CAREER GUIDANCE EDUCATION: HELPING RESETTLED REFUGEES PLAN FOR THEIR FUTURE

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This study looks at the vulnerable population of refugees, specifically refugee youth. Specific attention is paid to mental health issues, notions of belonging, adapting, and acculturation, and the potential role that career guidance education can play in positively impacting the mental health and long-term resettlement success of refugee youth. Results from a search of published literature and interviews with local resettlement organizations in Pittsburgh, PA are summarized. The findings show that the experiences of traumatic events in their country of origin and that life conditions in countries of resettlement, significantly impact the mental health and development of refugee health. Mental health conditions noted in refugee populations include post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety and depression. Evident in the literature is the hope that the role of education holds for refugee youth and the positive gains that a sense of school belonging has on their depression levels. Career guidance education curricula for general student populations in the United States, has multiple social, educational, and economic benefits. This study suggests that career guidance education curricula targeted to resettled refugee youth, could increase their sense of self-agency, self-efficacy, and empowerment thereby increasing feelings of overall well being and leading to long-term resettlement success. The issue of the status of refugee youths' mental health and the potential role that career guidance education can have in helping them understand, think about, and plan for their future is extremely salient to the field of public health. However, it is unknown whether or not career guidance education curricula would be relevant to

refugee youth due to differing cultural models dictating career choice and expectations. Recommendations for future research and program development addressing the health and well-being of refugee youth in the Pittsburgh area are provided.

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1.0   INTRODUCTION

At the end of 2006, there were 9.9 million global refugees (United Nations High Commissioner

for Refugees (UNHCR), 2006d). Of this total number, 41,053 refugees were resettled in the

United States in 2006 (Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR), Aug, 2007) and 1,335 were

resettled in the state of Pennsylvania (ORR, Sept, 2007). No age distribution is given specifically

for refugee groups, however, it is known that out of the total number of refugees worldwide, one-

half of them are children (UNHCR, 2006e). It can be estimated that approximately half of the

total number of refugees resettled in Pittsburgh were children. Due to the fact that youth make up

half of the total global number of refugees, special attention will be paid to them in this paper.

A focus of this thesis is how career guidance education relates to mental health of refugee

youth and how it can be used to help refugee youth plan for their future and assist with their

sense of belonging and adapting to their countries of resettlement. My interest in this topic was

sparked during my summer internship with the Field Learning Pathmaking Footsteps program.

This program is a collaboration between the East Liberty Presbyterian Church and the Islamic

Center of Pittsburgh and works with resettled refugee children, youth, and their parents in

helping acclimate them to life in Pittsburgh. To build upon their aim to increase resettled

refugees successful integration and adaptation to Pittsburgh, a career guidance education

component targeted to youth in grades 5-12 was planned. My involvement with the program was

to develop flash cards of health professional careers available in the Pittsburgh area, which

would include pictures of them in action, job description, schooling required, and salary. Future collaboration between the Behavioral and Community Health Sciences department and the Department of Education, Policy and Administrative Studies at the University of Pittsburgh, will continue this vein by adding a youth career summer camp and monthly career sessions.

To provide background on the potential impact that career guidance education can have on refugee youths' mental heath, this review will look at issues of mental health in refugees both globally and in countries of resettlement including notions of refugee belonging and adapting. It will also consider refugee views on education, and the history, theories and impact of career guidance education in the United States.

In seeking to understand the status of refugees worldwide and those in the United States, their resettlement process, mental health issues and sense of belonging and adaptation to countries of resettlement, this paper looks simultaneously at refugees in general including refugee adults and then considers more specifically how these concepts affect refugee youth. In so doing, this review adopts both a social ecological framework and life course perspective.

An ecological perspective "focuses on the nature of people's transactions with their physical and sociocultural surroundings" (Glanz et al., 2002) for it acknowledges that there are multiple levels that influence the behavior of individuals. The social ecological model therefore studies "the influence of the social context on behavior" (Glanz et al., 2002) by examining the levels of individual, interpersonal, organizational, community and macro-policy (Goodman, 2000).

A life course perspective "includes the study of biological, behavioral and psychosocial pathways that operate across a person's life course, as well as across generations, to influence health status" (Chittleborough et al., 2007). According to the World Health Organization (2004),

as "human health and development evolve throughout an individual's life….efforts to support growth and development across the 0-19 age group have, in addition to their inherent value for the individuals at the time, a common aim: to prepare for a healthy, well-adjusted, productive adult life." Thus, a life course perspective can "bring into focus the notion that economic, social, and educational policies targeted at children and young people have health effects that are manifested far into the future" (Chittleborough et al., 2007).

The issues of the status of refugee youths' mental health and career guidance education as a potential way to help them understand, think about, and plan for their future are extremely salient to the field of public health. Helping refugee youth obtain knowledge regarding educational and occupational opportunities available to them, could positively impact their mental health by bringing about feelings of self-efficacy and self-agency. It could also help with "overall well-being, successful adjustment, and future economic and occupational success in the country of resettlement" (Kia-Keating et al., 2007) and therefore has important implications for interventions and research.

1.1   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In order to address the concepts mentioned above, both a review of the literature and interviews with local stakeholders who have a vested interest in refugee populations in Pittsburgh, were conducted.

The two research questions addressed here are as follows:

> *1) What are the mental health issues for refugees, including refugee youth, in their countries of resettlement?*

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2) Can career guidance education programs help resettled refugee youth and impact their mental health and long-term resettlement success?

1.2   OBJECTIVES

My objectives in this study are to conduct a literature review and interviews to gain a better understanding of the mental health issues that refugees suffer from that may affect their processes of belonging and adapting, and how career guidance education can be used to positively impact those processes of belonging and adapting as it helps resettled refugee youth think about and plan for their future. These results can also help to inform the way community organizations and schools that work with resettled refugees conduct their career guidance and vocational guidance education curriculum.

2.0 BACKGROUND

2.1 PLIGHT OF THE REFUGEE

2.1.1 Refugees: definition and recent figures

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), established in 1950 to help refugees uprooted due to World War Two, is currently "one of the world's principal humanitarian agencies" and has over the course of its existence "provided assistance to more than 50 million people" (UNHCR, 2006a). It was the UNHCR who, with the consequences of World War Two still fresh before them, defined refugees as that person who

> "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country…." (UNHCR, 2006b).

This definition has been expanded to include "people who have fled because of war or civil conflict" (UNHCR, 2006c). According to UNHCR, "a total of 146 countries have signed the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and/or its 1967 Protocol and recognize people as refugees based on the definitions contained in these and regional instruments" (UNHCR, 2006c).

Recent global figures published by the UNHCR, states that 2006 saw the highest recorded refugee numbers in five years with figures increasing from 8.4 million at the beginning of 2006 to 9.9 million at the end of 2006 (UNHCR, 2006d; UNHCR, 2006c). Table 1 shows the country of origin of the ten largest major refugee population groups as of the beginning of January 2006 (UNHCR, 2006c).

Table 1: ORIGIN OF MAJOR REFUGEE POPULATIONS-1 JAN 2006

ORIGIN	MAIN COUNTRIES OF ASYLUM	TOTAL
Afghanistan	Pakistan/Iran/Germany/Netherlands/UK	1,908,100
Sudan	Chad/Uganda/Kenya/Ethiopia/Central African Rep.	693,300
Burundi	Tanzania/DR Congo/Rwanda/South Africa/Zambia	438,700
DR Congo	Tanzania/Zambia/Congo/Rwanda/Uganda	430,600
Somalia	Kenya/Yemen/UK/USA/Ethiopia	394,800
Viet Nam	China/Germany/USA/France/Switzerland	358,200
Palestine	Saudi Arabia/Egypt/Iraq/Libya/Algeria	349,700
Iraq	Iran/Germany/Netherlands/Syria/UK	262,100
Azerbaijan	Armenia/Germany/USA/Netherlands/France	233,700
Liberia	Sierra Leone/Guinea/Cote d'Ivorie/Ghana/USA	231,100

Out of the total number of refugees worldwide, one-half of them are children (UNHCR, 2006e). Though no age specific information has been given that looks only at refugee groups, and indeed even across all categories of persons of concern age specific information is partial, it is estimated that of the total number of 32.9 million persons of concern to UNHCR (meaning refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, and stateless persons), 45 per cent are children under the age of 18 [and] 11 per cent [are] under the age of five (UNHCR, 2006d). Though quality of life conditions especially as a result of war can be said to affect adults and children equally without discrimination, due to the developmental aspect particular to children

and youth those conditions can be especially harmful and therefore refugee children are at particular risk of continued injury.

