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Swedish school counselors

– on Swedish school counselors' professional practice, educational background and working life history

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Abstract

This paper presents some results from a unique survey conducted on all school counselors in Sweden. More precisely, the focus of this paper is on Swedish school counselors' professional practice, educational background and working life history. By professional practice we mean the concrete activities that school counselors engage in in their work and the scope of these activities. Organizational frameworks and work management issues are also studied.

The survey was web-based (online) and contained 91 questions of both quantitative and qualitative nature. This paper concerns only a limited part of the data material generated by the survey.

Data analyzes used in the script are mainly statistical descriptions.

The results of the analyzes show that Swedish school counselors are predominantly experienced social workers with academic education in social work and several years' experience of social work in areas other than school. Employment as a school counselor is rather the highlight of a career as a social worker than the beginning of such a career.

Introduction

In many countries, there are professionals in the school who work to meet students' needs for support related to schooling. It can, for example, be about study guidance, social and psychosocial needs and problems, well-being. The focus of this professional work can be remedial, preventive and promoting.

Common terms for this work, both in research and school practice, are school social work and school counseling. Consequently, the most common names for these professions are school social workers and school counselors. Despite the linguistic distinction, no clear line can be drawn between school social work and school counseling. Such distinctions are characterized by historical circumstances and traditions or are an expression of profession-based demarcations.

In some countries such as the USA, the division of school social work and school counseling is linked to two professions with their own organizations.

School Social Work Association of America (SSWAA) organizes school social workers and describes the professional practice in the following way: "...services related to a person's social, emotional and life adjustment to school and/or society. School social workers are the link between the home, school and community in providing direct as well as indirect services to students, families and school personnel to promote and support students' academic and social success." (School Social Work Association of America, 2022).

American School Counselor Association (ASCA) organizes school counselors and describes professional practice as follows: "School counselors work to maximize student success, promoting access and equity for all students." That by means of both the development of individual and interpersonal skills in the student but also advice in choosing educational paths and planning the student's future educational choices (American School Counselor Association, 2022).

In Sweden, the profession of school counselor and the work of school counseling are traditionally referred to as the school counselor (*skolkurator*). The organization that brings together the country's school counselors is called the Swedish School Counselors' Association. School counselor is also the term used by school organisers at the country's schools. The term is also used in job advertisements. In official statistics from Statistics Sweden (Statistics Sweden) and AF (Employment agency), school counselors are registered. The occupational position as school counselor has own occupational classification code I Swedish official statistics. However, in legal texts and national guidelines, neither school social work nor school counseling is used to name or describe the professional practice performed by school counselors. In fact, these legal texts and guidelines do not use any school-related term at all. The sweeping term counselor (*kurator*) is used.

Against this background, it is perhaps surprising to find that today there are voices for "renaming" the work of school counselors' to school social work and school social workers. The most common educational background for the profession is now - and has probably been for a long time (there is no clear data, however) - social work. Among teaching staff at departments of social work at Swedish universities, there is also a strong perception that the school counselor performs school social work.

Aim of the study

This raises the question of what the Swedish school counselor actually does and how his/her professional practice relates to what is described in international research as school counseling and school social work.

In this article, we will describe Swedish school counselors' professional practice, educational background and working life history. By professional practice we mean the concrete activities that school counselors engage in in their work and the scope of these activities. Organizational frameworks and work management issues are also studied.

Background (The Swedish case)

The Swedish school system can be described as a hybrid between a centralized state governance and highly decentralized forms of mandatorship and ownership. Until 1989, Swedish teachers were employed by the municipalities, but their salaries were regulated by the state. The state was also responsible for the teachers' other terms of employment. It is important to point out that Swedish teachers have never been directly employed by the state and that other school staff were directly employed by municipalities without any state intervention. After 1989, all school staff, regardless of category, received the municipality as employer and organizer. The current school system was created in 1992 when the state allowed the establishment of schools owned by other actors than municipalities (Prop. 1991/92:95; Prop. 1992/93:230). Such actors could be private companies, cooperatives, foundations, etc. The core of this decentralization of ownership is that each student receives a sum of money that will pay for the student's schooling, so-called school voucher. This money is distributed by the municipalities to organisers. If an organizer can show that the pupil has achieved educational goals set by the state at a lower cost than the size of the school voucher, the organizer may retain the difference. Organizers who are privately owned companies can thus achieve profits that they can distribute to their shareholders. It is the state that ultimately regulates the size of school fees. A state authority National Agency for Education sets up price lists per pupil and year. Although the municipalities also have a certain, albeit limited, influence over the size of school vouchers paid to various organizers. It is important to emphasize that all schooling in Sweden is free of charge for students. No schools are allowed to charge fees from students and their parents.

