

ENGLISH, FINNISH, SWEDISH, OR SILENCE? LANGUAGE AS SYMBOLIC POWER IN THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF HIGHLY SKILLED PROFESSIONALS IN HELSINKI

Pierre Bourdieu (1991) argued that language should be regarded not solely as a means of communication, but rather as a medium of power and influence, wherein individuals assert their personal objectives and showcase their practical competence. With the concept of symbolic power, Bourdieu explained the subtle, often unconscious forms of cultural and social dominance in everyday habits that reinforce an individual's position in a social hierarchy. In this article, I will present a Bourdieusian analysis of how language becomes a site of struggle and contestation in the everyday lives of international highly skilled professionals residing in Helsinki. Employing an autoethnographic approach based on personal experiences and a narrative analysis of in-depth interviews with 31 highly skilled professionals from Turkey, the article posits that activating and practicing Finnish with dominant others in daily life becomes challenging, as it disrupts a highly skilled person's favorable positionality in social and cultural hierarchies. To avoid 'migrantization' and instead assert themselves as highly educated, cultured, and cosmopolitan professionals in social interactions, they – we – use English, and sometimes Swedish or silence strategically.

NILAY KILIŇ

Kone Foundation Grant Postdoctoral Researcher
Helsinki Institute of Urban and Regional Studies,
University of Helsinki

Upon entering Allas Sea Pool's café, I instinctively order my café latte in English. The cashier, fluent in English, asks about my choice of milk. Seated at a table overlooking the sea, I engage in work on my laptop amidst a bustling scene of diverse groups of people – tourists, international students, locals – all relishing the summer day. During a call with my British colleague, I observe the woman at the nearby table dropping her handbag on the ground. Swiftly retrieving it, I hand it back to her, receiving a polite thanks in English before she resumes her conversation in Finnish.

On a winter evening, I board a bus from Herttoniemi. A young woman sitting in front of me becomes the focus of an intoxicated man trying to engage with her in English. Compelled by discomfort, I tap her shoulder and whisper, "You can sit next to me." As she joins me, the man starts to walk around, but the passengers ignore him. Meanwhile, my new companion, a 22-year-old refugee, confides in me about similar unsettling encounters in Helsinki. The man encroaches on our space, uttering incomprehensible words in Finnish and English. I summon courage and in my best Finnish, I calmly command, "Mene pois." To my relief, he relocates elsewhere. Upon reaching my stop, I cast a teacher-like gaze at him, then offer heartfelt wishes for my companion in her new life in Finland.

Disembarking the plane at Helsinki Airport, a subtle tension accompanies me. Anticipating a swift passport control process, I encounter a prolonged queue for "Other Nationalities." Observing the efficient flow in the EU queue accentuates the sluggishness of my progress. Finally reaching the counter, I greet the officer and present my documents. His cold scrutiny accompanies a seemingly irrelevant question, "Do you speak Finnish?" Opting to shift the power dynamics, I declare, "Ymmärän vähän suomea mutta puhun ruotsia." His demeanor softens, a smile emerging. "Ha det bra!" he exclaims upon returning my documents. Surprised by this unexpected warmth, I stutter, "Tack, det samma."

The thread connecting these distinct encounters brings about immediate questions: What prompted my decision to speak in a specific language in one setting and maintain silence in another? Why do I find ease in expressing myself in one language while feeling vulnerable and apprehensive in another? The ongoing negotiation of my position in different social settings raises the question of its underlying importance.

Upon my arrival in Finland in 2020, I not only navigated the intricacies of adapting to a new land and language but also undertook a research project that has explored the immigration motiva-

tions and diverse integration paths of highly skilled Turkish professionals in Helsinki. Drawing from 31 in-depth interviews and three years of field notes, this article provides some answers to the aforementioned questions. A dedicated segment of the interviews explored the theme of language and intercultural communication, probing participants' reflections on language learning processes and the impact of linguistic skills on their professional and social lives.

Existing research on highly skilled migrants in Finland primarily revolves around language's role in labor market integration (e.g. Pöyhönen & Tarnanen 2015; Steel et al. 2019). However, it often overlooks the nuanced power dynamics that shape language use and expression in intercultural communication. By focusing on participants' everyday social interactions, I aspire to provide novel insights into the constitution of symbolic power in intercultural communication and how power imbalances influence the way language(s) are used.

Symbolic power as and in language

I employ a Bourdieusian conceptual framework to explore this nuanced relationship between language, power, and social dynamics. Bourdieu's (1991) perspective goes beyond viewing language as a mere communication tool; instead, it is seen as a strategic instrument that establishes and perpetuates social distinctions. These distinctions, manifested through linguistic proficiency, choices, and practices, act as potent markers of social status, cultural capital, and educational background, collectively shaping individuals' symbolic power within society.