2.1.2 Refugee children: needs and concerns

Out of the 90% of civilian deaths among refugees directly related to conflict since 1990, an estimated 80% are deemed to be women and children (UNICEF, 2005). In 1996 UNICEF stated that "in the last ten years, 2 million children have died in war, 4-5 million have been wounded or disabled, 12 million have been made homeless and 1 million have been orphaned or separated from their parents" (Summerfield, 2000). Injury doesn't stop with death, for those that survive are left with an even harsher reality and must survive not only the continuation of the threat of death, but conscription, sexual abuse, torture, lack of survival necessities and the ever present fact of hunger and thirst (UNHCR, 2006e; UNFPA, 2006).

At the heart of UNHCR's Policy on Refugee Children and UNHCR Guidelines on Protection and Care of refugee children, are three themes: children are vulnerable, children are dependant, children are developing (UNHCR, 2006f). Though these themes represent western assumptions on what is means to be a child, the third theme of 'children are developing' holds true for most cultures and therefore it can be assumed that "the uprooting, disruption and insecurity inherent in refugee situations can harm children's physical, intellectual, psychological, cultural and social development" (UNHCR, 2006f).

Refugee children are at continued risk of facing threats to their personal safety and security. Even in refugee camps the situation does not always improve as they can be conscripted and/or abducted for use as soldiers and sexual slaves (UNFPA, 2006). They also face nutritional and health risks, and lack of opportunity in terms of both education and employment inside and

outside of refugee camps. This is particularly true for women and girls as it is their responsibility to complete domestic tasks such as gathering water and fuel, which often takes up the majority of the day therefore taking away from time they could spend in school (UNFPA, 2006). While the average length of stay in refugee camps is seventeen years according to 2003 statistics (UNFPA, 2006), it's estimated that only about 30% of refugee children receive basic education while there (UNHCR, 2006f).

Providing educational opportunities to refugee children is seen by UNHCR as playing a positive "key factor in their development and in their successful integration" into whatever culture they find themselves in (UNHCR, 2006e) and is therefore "a priority in terms of protection and assistance activities" (UNHCR, 2006f). Refugee children themselves see knowledge as the "one thing that can not be taken from them" and see education as the route to "independence, hope, and being somebody" (Goodman, 2004).

2.1.3   Resettlement process: UNHCR and U.S. participation

"Ultimately a population recovers from war not as recipients of aid or as patients but as active citizens" (Summerfield, 2000a). UNHCR and resettlement programs in countries such as the United States work to address this concept by placing refugees in communities where they are likely to find support, employment, and the opportunity to begin life anew. Sixteen countries took part in UNHCR resettlement programs in 2005 and 15 countries participated in 2006; the United States led the list for both years of leading countries of refugee resettlement with the permanent settlement of 53,813 refugees in 2005 and 41,300 in 2006 (UNHCR, 2006c; UNHCR, 2006d). "By nationality, the main beneficiaries of the UNHCR-facilitated resettlement programs

were refugees from Myanmar (5,700), Somalia (5,200), Sudan (2,900), the Democratic Republic of the Congo (2,000), and Afghanistan (1,900)" (UNHCR, 2006d).

Some of the refugee groups mentioned above were resettled by the United States during fiscal year 2006. Table 2 below provides the figures for those groups resettled across the United States during 2006; only those groups whose numbers were over one thousand are represented below (ORR, Aug, 2007).

Table 2: U.S. FISCAL YEAR 2006 REFUGEE ARRIVALS TO THE U.S. BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	Burma	Cuba	Ethiopia	Iran	Liberia	Somalia	Sudan	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Vietnam
TOTAL NUMBERS	1,323	3,142	1,262	2,785	2,366	10,330	1,845	10,453	3,002
% OF TOTAL NUMBER	3.2	7.6	3.0	6.7	5.7	25.1	4.4	25.4	7.3

The Refugee Act of 1980 is the legal framework behind the admission of refugees to the United States and which thereby formalizes "the longstanding American tradition of granting refuge to persons in need" (Kelly Ryan, 2005). Three public federal agencies play key roles in the U.S. Resettlement Program (ORR, 2002). The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) has the legal authority to determine which persons meet the requirements for refugee status and therefore who can be admitted to the United States. The Department of State (DOS) is in charge of coordinating resettlement with private non-governmental organizations (NGO's) and providing funding as well as in "managing overseas processing, cultural orientation, and transportation to the United States" (ORR, 2002). The Department of Health and Human

Services (HHS) is responsible for the domestic side of resettlement and provides monetary and social service aid to refugees through both state governments and NGO's.

There are nine private NGO's and one state department that the DOS and Office of Resettlement, which is under the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, work with in resettling refugees in the United States. These nine voluntary agencies (VOLAGS) can be seen in the table below (ORR, 2002).

Table 3: VOLAGS INVOLVED WITH RESETTLEMENT IN THE U.S.

Church World Service
Ethiopian Community Development Council
Episcopal Migration Ministries
Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
International Rescue Committee
U.S. Committee for Refugees & Immigrants
Lutheran Immigration & Refugee Services
United States Conference of Catholic Bishops
World Relief Corporation
State of Iowa, Bureau of Refugee Services

Two national VOLAGS, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, have local affiliates that work to resettle and provide funding and social service support to refugees in the Pittsburgh area. The activities conducted by these local organizations will be touched on in section 4.1.1.

3.0   METHODOLOGY

The data presented in this study is collected from literature searches, other relevant sources, and interviews.

LITERATURE SEARCH

The table below reflects the systematic collection of secondary data obtained in informing this paper. The time frame for reviewing the relevant literature was the years 1990-2007. This decision to exclude earlier dated articles was due to their using primary and secondary data from the 1980's and even 1970's, and much has changed in the years since, both in terms of the global refugee situation and how organizations interact with them, and career guidance education interventions.

Database	Journals	Search terms used	# of articles found	# of relevant articles
OVID/PYSCH INFO		Refugees + belonging + adapting	3	2
OVID/PYSCH INFO		Refugees + education exp career education	34	3
OVID/PYSCH INFO		Coping behavior **or** mental health **or** adjustment **or** quality of life **or** acculturation + refugees + limit to English language	405	28

JSTOR	ANTHROPOLGY (23 journals)/SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION/SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY QUARTERLY/JOURNAL OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR	Career guidance education AND refugees (limit by 1990-2007 and English)	12	3
JSTOR	ANTHROPOLOGY (23 journals)/ BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATION STUDIES/BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION/COGNITION & INSTRUCTION/ COMPARATIVE EDUCATION/CURRICULUM INQUIRY/SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION/ SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY QUARTERLY	Cultural views AND careers AND minority education (limit by 1990-2007 and English)	195	10

Articles were determined to be relevant based on the following factors: they appeared in peer-reviewed journals; were accessible through the Health Sciences Library System and PITTCat; focused on refugee populations relevant to the Pittsburgh area (i.e. refugees from regions of Asia, Africa, Middle East, former Soviet Union); spoke to search terms in both their title and abstract; and reflected issues relating to both refugee adults and children (either together or separately) and those resettled both in the U.S. and abroad.