Regardless of ownership and leadership, it is the Swedish state that controls and regulates the content of the teaching with the overall goal of guaranteeing all students an equal education. The state governs through laws and regulations as well as curricula and the syllabus. A national authority (Skolverket) exercises supervision over school activities in the country. The same authority is also responsible for follow-up, evaluation and development of the school system, above all with regard to learning objectives and knowledge levels. The state also controls the work of Swedish schools in guiding students in their studies and choice of professional career. In 1972, a new organization was created in Swedish schools that would be responsible for guidance, which led to the emergence of a new professional group in the school. Guidance regarding study choices and career choices is also today

an integral part of the Swedish school. However, it must be emphasized that it does not work with students' social and psychosocial problems.

In Sweden, there is a long tradition of interventions of a social nature whose purpose has been to support students during schooling. The social has not always been a separate domain but an aspect of a broader health problem. A modern, medically oriented school health care has gradually emerged in Sweden since the 1940s. Gradually, it came to include professional groups such as counselors and psychologists, who, however, were left in the shadow of the school principals' prioritization of school doctors and school nurses. It was not until 2010 that social and psychosocial aspects were explicitly highlighted as an indispensable part of student health in a new school law. The law is an attempt to establish that the school's learning mission, including individual students' school performance and health in the broadest sense, are connected. Health is not only somatic but also psychosocial and therefore all schools should be forced to offer their students access to an organized multi-professional organization for student health where the school counselor has his or her given role (SFS 2010:800; Socialstyrelsen & Skolverket, 2016)

Research on school counselors

Research on Swedish school curators and research on social work in the Swedish school is very limited. The research on Swedish school curators has been mostly based on case studies and relatively small groups of school counselors. The authors of this article would like to point out that there is a complete lack of knowledge and research about curators in the school world taken as a professional group at the national level. In other words, there is limited empirically based knowledge of what the school counselor's work looks like in practice. Most research is based on the assumption that a school counselor is by definition a social worker in a school. It is an ideological and value-laden assumption that lacks support in the regulations that surround the Swedish school system.

The existing research on school counselors in Sweden has largely studied how school counselors view their assignments and tasks. Isaksson (2014) studied how school counselors perceive their scope for action (*handlingsutrymme*) and found that the school curator feels dependent on legitimacy-creating resources in the form of clear job descriptions and legitimacy from the principal or immediate superior. Research shows that Swedish school counselors are led by discipline-specific knowledge rather than the organizational context (i.e. school). Swedish research also shows that school counselors act pragmatically, rather than using evidence-based methods. This pragmatic way of action it is based on a robust knowledge base taken from theory formation in social work (Isaksson & Sjöström, 2017). Research has also shown that school counselors lack a clear technology that delimits their work in relation to other professions in student health. Technology mainly refers to conversations with students and consultation with teachers. These types of technologies are also used by other actors in student care / student health and thus do not give school counselors their own unique technology (Backlund, 2007). Kjellgren et al. (2022) studied Swedish school counselors' conversation practice and found that there was a common structure of the conversations but that the specific interventions differed and were characterized by an eclectic position where school counselors used a broad

repertoire of therapeutic approaches. and techniques. A Swedish study also have shown that when school counselors 'services are presented to children and parents, often appear as abstract and distant from children and parents' needs (Bergnehr & Johansson).

However, the lack of clarity regarding the school counselors's assignments and tasks does not only seem to be unique to Sweden. International research on the school counselor's work also shows the school counselor's assignments and tasks as filled with variations and ambiguity in the role (Altshuler & Webb, 2009; Beck, 2017; Gherardi & Whittlesey-Jerome, 2018; Huxtable, 2013; Richard & Villarreal Sosa, 2014). International research also shows that the division of roles between “school counselors” and “school social worker” is not always clear (Agresta, 2004; Astramovich et al., 2013; Özkan et al., 2019).

