina drömmar i Sverige? Om så inte är fallet, vad har hindrat dig?

Om du ser dig själv i framtiden, hur skulle du vilja ha ditt liv?

Är det något som du tycker borde förbättras för andra invandrare som kommer till Sverige i framtiden?

Avslut

Tacka för att du fick genomföra intervjun.

Interview Guide: Teachers

Utbildningen

Vad har ni för antagningskrav?

Hur lång är utbildningen?

Hur mycket tid tillbringar eleverna i skolan?

Gör de praktik som del av utbildningen?

Eleverna med flyktingbakgrund

Hur stor andel av eleverna på utbildningen har flyktingbakgrund?

Hur stor andel av eleverna har redan erfarenhet inom yrkesområdet?

Vilken nivå på svenska har den genomsnittliga eleven med flyktingbakgrund?

Tycker du att deras svenskanivå är tillräcklig för att de ska kunna tillgodogöra sig yrkesutbildningen på bästa sätt?

Om inte, vad behöver generellt förbättras?

Systemet

Hur anser du att det nuvarande systemet med yrkesutbildningen fungerar?

I genomsnitt hur många av eleverna med flyktingbakgrund på er utbildning får jobb efter att ha slutfört utbildningen?

Tror du att denna siffra skulle höjas, i så fall på vilket sätt?

Hur fungerar yrkesutbildningen i relation till SFI/yrkessvenska?

Om systemet skulle kunna förbättras överlag, har du förslag på förändringar?

Avslut

Tacka för att du fick genomföra intervjun.