OTHER RELEVANT SOURCES

Thee relevancy criteria were also reflected in the 24 additional articles obtained through perusing the bibliographic sections of relevant articles noted above and looking up abstracts of noteworthy titles. In regard to secondary information obtained on career guidance education, the sources came mainly from two articles that were reviews/syntheses of the literature on career development from the America's Career Resource Network (ACRN), whose national activities are funded by a grant from the Department of Education. Additional noteworthy articles were obtained through referencing these two articles' bibliographic section and are reflected in the 24 articles mentioned above. The ACRN website,

http://www.acrnetwork.org/careerdevelopment.htm was accessed on 5/11/2007.

INTERVIEWS

Two interviews were conducted with local organizations that resettle refugees in the Pittsburgh area. Interviews lasted between one to two hours and were conducted with: 1) Suzette Venturini, who is the Community Resource Specialist at the Catholic Charities Diocese of Pittsburgh Refugee Services (CC); and 2) Charlotte Fox Zabusky, who is the Accredited Representative/Director of Pittsburgh Refugee and Immigrant Assistant Center under the Jewish Family and Children Services of Pittsburgh (PRIAC). Both Suzette and Charlotte were referred to me by the organization upon hearing of the purpose of my call.

Questions asked of Pittsburgh resettlement agencies
1. In what ways does your organization reach out to refugee groups in Pittsburgh?
2. How is the process of belonging and adapting in new environment (for the refugees)? Is it happening? How do you see it happening in them?
3. What are the challenges (in adapting, belonging, health issues) with refugee groups in Pittsburgh?
4. Vocational, career training—do you offer any such guidance? If so, how is it presented? Do groups/individuals attend? What are the challenges you see, and strengths of the program?
5. Is Pittsburgh seen as permanent place of resettlement or first step?

Each interview was recorded through note taking with answers sorted to reflect the corresponding number of the question asked. All data collection and analysis was done by written notes.

4.0   RESULTS

4.1   REFUGEES IN RESETTLMENT

4.1.1   Pittsburgh organizations involved with resettlement

This section will discus the activities conducted for refugees by two local Pittsburgh resettlement agencies. As both agencies address issues of mental health, acculturation, and job readiness/employability for the refugees they resettle, it provides a local context in which to situate and interpret the following results addressing the two research questions.

There are two voluntary agencies involved with the resettlement of refugees in the Pittsburgh area. Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Pittsburgh (CC), which is under the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, is the larger of the two refugee resettlement agencies. The other is the Pittsburgh Refugee and Immigrant Assistance Center (PRIAC) of the Jewish Family and Children's Service of Pittsburgh, which is under the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society. Both agencies are responsible for finding housing; providing initial household supplies such as furnishings, linens, cleaning supplies, toiletries, clothing and food; setting up utilities; obtaining appointments for families and individuals at social service agencies, medical offices, and local schools; providing community orientation; English language training; and providing general case management and job training/placement (personal interviews with CC and PRIAC). The funds

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required to carry out such tasks come from the federal government (limited to $425 per person); match grant funds (federal government supplying $200 for months two through four which agencies must match); welfare benefits; and voluntary agencies in-kind contributions which consist of monetary and supply donations (personal interview with CC).

The refugees that are resettled in the Pittsburgh area are ethnically diverse. Both agencies have resettled Vietnamese, Burmese, Iranians, and Bosnians. PRIAC has also resettled Jews from the former Soviet Union, Cambodians and Laotians. CC has resettled Meskhetian Turks, Somali Bantus, refugees from the former Yugoslavia including Kosovo, from Iraq, Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and currently those who are part of the "1972 Burundians." Each agency tries to resettle each ethnic refugee group together in the same community, as this is preferred both by the refugees themselves as well as by the NGO's for reasons of support and adaptation. When asked if Pittsburgh is seen as a permanent place of resettlement or just the first step along the way, both agencies said that the majority of refugees they help resettle stay in the Pittsburgh area.

The agencies' work with refugees does not stop at resettlement activities. PRIAC conducts a Mourning and Motivation Seminar, which formally introduces and works through the six stages of resettlement. These stages are: Euphoria; Anger; Bargaining; Depression; Resignation; and Acceptance. This seminar is designed to let the refugees know that it is understandable that one may go through these stages, and that it is important to remember that there is not anything "wrong with you" and that life will improve. CC also touches on similar themes when educating resettled refugees as to the process of culture shock and reassures that it is normal to experiences these stages.

PRIAC also conducts a series of Acculturation workshops which meet once a week for a period of four months and introduces refugees to concepts such as modern technology, banking, budgeting, medical service delivery, how to take care of one's body (western ideas of health and wellness), as well as introducing them to doctors, dentists, police, and firemen who discuss their job responsibilities and how they can be contacted when needed. CC also conducts acculturation workshops, which are conducted whenever new families arrive. However, introducing refugees to concept of banking, budgeting, and modern technology is not done during these workshops but rather is taught by a caseworker on an individual basis.

Along with supplying monetary and social service aid as listed in section 2.1.3, CC and PRIAC are also required to help obtain jobs for the refugees as obtaining employment and becoming "self-sufficient" is an important priority for the U.S. government in that it helps to limit the need for public assistance (Kelly Ryan, 2005; personal interviews with CC and PRIAC). PRIAC conducts vocational intake assessments with refugee adults within a month of their resettling to the Pittsburgh area. This intake assesses English language capability and transferable job skills, which helps to form the basis for developing a resume. An employment specialist then works with the refugees through a job readiness workshop series and by accompanying them to potential job sites to fill out applications. The job workshop series is designed to introduce the refugees to the American world of work, starting with an understanding of how career mobility functions as well as behavioral norms and appropriate workplace behavior, and skills including how to write a cover letter and resume, how to interview, and how to keep a job.

CC follows a similar format by conducting an employability assessment with each eligible worker, which covers education levels, language ability, job experience, skills, and any

barriers to employment that need to be addressed prior to obtaining a job. This assessment is conducted by an employment specialist who then coaches refugees individually on the resume and cover letter process, completing a job application (and goes with them the first one or two times to fill one out), interview skills, behavior norms, and how to hold a job. The job readiness workshops and individual coaching on employment that PRIAC and CC conduct, are necessary as many refugees are not only coming from agricultural societies and backgrounds, but they may not have had the chance to work or gain other employable skills while in refugee camps.

4.1.2 Mental health concerns noted in refugee groups

The following sections address research question one: what are the mental health issues for refugees, including refugee youth, in their countries of resettlement. The mental health concerns noted in refugee groups, and notions of belonging, adapting and acculturation are reviewed.

Thirteen articles informed this section as well as notes from the PRIAC interview. Of the articles, three were focused on adults (Bagilishya, 2000; Simich et al., 2006; Sundquist et al., 2000); five were focused on children (Summerfield, 2000; Lustig et al., 2004; Almqvist et al., 1999; Sack et al., 1997; Hodes, 2002); four looked at both (Summerfield, 1999; Bracken et al., 1995; Muecke, 1992; Summerfield, 2000a); and one didn't specify age group (Silove, 1999). One of the articles looked at refugees resettled in the United States (Sack et al., 1997); two reviewed refugees resettled in Sweden (Sundquist et al., 2000; Almqvist et al., 1999); one focused on refugees resettled in Canada (Simich et al., 2006); one was a personal story of a Rwandan man's experience (Bagilishya, 2000); two were focused more globally at refugee groups around the world (Bracken et al., 1995; Muecke, 1992); and six featured both refugees groups resettled within the United States and elsewhere (Summerfield, 2000; Lustig et al., 2004;

Summerfield, 1999; Hodes, 2002; Summerfield, 2000a; Silove, 1999). Two of these articles had a historical perspective on refugees and refugee mental health issues (Summerfield, 1999; Bracken et al., 1995).