Methodology

The study is based on data from a on-line survey consisting of 90 questions addressed to the majority of Swedish school counselors. The questionnaire contained both questions with fixed answer alternatives and questions that could be answered with longer written statements.

The ambition was to reach out to all school counselors in Sweden. However, there is no register of school counselors in Sweden. According to statistics from Sweden's Municipalities and Regions (Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner, 2019), in 2019 there were approximately 2,600 full-time positions as school counselors in Swedish municipal schools. On the other hand, at the time of the study, there were no statistics on how many school counselor positions were available at independent (private) schools in Sweden. It is also not known how many natural persons hold the position of school counselor. Therefore, the survey was distributed via e-mail to members of a trade union organization Akademikerförbundet which in its membership register has about 1400 people who have stated that they work as school counselor. Respondents were also recruited through the Swedish School Counselors' Association's Facebook group and a professionally specific Facebook group for school counselors "Bollplank". The chosen distribution channels guarantee that a significant majority, however not clear how large, have been invited to complete the survey. When the survey was closed in October 2019, 451 responses were received.

In the absence of a register (sampling frame) of professional school counselors, neither random sampling procedures nor a census approach could be used. We believe that our selection procedure was the best possible, but can be a source of bias. The academic association SSR organizes social workers and distribution through this union can lead to a certain over-representation of school counselors with a social worker (socioonom) degree.

Table 1: Characteristics of the sample

Gender			
Woman	91,8%		
Man	8,2%		
Age			
Mean	43,74	Standard deviation	10,706
Median	43		
Mode	32		
n=	451		

77.5% of school counselors work full time. It is somewhat more common for male school counselors to work, men 86.5 per cent and women 76.7 per cent. The difference is in itself significant but should not be overinterpreted because men are so few. One could say that the typical school counselor is a full-time working woman.

The question of the survey's representativeness cannot be decided statistically as the selection is based on a non-probability sample with large elements of self-selection. In the present study, representativeness can be discussed in terms of coverage, i.e. whether all relevant background characteristics are found among the respondents who answered the survey. Representativeness can thus be estimated through demographic and other relevant data about the respondents (Wang et al., 2015). The respondents are distributed geographically in a way that coincides very well with the population distribution in Sweden. Sweden's population is unevenly distributed across the country. Only 15% of the population lives in rural areas. Of the 85% who live in urbanized parts of the country, the majority live near major cities. Our material reflects exactly these demographic conditions and 66.8% of the responses come from larger cities with surrounding municipalities while the rest come from smaller cities and rural areas. A further argument is that all types of municipalities are represented in the survey.

School counselors educational background

The school counselors appear as a homogeneous group regarding academic undergraduate education. 80.3% have a social work degree, which also means that they have a bachelor's degree in social sciences. The strong dominance of educations that are close to social work is underlined by the fact that 19.5% of counselors without a social work degree have a degree from the social care program with a focus on social pedagogy. Nowadays, such educations are part of the social work programs at Swedish colleges and universities. The rest of the counselors without a social work degree have

undergraduate degrees in behavioral science and social sciences, e.g. sociology, psychology, social psychology, etc.

In addition to a university degree, a significant proportion (32.8%) of the respondents also have at least one postgraduate education and training. 3.3% have several postgraduate educations. The most common postgraduate education is basic psychotherapy education. 11.5% have this education. The second most common postgraduate education is a master's or master's degree in social work, which 8.0% have. A majority (75.2%) state that they have further education which, although not a postgraduate education, but which they themselves consider to be relevant to their work as a school counselor. Within that category are a multitude of specific and non-specific working methods such as professional conversations, family therapy, BBiC, MI, CBT, ART, Komet and more.

In summary, it can be said that Swedish school curators are predominantly academically educated in the subject of social work and related disciplines. To the extent that they have postgraduate and further education, these educations can be described as within the mainstream of social work.

School counselors previous work experience

In addition to educational training as social workers, experience of various forms of social work plays an important role in applying for one's first job as a school counselor. 86.3% of the counselors had experience of social work before their first employment as a school counselor. Among those with a social work degree, the proportion was 88.9% and for those without a social work degree 79.3%. This is also significant experience of social work where the median is 6 years (mode = 3.0 years, mean 8.14 years and standard deviation = 6.45 years). It can be stated that school counselor is not an entry-level job but rather a job for relatively experienced professionals within the field of social work.

Table 2: Employment immediately before the first employment as a school counselor. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

	Frequency	Percent
Social service worker or equivalent employment. (Predominantly in municipal sector.)	235	54,9
Other qualified jobs in social work in the public sector	122	28,5
Non social work jobs in the public sector	24	5,61
Non social work jobs or students	47	11,0

n=	428	
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In our data, we can follow the respondents' working life history on the way to their first employment as a school counselor. As the table 2 shows, more than half of our respondents worked as highly qualified social workers with the exercise of authority (social services and PSS), immediately before they took up employment as school counselor. This type of work is the core of all social work in Sweden and takes place primarily in the municipalities but also in other parts of the public sector. A further 28.5% have worked with other types of social work in the public sector. The absolute majority (83.4%) of school counselors come from employment as highly qualified social workers in the public sector.

In fact, we can follow each respondent's three employments, in chronological order, preceding the first employment as a school counselor. The trend described above also exists when analyzing previous employments. Swedish school counselors are recruited primarily among highly educated social workers with experience of working with welfare issues in the public sector.

Professional practice of school counselors

An important question for professional practice concerns how much of the school counselors' work is devoted to the three dimensions that the law and guidelines state. Table 3 is just about this.

Table 3: How much working time school counselors spend on health-promoting, preventive or remedial work? (Measures of central tendency calculated on the extent as a percentage of working hours per week)

	Median	Mode	Mean	Standard deviation	n=
Health-promoting work	15,00	10,00	18,39	12,39	405
Preventive work	20,00	20,00	24,51	14,02	411
Remedial work	60,00	60,00	57,33	22,00	418

The results are striking. School counselors mainly engage in remedial work that takes significantly more than half of their working time. There is not much room left for health promotion and preventive work.

A legitimate question concerns components or activities that are part of a job as a school counselor at a school. In other words, the question of what school counselors actually do. Our survey included questions about several common work activities that are part of school counselors' professional practice. Table 4 shows that about two thirds of the working time is spent working with students. This is about the average scope per normal working week. Admittedly, all three measures of central tendency are close to each other and indicate a normal distribution, but it must be noted that the spread is quite large. About a quarter of the working time is devoted to administrative tasks. However,

we can not comment on whether these administrative tasks are related to student work or also other administration in the school.

Table 4: School counselors' work activities per week. (*Measures of central tendency calculated on the extent as a percentage of working hours per week*)

To what extent do you engage in the following activities during a normal week of your work?	Median	Mode	Mean	Standard deviation
Student-related work	65,0	70,0	62,50	16,06
Administration	25,0	20,0	26,80	12,94
Own education / skills development	5,0	5,0	6,07	4,56
Travel, relocation	5,0	5,0	5,75	4,98
Other	19,0	10,0	13,48	10,62

Like other client-oriented work, the most important tool in a school counselor's arsenal is meetings and conversations. Table 5 shows the structure of school counselors' meetings. Meetings and conversations with individual students are the most common type of meeting and almost 90% state that they have such meetings often. The high frequency of "often" answers distinguishes these from other types of meetings. It is also noteworthy that school counselor's work usually takes place at the individual level towards individual students and much less often towards students in groups. On the other hand, contact with other student health staff and the principal is very frequent.

Table 5: School counselors' work-related activities. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

To what extent do you carry out the following activities?	Often	Sometimes	Cumulative percentage
Meets children / young people (students) in groups	15,2	48,2	63,3
Meets children / young people (students) individually	89,4	8,8	98,2
Meets parents in groups	1,1	7,2	8,4
Meets parents of an individual child	19,4	54,3	73,6
Have a meeting with student health staff or the principal	78,6	20,3	98,9

Consult or supervise teachers or resource persons within the school	34,6	51,6	86,2
Participates in the work in the classroom	8,4	43,1	51,5

If you shift the focus from who school counselors work with to what the conversations are about, a slightly different picture emerges. That picture reflects the individual-oriented towards individual students in the school counselor's work. Table 6 shows the results for each type of conversation. The questionnaire used a typology of conversations that is common in school counselors' professional language use. The names are thus partly created by the profession itself but are based on laws and governing documents.