Living through societal upheaval, civil war, genocide, ethnic discrimination, torture, sexual abuse, exploitation, and the personal loss of physical, social, and emotional environments is bound to create serious emotional and physical scarring. Not only do refugees suffer from physical and psychological attacks as mentioned above, but they witness firsthand the destruction of their way of life and the "social, economic and cultural activities that connect them to a particular history, identity, traditions, values and livelihoods" (Summerfield, 2000). The combined effects of which, may have long lasting psychological and social consequences.

Lustig et al. (2004) notes that refugee children "commonly experience anxiety and depression, anger and violence, psychic numbing, paranoia, insomnia, and a heightened awareness of death". In countries of resettlement, "paternal unemployment longer than 6 months in the first year of settlement, mother's emotional well-being, and family negativity are associated with increases in refugee children's symptomatology" (Lustig et al., 2004). The relationship between the state of the mental health of the mother in resettlement and its effect on the child has also been noted by Almqvist et al. (1999) with maternal mental health issues having a negative impact on the emotional health of the child.

Posttraumatic stress disorder or PTSD, is widely cited in the literature as the main psychological condition that refugees' experience. PTSD is defined in the biomedical literature as being caused not by traumatic events but by the memory of those events not having been fully processed (Summerfield, 1999). It has a number of symptoms including: sleep disturbance, concentration difficulties, sense of foreshortened future, avoiding situational reminders and

thoughts of trauma, nightmares, flashbacks, and loss of interest and detachment (Sack et al., 1997). Longitudinal studies that have been conducted with Khmer Cambodian adolescent resettled refugees in the United States have found that "when massive war trauma is inflicted in childhood, PTSD symptoms are prevalent and endure across important developmental nodal points" and that though "depressive symptoms related to loss and resettlement abate over time, PTSD symptoms related to trauma tend to endure and recur" (Sack et al., 1997). Hodes (2002) also cites numerous articles that validate PTSD symptoms shown in refugee children and adolescents from Vietnam, Cambodia, Palestine, the Middle East, and Central America.

Recent literature, however, argues against the use of the blanketed term PTSD for all distress conditions seen in refugee populations. The argument is that use of a clearly western idea of trauma fails to capture the essence of the refugee's experiences, the current priorities they may have, the normal distress that may come of it, and the cultural ways of expressing and coping with those experiences (Bracken et al., 1995; Muecke, 1992; Summerfield, 2000, 2000a). Silove (1999) looked at what he saw as the five core adaptive systems that normally "support a state of psychosocial equilibrium in individuals and their communities" and which are threatened by trauma. They are: personal safety, attachment and bond maintenance, identity and role functioning, justice, and existential meaning. He argued against the use of PTSD terminology saying that, "concepts of safety, grief, injustice, and faith may be more meaningful to traumatized survivors" as they deal with, among other reactions, grief, anger and rage, shame, and loss of trust and faith, and that using a model based on these five adaptive systems may allow for greater clarity in interventions (Silove, 1999).

"Every culture has its own beliefs and traditions which determine psychological norms and frameworks for mental health" (Summerfield, 2000a). This sentiment was also shared by

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Charlotte Zabusky at PRIAC when I asked about the mental health conditions and concerns noted among refugees resettled in the Pittsburgh area. Though she noted that PTSD and depression have been observed, as medical concepts they are harder to understand due to cultural variances within each group. She raised the question, "how do we know what is a mental psychological issue or a normal response?" (personal interview). Ignoring cultural norms when working with refugee groups can be perhaps more detrimental as those practices can play significant roles in refugees actively healing, "forgetting", and moving forward (Bracken et al, 1995; Bagilishya, 2000; Summerfield, 2000a).

Beyond the psychosocial issues that refugees may bring with them, expressed either as PTSD symptoms and depression or normal distress, due to prior traumatic events experienced, their life conditions in countries of resettlement may impose a significant toll on their psychological state of mind. In an investigation with Iranian refugee preschool children resettled in Sweden, the authors found that the state of the children's peer relationships and overall current life situations were of "equal or greater importance than previous exposure to organized violence" in its ability to affect the psychological health and development of the children (Almqvist et al., 1999). Another study that draws on data collected on refugees from Iran, Chile, Turkey and Poland who had migrated to Sweden found that poor social support in the resettled country more significantly influenced depression than did prior traumatic incidents and that "social and cultural factors in exile seem to exert a greater influence on mental health than exposure to violence before migration" (Sundquist et al., 2000; Simich et al., 2006). Thus, "in exile, one's sense of coherence, acculturation status, sense of control over one's life, economic difficulties, and education are of greater consequence for psychological distress" (Sundquist el al., 2000).

Regardless of the terminology used, the literature shows two main determinants of mental stress and disturbance among refugee populations: past trauma, and stress experienced once resettled. Few researchers have conducted longitudinal studies with refugee groups. Those that have been conducted show that the early years of resettlement are difficult for refugees and promote post-migration stress. However, over time symptoms of mental distress can decrease significantly to the point that one study found that resettled South-east Asians had lower rates of illness than their counterpart native-born Canadians (Silove et al., 2002). The attitudes and behavior of the host society towards refugees, their language acquisition, and the educational and employment opportunities they receive, ultimately are the determinants that influence the success of refugees' achieving a sense of belonging and adaptation and preserving/maintaining mental health.

4.1.3   Notions of belonging, adapting and acculturation

While very little literature was found addressing concepts of belonging, adapting and acculturation among resettled refugees, it can be inferred that these concepts are very closely tied to the mental health of refugees in countries of resettlement.

Definitions for adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation as understood by Webster's Dictionary and cited articles are provided below:

> *Adaptation* – adjusting to new conditions (Webster's Dictionary)
>
> *Acculturation* – "is the process of cultural change that occurs as a result of contact between members of two or more cultural groups" (Birman, 2006). "May be defined as behavioral and psychological changes that occur as a result of contact between two different cultures" (Kovacev et al., 2004).
>
> *Assimilation* – to absorb or integrate and use for ones own benefit aspects

of another culture, usually the dominant one (Webster's Dictionary)."Occurs when a person does not want to maintain his or her distinct ethnic identity and is willing to accept values and customs of the host culture" (Kovacev et al., 2004).

Displacement interrupts the "psychological processes of familiarity, attachment, and identity" wherefrom one's sense of belonging arises, and not surprisingly can lead to "disorientation, nostalgia, and alienation" among refugee groups (Fullilove, 1996). Overcoming this and regaining a sense of belonging is a crucial aspect to adapting successfully to life in resettlement. "Uprooted peoples do well, or not, as a function of their capacity to rebuild social networks and a sense of community; the social world is thus pivotal—both what refugees bring with them in remnant form, and what they can reconstruct in exile" (Summerfield, 2000).

Four articles informed this section as well as notes from the PRIAC interview on notions of adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation for refugee groups within countries of resettlement. Table 4 below provides a snapshot of the characteristics of each study; more details regarding the findings of each study follows.

Table 4: POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS OF EACH STUDY

Author, year	Country where study took place	Target pop.	No.	Age group Adults/Adolescents	Gender % Male/Female	Length of time in country of resettlement (average)
Keyes et al., 2004	United States	Bosnian refugees	7	Adults	Female: 100%	Less than 5 years
Trickett et al., 2005	United States	First generation Soviet refugees (from Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Moldova)	110	Adolescents (average 16 years old)	Male: 58% Female: 42%	6 years
Birman, 2006	United States	Soviet Jewish Refugees	115+	Adolescents (average 15 years old) Adults (at least one	Male: 57% Female: 43%	6 years

Table 4 continued

				parent of each adolescent was also interviewed)		
Kovacev et al., 2004	Australia	Refugees from the former Republic of Yugoslavia	83	Adolescents (mean age 15.32 years)	Male: 45% Female: 51%	Less than 1 year to 6 years

The level of adaptation, acculturation, and assimilation with refugees resettled in the Pittsburgh area varies with each group and with the generations in each group. Some may even adapt very quickly but not assimilate to American culture. In Ms. Zabusky's time with PRIAC she has seen a high level of adaptability with children of all resettled groups. In particular with the resettled Russian Jews and Bosnians, she has noticed that the children become fully acculturated Americans, the middle age adults learn how to adapt to American expectations but hold on to their own culture, and the elderly learn accommodation strategies but the adaptation is at the surface level (personal communication, 2007).