By far the most common type of conversation is supportive conversations closely accompanied by guiding / advisory conversations with the students. Once again, the individual-oriented nature of school counselors' work can be seen in the low incidence of group discussions. At the same time, it is also clear that the work to a relatively small extent includes purely therapeutic and semi-therapeutic elements (behandlande).

Table 6: Types of conversations that school counselors conduct. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

To what extent do you conduct the following types of conversations?	Often	Sometimes	Cumulative percentage
Guiding / advisory conversation	78,6	18,7	97,3
Crisis handling talks	15,2	50,9	66,1
Supportive conversation	89,6	9,7	99,3
Processing conversation	29,9	45,6	74,6
Investigative conversation	30,1	51,6	81,7
Therapeutic / treatment conversations	7,9	21,5	29,4
Group talks	5,9	46,8	52,7
Supervision of staff	19,1	51,8	70,9
Other types of conversations	18,4	53,1	71,4

Regardless of which of the different activities school counselors engage in, their use of methods is characterized by an emphasis on non-specific methods, eclecticism and their own mixes of several different methods as well as own experiences and intuition. 81.3% say they often work that way. Very

few (1,4%) say that they rarely or never work eclectically and improvisatively. A few (1,4%) could not answer the question about method use.

In addition to knowledge of what school counselors do, their perception of their own role is also of interest. The school counselors appear in the survey as a professional group with strong trust and conviction about the importance of their own work in the school. They are also relatively positive about how student health is organized based on both students' best interests and the school counselor's assignment.

Table 7: School counselors' attitude to their role. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

I believe that:	To a very high degree	To high degree	Cumulative percentage
the organization of student health work at my workplace is designed with the needs of students in mind	16,5	55,6	72,1
the organization of student health work at my workplace is designed with regard to my assignment as a school counselor	9,3	48,1	57,4
I contribute to the school's equal treatment and values work	37,8	45,2	83,0
I help remove barriers to student learning	20,9	62,0	83,0
I contribute to health promotion work at school	20,1	51,1	71,3
I contribute to preventive work in school	23,7	51,1	74,9
I contribute to remedial work in school	52,6	41,0	93,6

It should be noted the very high proportion of school counselors who believe that they contribute to remedial work in schools. Remedial work refers to the school's response when a problem, e.g. bullying, come to the school's knowledge. Equal treatment and values work and prevention work are to some extent overlapping categories.

School counselors seem to have a great deal of professional freedom in terms of who leads their daily work. One third answer that it is their direct organizer, i.e. principal. More surprising is that an overwhelming majority, almost two-thirds, answer that it is they who lead their work.

Table 8: School counselors' perception of who leads their daily work. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

	Proportion in %	Cumulative percentage
The principal	31,4	31,4
Myself	60,1	91,5

n=	446	
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School counselors also believe that the way they are led and supervised agrees well with their own perception of what the role of school counselor is about.

Table 9: School counselors' perception of whether they will be supervised in a way that is in line with their own perception of their role as school counselor. (*Proportions as a percentage of all respondents*)

	Proportion in %	Cumulative percentage
Totally agree	18,3	18,3
Agree largely	36,5	54,8
Agree to some extent	37,2	92,0
Disagree	8,0	100
n=	449	

This result is interesting because it indicates that a majority does not see any conflict between the ideals of their own profession and the school's way of leading and supervising their work.

We also asked questions about self-organization within school counselors' own organization / workplace. A large majority (87.5%) are part of such a network. In addition, these networks appear to be quite viable and meet continuously. 63.1% say that the networks meet once a month or more often.

Discussion

The purpose of this article is to describe Swedish school counselors' professional practice, educational background and working life history. One must be careful when interpreting results obtained in a cross-sectional survey, measurement at a given single point in time. The only sure thing you can do is to state that things are in a certain way, i.e. pure description. On the other hand, even a pure description can open up for broader interpretations.

Based on the results of the study, the typical Swedish school counselor can be described as a woman just over 40 years old who works full time and has an education in social work. In addition, the position as school counselor is not her first, but she most likely has solid experience of social work before she starts as a school counselor. She works mainly with individual students and her method use is rather eclectic.