In Keyes et al. study (2004) seeking to understand the experience of Bosnian refugees' adaptation to life in the United States two themes emerged: belonging and adapting. The researchers defined belonging as being both the experience of "being valued," and the "experience of fitting in through shared characteristics." These authors found that the refugees searched for the presence of empathy and reciprocity in their social interactions with others as a way to "determine genuineness, trustworthiness, and to validate a sense of belonging" and that finding such empathy and reciprocity aided in restoring a sense of normalcy (Keyes et al., 2004). Adapting included using both coping measures as dreaming, working long hours, and denial to survive traumatic memories emotionally, as well as trying to fit into their new environment through language acquisition skills (Keyes et al., 2004). Thus these refugees used coping strategies of adapting as they searched for ways to belong in their new environments. Using coping strategies as a way to adapt to new situations while finding ways to belong is common

among refugee groups, for not only are they trying to process or repress traumatic events and memories, but they have to struggle to make sense of and deal with "disrupted life trajectories, loss of status, sense of place and culture shock, as well as the attitudes of the host society— ranging from accepting to discriminatory" (Summerfield, 2000).

Assimilating aspects of another culture into one's own can be predicted to take place over time with the longer the stay the more likely the assimilation at least on some level (Trickett et al., 2005). The literature on acculturation has noted that children acquire language competency and behavioral aspects of the dominant culture quickly thereby acculturating at a faster pace than their parents, which tends over time to cause conflicts between the generations (Birman, 2006).

Birman's (2006) study assessed acculturation in Soviet Jewish adolescent refugees and their parents using a multidimensional framework, which modeled the process of acculturation as involving three aspects: language competence, identification, and behavioral participation. The purpose of this study was to understand how these aspects of acculturation and gaps in acculturation influence family discord as "families where children have high acculturation to the new culture and low acculturation to the native culture, and families where parents have high acculturation to the native culture and low acculturation to the new culture, are thought to experience greater conflict" (Birman, 2006). Findings indicate that gaps occur among these aspects of acculturation, but that their dynamics are more complex than previously understood. For instance, for some the gap "involves a discrepancy between acculturation of parents and children" whereas for others, "it is either the parent's or the child's acculturation that is linked to family disagreements" (Birman, 2006). Out of these three acculturation aspects measured, the most robust predictor of family disagreements and discord is the discrepancy in American identity, which is therefore the aspect that Birman considers important for intervention.

School is a main venue for acculturation of refugee children and youth as it serves not only to quickly acquaint refugees with language but also with the host country's cultural norms. Trickett et al. (2005) also assessed the acculturation of refugee youth from the former Soviet Union using a multidimensional framework, which included language competence, behavioral acculturation, and cultural identity. They found that in terms of school context, the greater the youth identified with American culture the higher their grades, the less disciplinary infractions received, and the greater the sense of school belonging. School belonging was predicated by having support from both parents and American friends, though the best combination of factors in creating a sense of school belonging for the youth was having both high parental support and high American acculturation. Trickett et al., (2005) therefore suggests, "that programs designed to facilitate refugee student psychological adaptation at school should include support for the parent-adolescent relationship."

Kovacev et al. (2004) approached their assessment of acculturation by observing adolescent refugees from the former Republic of Yugoslavia resettled in Australia. They applied a model featuring four distinct acculturation modes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. These researchers found that assimilation was negatively associated with acculturation adjustment and that adolescents who embraced assimilation had feelings of lower self-worth and felt less supported by peers. One explanation they provided for this finding was that the adolescents were in a "transitory stage" where they had rejected their own culture but had yet to find support within the host culture and therefore were left with a sense of not belonging. Kovacev et al., suggest that the mental health of refugee youth would be best served by acknowledging that while connecting with the host society is important, it is equally important to retain one's own cultural ties and to build ties to both cultures.

Understanding the acculturation aspect of identification, making connections to both the dominant culture and the native culture of the refugee, and working to build support for the relationship between parents and their children in school settings have important implications for understanding the contextual decision making process of the role of education and subsequently the role of career guidance education as seen in the resettled refugee context.

4.2   REFUGEES AND EDUCATION

4.2.1   The role of education in refugee youth's lives

This section addresses the second research question: Can career guidance education programs help resettled refugee youth and impact their mental health and long-term resettlement success. The role of education in the lives of refugee youth is considered further.

Before one can talk about adding a career guidance education component to schooling of resettled refugees one must first understand that many of these youth and their parents have been without any formal education for years due to displacement and the climate of life in refugee camps, and many are illiterate in their own languages. This has been noted among Sudanese refugees (Center for Applied Linguistics-Fact sheet, 2000); Somali Bantus (Refugee Reports, 2002); and with Burundian female refugees many of whom do not complete schooling higher than the primary level (UNHCR, "1972 Burundians").

Despite this lack of formal education or perhaps because of it, many refugee youth approach the opportunity of education with high expectations, and indeed see it as a "recovery strategy-a way to take back control over their lives" and the role of education as a substitute for

parental support (Center for Applied Linguistics-Fact sheet, 2000). Goodman (2004) in a study with unaccompanied minors from Sudan found that their "hoping for and planning for their future became a major impetus for {their} survival" and that they saw education as a means not only of bettering their future but as a way to "gain a sense of agency and power" over their own lives.

Having a sense of belonging and being connected to one's school has been shown in the literature to have a number of positive outcomes including: "improved self-concept, social skills, motivation, and academic achievement, and reduced depression, social-emotional distress, and social rejection" (Kia-Keating et al., 2007). Similar outcomes were found in a study that addressed the sense of school belonging among refugee youth and found that the greater the youth's sense of school belonging the lower the level of their depression and the higher their self-efficacy regardless of their exposure to prior trauma (Kia-Keating et al., 2007).

4.3   CAREER GUIDANCE EDUCATION

4.3.1   The history of career guidance education in the United States

The following sections also address research question two in considering the history of career guidance education, theories and constructs used to inform career guidance education curriculum, and the importance of career guidance education and its impact on students.

Frank Parsons started the profession of vocational/career guidance education in the early 1900's when he established the first formal career-counseling center in the United States, in Boston, the Vocation Bureau. Parson's three-part model of career decision-making {1909} still

guides the development and activities of career guidance education to this day (Hartung, et al., 2002). The three parts of his career decision-making model are:

- Self-knowledge
- Knowledge of requirements for career success
- Links between the two

The history of career guidance education in the United States has gone through various stages (Hughes et al., 2004). It was characterized by a top down approach in the years during and following World War I, when experts assessed individual's capabilities and then determined the best occupational fit for them. A more developmental approach followed in the years after World War II, when the occupational choice of an individual was regarded as a process that needed to include his/her input. Recognizing that vocational guidance needed to be comprehensive and that there should be a standard framework for career guidance programs, allowed for the passage of the National Career Development Guidelines (NCDG) published first in 1989 and then revised in 2003. Current career guidance education programs are guided by this publication.

The framework of the NCDG speaks to the specific competencies that career guidance programs should be promoting as well as the requirements necessary to achieve effective programs (Hughes et al., 2004). The framework consists of three content domains: Personal Social Development (PS), Educational Achievement and Lifelong Learning (ED) and Career Management (CM) and their corresponding goals that broadly define the developmental areas of career competency. See Table 5 below for the goals of each domain (ACRN website, NCDG framework).