The results of the study show that Swedish school counselors have established themselves as social workers in Swedish schools and that the school counselor profession has strong links to social work in other arenas. In other words, the school appears as an arena for generic social work rather than the school counselor's work being characterized by the state's intentions for health promotion and prevention work. The results of the study show that there is a clear "isomorphism" between school counselors and municipal social workers' professional practice. This "isomorphism" does not refer to a normative isomorphism in which professions act identically so as not to be perceived as different

(cf. DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), but rather as a depiction of the practice of the profession in different arenas. "Isomorphism" is visible in the fact that school counselors dedicate most of the working time for student-related work, which is to a large extent individual-centered. The school counselor's work is mostly remedial and focused on the individual student's problems. The most common types of conversations are conversations with individual students and meetings with student health staff and the principal. The school counselor's method use shows great similarities with other areas of social work with emphasis on eclectic or improvisational use of both specific and non-specific methods (Perlinski, 2010; Perlinski et al., 2013). Our results show unequivocally that the close connection between generic social work and the school counselor's professional practice is no coincidence. We can state that the school counselors' educational background is social work and any supplementary education for the most part focuses on the individual and remedial efforts. School counselors enter the profession with previous, often relatively long, experience of social work. Organizers and principals actively recruit social workers with academic degree (socionom) or people with other education in social work. In other words, one could say that it will be more "social work" than "school".

Swedish social work has a long history of intricate interdependencies between vocational training in social work and the needs of Swedish municipalities. This is natural considering that the country's social legislation has in relatively modern times been designed so that the responsibility for the well-being of the citizens was placed on municipalities and that it was the individual that the legislation focused on. The Swedish municipal social work is consequently very individual-centered, while more collectivist solutions such as community work are mostly absent, which becomes especially clear in international comparisons. The municipalities are the dominant organizer for both social services and school counseling activities. One can wonder what role the municipalization of the school, a process that took place between 1985 and 1990, played in this context. It would be unlikely that given the same organizer, accustomed to a certain way of working and to employing a specific category of civil servants with a relatively uniform educational background in social work, did not play a role. Previous research (Jansson et al., 2021) has shown that school organizers and principals, when recruiting new staff, to a large extent want applicants with a degree in social work (socionomexamen).

We can thus state that school has become a new arena for social work, at least as a significant labor market for academically educated social workers. A process that has probably been going on for a long time (a few decades). It can also be argued that it is a stable arena that also places high demands on the qualifications of social workers. In contrast to municipal activities such as e.g. financial assistance, school counselor's work is not an entry-level job. On the contrary, it requires not only formal education but also long experience from the various areas of social work. These requirements may not always be explicitly stated, but if you study the professional careers of school counselors, you will see that they are there.

An overall impression from our empirical material is that the school counselors have found their place in the school world and established a clear jurisdiction that is not questioned by other professional groups in the school. Talking about school counselors, especially school counselors who are social workers, as "guests" at school is misleading. On the other hand, it is clear that school counselors represent social work in the school world, and to a significant extent and strength, but are not integrated into the school's pedagogical activities. It does not necessarily have to be a disadvantage or a weakness.

The fact that school counselors are lively involved in professional networks with other school counsellors can be interpreted as a sign of a strong and well-established professional group. Our empirical evidence points to the fact that the school counselors does not seem to be on the way to

developing into own specific profession, but rather the opposite. The dominant position of social workers is clear and means that the school is an arena for generic social work.

School counselors spend most of their working time on student-related work. The most common types of conversations are conversations with individual students and meetings with student health staff and the principal. At the same time, school counselors have quite high thoughts about their own significance for removing obstacles to students' learning, contributing to the school's basic values work and, above all, remedial work in the school. It is also clear that, like large parts of municipal social services, school counseling work is individual-oriented. It is individual students who are in focus. One possible explanation for this may be that municipal social work is focused on helping the individual citizen. This is due to both how the legislation is designed and how the municipalities organize their work. The second explanation may be that the Swedish school is also individual-centered and focused on individual students' achievement of learning objectives. The financing of school activities is also based on individual students and their school vouchers, i.e. the political amount of economic amount of resources linked to a specific student.

We can state that the school counselors' jurisdiction is so established that they have a significant scope for action in their work, but also a clear idea of who their main client is. 49.6% believe that it is the students who are their main clients. 60.1% believe that they themselves lead their daily work. Here, then, we have a position, an ideological one, about who the profession represents, namely the students. Not entirely different from the opinion among Swedish social workers that they mainly represent their clients.

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