Table 5: NCDG FRAMEWORK--GOALS FOR EACH DOMAIN

Personal Social Development (PS)
Develop an understanding of yourself to build and maintain a positive self-concept
Develop positive interpersonal skills including respect for diversity
Integrate personal growth and change into your career development

Table 5 continued

Balance personal, leisure, community, learner, family, and work roles
Educational Achievement and Lifelong Learning (ED)
Attain educational achievement and performance levels needed to reach your personal and career goals
Participate in ongoing, lifelong learning experiences to enhance your ability to function effectively in a diverse and changing economy
Career Management (CM)
Create and manage a career plan that meets your career goals
Use a process of decision-making as one component of career development
Use accurate, current, and unbiased career information during career planning and management
Master academic, occupational, and general employability skills in order to obtain, create, maintain, and/or advance your employment
Integrate changing employment trends, societal needs, and economic conditions into your career plans

The NCDG framework goals are based on the understanding that career guidance education needs to be comprehensive and therefore the corresponding activities include parents, teachers, community members, counselors, administrators as well as students (ACRN website, "What is NCDG"), an approach that reflects Parson's tripartite model. These goals also speak to an understanding of the qualities that are essential for adolescents to cultivate if they are to be successful in understanding themselves, the career roles they can attain, and their future occupational success. These qualities include:

> "{a} growth in purpose and direction, {b} perceived opportunities and choice, {c} personal agency and empowerment, {d} perseverance and an ability to overcome obstacles, {e}commitment and maturity, and {f} motivation and hope" (Lapan et al., 2001).

Career guidance education has been seen in recent years as needing to address the career development of all students including those who join the workforce immediately out of high school. The School-To-Work Opportunities Act (STWOA) was passed in 1994 as an attempt to address the aimlessness of young adults in the workforce and to better prepare students in making the school to work transition (STW) (Solberg et al., 2002; Griffith et al., 2001). The literature on the interpretation of STW diverges into two main categories: authors who consider

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STW interventions as relevant only to non-college bound youth and those who see STW activities as applicable to all student groups including those who will obtain further education. The STWOA legislation actually acknowledges both categories in its definition of STW activities (Solberg et al., 2002) which includes: career awareness classes, work readiness classes, development of individual student career plans, student use of career centers, instruction on pathways to careers, extended workplace activities, internships, summer jobs, work site shadowing, workplace mentoring, and community service (Griffith et al., 2001).

Whether the student continues on for post-secondary education or immediately joins the workforce after graduating high school, comprehensive guidance programs aim to assist all students and their parents in making an informed decision which "represents a match of person and work in which the individual's skills, interests, values, beliefs, and purposes fit, align with, inform, and contribute to work, and work contributes to the individual's well-being and life goals" (Gillie et al., 2003).

4.3.2   Career guidance education: theories and constructs

Three articles on theories used to inform career/vocational guidance activities were identified in the literature search. Blustein et al. (1996) reviewed notions of self and identity in career development theory and proposed the concept of embeddedness as a way to achieve understanding and to recognize the "interdependence between individuals and their psychological, social, historical, and cultural contexts." Their belief is that "practitioners must be able to understand the complexity of exploring the confluence and integration of all factors on a person's identity {so that they can}… address the relational and cultural matrix that helped to establish and provide meaning for their clients' inner experience" (Blustein et al., 1996). In other

words, there are multiple spheres of influence that influence and determine an individual's sense of self and identity that need to be understood and taken into account in order to best provide career counseling. Implicit in this embeddedness concept is the framework of the social ecological model (Goodman, 2000).

The social cognitive career theory of Lent et al. (1999) is related to the concept of embeddedness, which contends that people's career decisions are not based solely on their own interests. Their theory is based on Bandura's social cognitive theory (1986), which emphasizes constructs of self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and goals. Self-efficacy refers to the confidence in oneself and one's abilities to perform a given task. Outcome expectations refer to beliefs about what will happen if one performs a given task. Goals refer not only to goal setting but also one's resolve in achieving set goals.

"Self-efficacy, outcome expectations {and goals} are central to the cultivation of students' academic/career interests and perceived range of occupational options" (Lent et al., 1999). A social cognitive career theory perspective, looking specifically at school-to-work transitions, sees six interrelated processes that occur throughout one's school years. These include:

> "(a) acquisition of positive yet realistic self-efficacy and outcome expectations, (b) development of academic and career interests, (c) the formation of linkages between interests and career-related goals, (d) translation of goals into actions, (e) development of academic and work skills and remediation of performance-related problems, and (f) negotiation of social supports and barriers that affect the development of self and occupational beliefs and the pursuit of preferred academic/career options" (Lent et al., 1999).

As multiple spheres and inputs influence these three constructs and the success of the above processes, the social cognitive career theory also seeks to explain how these constructs

"interact with other person and environment variables (e.g. gender, race/ethnicity, social support and barriers) in the context of people's career development" (Lent et al., 1999).

Person-environment fit theory has three current assumptions (Swanson et al., 1999). First, individuals seek out environments that allow expression of their personalities, skills and abilities. Second, the closeness of the person and environment fit affects whether the outcomes are positive or negative. Moreover, Swanson et al. (1999) notes that "the degree of fit may be viewed along a continuum with greater fit leading to better outcomes" Third, both the person and the environment continually interact with and influence each other.

In the context of the school-to-work transition and career development, theories of person-environment fit help to ensure that youth understand both themselves and the work environment as this understanding is "critical both in their choice of work environment as well as to their adjustment to that environment" (Swanson et al., 1999). Therefore career development activities taking place under the guidance of the person-environment fit theory need to pay equal attention to helping students recognize environments that will be satisfactory to them as well as teaching students the skills and tools wanted by employers (Swanson et al., 1999).

4.3.3   The importance of career guidance education: its impact on students

Six articles inform this section, each of which focuses on general student populations in the United States. Two of the articles are syntheses of the literature on career guidance education and the benefits of such education (Hughes et al., 2004; Gillie et al., 2003); one article is a selected review of the relationship between career development and educational development (Blustein, 2004); one article is a meta-analysis on the effects of career education interventions on academic achievement (Evans et al., 1992); one article is a statewide study of the impact of comprehensive

guidance and counseling programs on seventh graders (Lapan et al., 2001); and the final article presents a longitudinal study of the relationships between career-and-work guidance education in high school and postsecondary employment and college performance (Griffith et al., 2001).

The literature reports the positive impact that career guidance education programs have on students, with more comprehensive programs demonstrating greater benefits. These include an increase of positive gains in academic achievement (Blustein, 2004; Evans et al., 1992; Lapan et al., 2001); students feeling safer in their schools, having better relationships with teachers, and perceiving that their present education was more relevant for their future (Lapan et al., 2001); an increase in minority student's enrollment in higher level math courses in high school, girls gaining a better understanding of the relationship between gender and careers (Hughes et al., 2004) and the students' increasing their knowledge of careers and their ability to make informed career decisions (Hughes et al., 2004).

Griffith et al (2001) conducted a longitudinal study of the effects of career/vocational guidance programs in high school on outcomes of graduates six years after high school. Students who had participated in career/vocational programs during high school had similar college related outcomes as non participants but they had better occupational histories including: more continuous employment, less likelihood of short-term or temporary employment as a first job, and greater likelihood of employment in trade occupations.

A review of literature on career information and services (Gillie et al., 2003) notes that in promoting "informed and considered career decisions" three main categories of benefits occur: those related to Educational Outcomes, Social Benefits, and Economic Consequences. See Table 6 below for a more detailed list delineating benefits associated with each category (found in Gillie et al., 2003).

Table 6: EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO MAKING INFORMED

CAREER DECISIONS

Educational Outcomes:
Improved educational achievement
Improved preparation and participation in postsecondary education
Better articulation among levels of education and between education and work
Shorter time to graduation
Higher graduation and retention rates
Social Benefits:
Benefits to family, peers, and community
Higher levels of worker satisfaction and career retention
Shorter path to primary labor market for young workers
Lower incidence of work-related stress and depression
Reduced likelihood of work-related violence
Economic Consequences:
Higher incomes and increased tax revenues
Lower rates and shorter periods of unemployment
Lower costs of worker turnover
Lower health care costs
Lower incarceration and criminal justices costs
Increased worker productivity

4.4   CAREER GUIDANCE EDUCATION AND REFUGEES

4.4.1   Resettled refugees: viewed as minorities

These last two sections also address research question number two: can career guidance education programs help resettled refugee youth and impact their mental health and long-term resettlement success. It will address the perception of resettled refugees as minorities and how that affects their aspirations for and attaining future careers, and parental views that influence student's education and career decision-making.

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Resettled refugees often are considered a minority in their countries of resettlement, particularly in the United States. Within the literature on minorities, specifically looking at their educational aspirations and outcomes, there has been a distinction made between two categories: immigrant minorities (otherwise viewed as voluntary migrants) and involuntary or castelike minorities (brought here unwillingly, includes some native born groups) (Ogbu, 1990; Kao et al., 1998). It is uncertain which category refugees should be placed in as they can display characteristics of both groups (Kao et al., 1998). In the Kao et al (1998) study which researched educational aspirations of minority students from grades 8-12, they found a discrepancy between high educational aspirations for all students in eighth grade and student's views in later grades, particularly between minority groups. Their results suggested that the socio-economic status of the family "not only contributed to ambitious aspirations in eighth grade but, more important, to the maintenance of high aspirations throughout the high school years" (Kao et al., 1998).

In a study evaluating a career development program for at-risk youth (at-risk defined as inner city, impoverished youth, ninety percent of whom were minorities) Loughead et al. (1995) found in their research that according to a national survey minority youth "viewed themselves as highly in need of career development services" and in fact

> "were more likely than Whites to want more information about careers, to need assistance with occupational information and career decision making, to perceive discrimination on the job, to take the only job available, to expect to leave their current job in the next year, and to recommend greater focus on career development in schools" (Loughead et al., 1995).

4.4.2 Parental views influencing student's educational aspirations and career decision-making

Of the six articles discussed in this section, three are studies of refugees (McNall et al., 1994; Smith-Hefner, 1990; Lese et al., 1994); two are studies of immigrants (Fuligni, 1997; Kim, 1993); and one study, a review of literature including various groups is not specific in terms of generation of immigration or refugee status (Wahl et al., 2000). Four of the articles look more generally at educational aspirations and achievement (McNall et al., 1994; Smith-Hefner, 1990; Lese et al., 1994; Fuligni, 1997); and two, specifically at career aspirations and choice (Wahl, et al., 2000; Kim, 1993).

Many immigrant and refugee parents view education as the means by which their children can improve their status in life. Therefore they strongly encourage their children to strive to overcome the difficulties they may run into in school and to make the most of the opportunities available to them (Fuligni, 1997; McNall et al., 1994; Kim, 1993). Viewing educational attainment of their children as a way to improve the status of the whole family has been noted among Hmong refugee parents. Indeed "the failure of a student to get good grades and develop definite plans for postsecondary vocational success is seen by Hmong as a serious setback for the entire family" (McNall et al., 1994). The notion of academic achievement and success as a way to avoid bringing shame on the family has been noted in Asian cultures (Lese et al., 1994; Smith-Hefner, 1990), which may explain in part Southeast Asian refugee youths' success in school (Lese et al., 1994). However, not all Asian groups have the same educational expectations. Southeast Asian Khmer refugees resettled in the United States have a different outlook on the educational aspirations and attainment of their children (Smith-Hefner, 1990).

They view their children as individuals who determine their own destiny. Therefore though they encourage their children to excel in school, they believe that the ultimate outcome is outside of their control, and thus there is no point in speculating as to the future of their children (Smith-Hefner, 1990).

There is also a difference in educational aspirations and attainment among different generations of immigrants. Fuligni's et al. (1997) study looking at 1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation of Latino, East Asian, Filipino, and European immigrants in the United States found that students of the 1st and 2nd generation viewed education more strongly that did students of the 3rd generation. This seems to be based on the belief that "their parents placed a high value on academic success, had great expectations for their performance in school, and held high hopes for their eventual educational attainment"; therefore these students held higher aspirations and expectations for their future educational attainment beyond high school (Fuligni, 1997). Parental encouragement and emphasis on the value of education is also evident among Hmong refugee children. Despite the children having little or no formal education prior to their induction in American schools and coming from homes of low socioeconomic status, they had "higher academic aspirations, greater effort, greater achievement, and lower school attrition rates than their non-Hmong peers" (McNall et al., 1994).

Career choice among second-generation Korean-American students also reflects parental expectations of education and cultural understandings of what it means to be successful. For Korean-American immigrant parents "prestige is synonymous with academic achievement {and thereby reflected in} certain college majors and professional careers" (Kim, 1993); for instance, colleges majors in chemistry, biological sciences, and natural sciences and careers as doctors and lawyers (Kim, 1993). Being brought up in a culture that emphasizes prestige and success,

constantly sensitizes Korean-American immigrant children to the importance of education with many "equating being a good student with being Korean" (Kim, 1993). However, though the importance of education and doing well in school is emphasized the same for girls as it is boys, there is less pressure on girls in choosing prestigious careers and therefore "gender identity influences in part career identity" among Korean-American immigrant children (Kim, 1993).

Wahl et al. (2000) reviewed literature on factors affecting the educational and occupational aspirations of children and adolescents from multiple ethnicities. They found that parental occupation, particularly the occupation of the mother, was strongly related to the child's own occupational aspirations. This association may be due to "children's perceptions of their parents' job satisfaction, with children more likely to aspire to the occupation of the parent perceived as most satisfied" (Wahl et al., 2000). Another finding cited in this review showed that occupational aspirations of minority boys from lower socioeconomic homes and those from middle-income European backgrounds in grades 2-6, "mirrored existing race and class differences in adult job holdings {with} the gap between occupational aspirations and expectations greatest for the poorer boys and remained constant across the grade levels examined" (Wahl et al., 2000).

In regard to educational aspirations, findings cited of this review show that "Hispanic students whose families are less acculturated to U.S. educational norms may have particularly low aspirations" and that overall, "parental expectations and support appear to be the key variables influencing the college aspirations of students of color" (Wahl et al., 2000).

The results of this section show that children's educational and occupational aspirations are significantly influenced by their parents, either through parental example or by parental expectations for them (Wahl et al., 2000; Fuligni, 1997; McNall et al., 1994; Kim, 1993).

5.0   DISCUSSION

This literature review examines the mental health issues that arise in refugees due to experiencing trauma, and the positive impacts that career guidance education has on educational outcomes, social benefits, and economic consequences of youth.   These impacts could potentially significantly influence resettled refugee youths' mental health, process of belonging and adapting, and long-term resettlement success.

The label refugee invokes an image of suffering endured and survival. Studies of refugees often speak to their resilience (Summerfield, 2000; Goodman, 2004; Lustig et al., 2004; Hodes, 2002; Muecke, 1992). However, though refugees may be resilient it does not impede mental health issues from arising. This literature review addressed both a clinical understanding of the symptomatology of anxiety, depression and post-traumatic stress disorder, and that of understanding normal distress that would come from experiencing physical and psychological attacks. Whether working from a clinical perspective of the symptoms of past trauma and their appropriate interventions or from a framework that recognizes the importance of healing coming from within the culture itself, it is important to bear in mind the need to be culturally appropriate. It is equally important to recognize that some expressions of past and ongoing trauma seen in refugee groups may signify the need for medical intervention and to develop means by which western medicine can work with diverse cultural norms and expressions in promoting healing.

This literature review also spoke to how life in countries of resettlement can have just as significant a toll on refugees' mental health as prior trauma. It is important to understand that for refugee youth, their adaptation to the host society is influenced and further complicated by several factors including: how old they are upon arrival, the breadth and severity of trauma experienced, family members coping ability and mental health status, their own mental health status and coping ability, their ability to be resilient, and above all the attitude of the host society towards their presence. These are important factors to consider when understanding the adaptation process and mental health of refugee youth in countries of resettlement, especially in regards to the school context.

As has been noted previously in this review, refugee youth view education with high expectations as they see it not only as a means for bettering their future, but as a way to regain control and power over their lives. Viewing education as a route towards a better and more successful future for their children has also been noted among parents of recent immigrants and refugees. Indeed, being connected and having a sense of belonging in one's school is linked to a number of positive outcomes for refugee youth and children in general.

Numerous benefits have also been cited for career guidance education programs and activities, all of which are likely to influence mental health status and the feeling of belonging. Though these benefits cited here in this review were relevant to general student populations in the United States, it is possibly they could be just as significant for resettled refugee youth. If refugee youth can become aware of the future educational and career opportunities available to them and understand the path(s) necessary to take to benefit from those opportunities, then they can be instilled with a sense of self-efficacy and be empowered to reach their goals. Self-efficacy and empowerment lead to feelings of self-agency and a sense of power and control over

one's life, which in turn promotes positive mental health status. Likewise, if refugee youth understand the educational and career paths available to them and how to be successful in reaching their goals it will perhaps better ensure their future economic and occupational success, which in turn can foster greater feelings of belonging within resettled communities and society as a whole.

Career guidance education could build upon the optimism and sense of hope that the role of education in general plays and positive gains of sense of school belonging, by helping refugee youth gain a sense of control over and hope for their future. It should however work alongside ESL and life skills classes and build upon language acquisition and cultural adaptability. By building upon these crucial components career guidance education could potentially help resettled refugee youth plan for and make progress in achieving their future economic and occupational goals, thereby working with processes of belonging and adapting to their countries of resettlement and positively impacting their mental health.

The next sections will discuss the implications these findings have for future research and program development. The following recommendations may be of use to Baldwin-Whitehall School District and the Pittsburgh School District, both of which enroll resettled refugee youth, in informing how they present their career guidance education curricula.

5.1.1   Implications for program development

Hughes et al. (2004) review of the literature on school-based career development found two meta-analyses that were repeatedly mentioned. The meta-analysis of Oliver and Spokane (1988) has become a seminal piece of literature. The other meta-analysis updates this study using the same methodology (Whiston, Sexton and Lasoff, 1998). Both studies found the career guidance

education activities among younger students, those at the junior high level, had the largest effect sizes. Multiple articles reviewed reinforce this finding and conclude that to be most effective career guidance education should be carried out throughout all grade levels, K-12 and even beyond (Gillie et al., 2003; Lent et al., 1999; Solberg et al., 2002; Lapan et al., 2001;Wahl et al., 2000) and be complementary in nature (Hughes et al., 2004).

For resettled refugee youth who will be coming in at various grade levels and most likely enrolled in ESL classes, career guidance education activities would be most effective if they built upon language acquisition and cultural adaptability and increased in comprehensiveness alongside increases in language skill. To ensure literacy appropriate levels and the appeal of curricula activities, it is recommended to involve resettled refugee youth in the planning process and to test out materials with similar populations who are not currently exposed to career guidance education. The recommendations received would then better guide the development process.

Academic success of immigrant and refugee students has been cited in the literature to also be dependent on the strength of their peer networks that encourage and support academic success (Fuligni, 1997; McNall et al., 1994). Career guidance education programs directed towards resettled refugee youth should take this into consideration when developing curricula. Moreover, as cultural models dictate career choice patterns (Kim, 1993), career guidance education curricula should be culturally appropriate and accommodate cultural norms and values of refugee groups to the extent feasible. As the children advance to middle and high school years, it may be helpful to have more individualized career/education counseling or counseling offered to small groups of refugees who hold similar views on future educational and occupational expectations and aspirations.

Another important recommendation for career guidance education directed specifically towards resettled refugee youth would be to help them think about potential barriers that may prevent them from reaching their goals and how these barriers could be overcome. In so doing this approach would also be informing students of resources available to them that they can access to combat barriers and/or use as support systems. This approach is informed by the social cognitive career theory (Lent et al., 1999) and is applicable for resettled refugee youth, who on account of past trauma experienced, potentially current unstable life situations, and lack of resources, will need considerable external support in their pursuit of better futures. Research cited in Wahl et al. (2000) show that "minority students and students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds may be particularly in need of accurate, realistic information about college entrance requirements, financial aid, and other practical concerns….and that it is imperative for students entering high school to understand the long-term implications of their course selection."

5.1.2   Implications for future research

Surprisingly very little literature was found within fields of psychology, anthropology and sociology using search terms "belonging" and "adapting" especially in regards to resettled refugees. Perhaps the search terms used in regards to these concepts were invalid though many different combinations were tried. Literature on refugee acculturation was also limited as the majority of the literature found dealt with immigrants. Though immigrants and refugees may have somewhat similar acculturation issues, due to the psychosocial concerns of refugee groups based on their history of multiple traumatic events, their acculturation process may be experienced somewhat differently.

Future studies should look at acculturation and the experience of belonging and adapting specific to refugee population's mental health and overall adjustment. Is acculturation always a positive gain? How do we measure belonging and adapting among refugee populations? It is recommended that organizations that have extensive contact with resettled refugees be interviewed to explore how they view the process of refugee acculturation, belonging, and adapting. Interviewing refugees who have been resettled for a period of six or more years to assess how they view acculturation, belonging, and adapting would also yield relevant data and could help in the development of measurements.

As no research studies were found analyzing career guidance education and resettled refugees, exploratory qualitative research in the form of focus groups would be an initial way to get at understanding: cultural model of career choice and expectations; relevancy of career guidance education curricula and theories; and any perceived racial, gender, or social class stereotypes that may influence their aspirations and/or attainments of certain careers/education. As noted in this review there is differing opinions on how various cultures define academic and career success and the role that children and their parents take in pursing a successful future. Therefore, it is recommended that multiple focus groups be held each with homogenous refugee populations in order to assess the above. Each focus group discussion should then be analyzed for themes that may be present for each population that could then be used for purposes of developing a more generalized but still appropriate career guidance education curricula targeted to resettled refugee youth.

Any research that is carried out with resettled refugee youth will need to be carefully undertaken for they are considered to be a vulnerable population for two reasons: as children and as refugees. Community based participatory research (CBPR) could be an effective approach to

take with this population as it involves the participants, resettled refugee youth and their parents, as equal partners in all aspects of the research process (Goodman et al., 2006). The CBPR approach would be particularly useful in understanding cultural norms and expectations of each refugee group for purposes of developing career guidance education curricula. It may however be difficult to gain their trust and participation. It is therefore recommended to network with organizations and individuals who already have an established, trusted relationship with resettled refugee populations. Going through these trusted networks will help with gaining entrée and legitimacy with this targeted population and will hopefully lead to their agreeing to participate in the CBPR process.

5.1.3   Limitations of this literature review

Most of the articles obtained for this review on refugees and resettled refugee youth pertained to their mental health status. As previously mentioned, very little information was found pertaining to the processes of belonging and adapting and career guidance education. As this was a review of the literature, no primary data was obtained from resettled refugee youth or their parents on the relevance of career guidance education for their lives and/or career guidance informed activities that would be most helpful. Future research should focus on obtaining primary data from this population.

6.0   CONCLUSION

"Ultimately, it is the economic, educational and socio-cultural rebuilding of worlds, allied to basic questions of equity and justice, which above all will determine the long-term well-being of millions of child survivors of war worldwide" (Summerfield, 2000). Culturally sensitive career guidance education, supplemented by ESL and life skills classes, and with parental approval, could potentially help to further the sense of self-agency and power of resettled refugee youth. This increased efficacy could allow them to gain knowledge and life skills necessary to make more informed decisions, which should enhance future educational and occupational success. Additionally, the potentially positive economic and social consequences and corresponding health effects that career guidance education will yield for these youth will continue to "manifest far into the future" (Chittleborough et al., 2007). However, much is unknown in regards to the potential positive impact that career guidance education could have on the mental health and long-term resettlement success of refugee youth and therefore future research is needed.

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