Symbolic power, extending into the language realm, influences social structures by imposing and legitimizing specific linguistic norms, contributing to the perpetuation of social inequalities. Mastering dominant languages enhances one's symbolic power, reinforcing existing social hierarchies.

Within this framework, Bourdieu introduces the concept of symbolic violence, an insidious force that imposes symbolic systems, norms, and representations to sustain social hierarchies. Operating through language, cultural practices, and institutionalized norms, symbolic violence legitimizes prevailing power structures, making them appear inherent and unquestionable. Language, education, and cultural practices become conduits for the manifestation of symbolic violence, marginalizing certain linguistic varieties and reinforcing social distinctions.

Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic power and symbolic violence are intrinsically tied to his

Symbolic power, extending into the language realm, influences social structures by imposing and legitimizing specific linguistic norms, contributing to the perpetuation of social inequalities. Mastering dominant languages enhances one's symbolic power, reinforcing existing social hierarchies.

broader theory of habitus – a system of durable and transposable dispositions, structured ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that individuals develop through their social experiences and interactions within a particular social context (Navarro, 2006). It encompasses a set of subconscious, ingrained habits, preferences, and tendencies that guide an individual's behavior. Language, as a crucial aspect of habitus, reflects and reproduces social structures. Those aligned with dominant linguistic norms, often associated with the ruling class, are better positioned in social spaces. Furthermore, symbolic violence becomes ingrained in habitus, shaping individuals' perspectives and behaviors to perpetuate existing power structures.

For highly skilled migrants, questions arise about habitus adaptation in a new country and the need for transformation to navigate new rules and acquire symbolic power. When they internalize symbolic violence, the sections that follow will explore whether an escape route exists from this self-perpetuating cycle of social inequality.

The sample

All interviewees, a mix of academics, artists, healthcare workers, entrepreneurs, IT professionals, and engineers, were employed during the interviews. The 31 participants (16 men, 15 women), aged mostly in their 30s, had diverse educational backgrounds: 22 with a Master's, four with a Bachelor's, and five with a Ph.D. Citizenship varied, with 15 Turkish, 14 dual (Finnish, Turkish), and two from other countries. Their Finnish residency spanned one to 25 years, with over half living there for more than five years.

Migration to Finland had varied motivations: higher education, partner reunification, and job prospects. Lifestyle aspirations too, such as seeking an egalitarian, secure society with work-life balance were pivotal. Finland was chosen to escape Turkish identity stereotypes, distinct from other European nations with established Turkish diasporas. Most had the prevailing goal of obtaining permanent residency in Finland, fueled by concerns over Turkey's perceived socio-economic and political instability.

Findings

Ownership of English: exerting power as an almost native speaker

Most participants, hailing from major Turkish cities and educated in prestigious institutions, exhibit proficiency in English. Nearly half lived abroad for

education or work, and 21 have Finnish partners. This cosmopolitan profile indicates a diverse linguistic and cultural background shaped by global experiences, leading to English adoption as their dominant language.

Their advanced English skills prove instrumental in enrolling in higher education programs or securing jobs in Finland. Engaging in international communities within the country, participants' language proficiency, along with other positive attributes, sets them apart as successful students and employees. Bourdieu's (1977) concept of linguistic markets argues that different languages hold varying cultural values, with linguistic competence serving as cultural capital convertible into economic and social advantages. Participants recognize their advantageous position in international workplaces, where advanced English skills function as a valuable commodity, positioning them higher in social hierarchies.

Those participants who move to Finland for marriage, having initially met their partners in international settings with English as the primary language, often maintain English as the *lingua franca* in their relationships. This choice ensures effective communication, emphasizing the participants' need for linguistic equality. As one participant expressed, "I talk to my husband about daily matters in Finnish, but if we're discussing a serious topic, I'll speak English; we need to be equal."

Advanced English skills provide participants with advantages in universities and workplaces, prompting them to extend the gained symbolic power to other social spaces. The majority express a preference for living in central and culturally diverse areas in Helsinki, especially during their initial years. These locations, they believe, allow them to embrace an "expat" lifestyle without fear of judgment. Moreover, their international flair may be appreciated, enhancing positive interactions. A participant highlighted that he feels more comfortable speaking English in the city center, hence actively choosing to spend time in neighborhoods where communication in English feels natural. My anecdote from Alas café too, underscores the significance of inclusive spaces where English is valued and spoken, fostering free and authentic expression in interactions.

On the flip side, participants recounted instances where their Finnish counterparts were either hesitant or unwilling to engage in English conversations. This, in turn, led to a sense of discomfort for the participants. It can be asserted that most participants in this scenario relate to the experience of encountering symbolic violence manifested through the imposition of lin-

guistic dominance. When roles are reversed, and Finnish locals find themselves compelled to exert effort in speaking English, there are occasions where they may outright resist linguistic adaptation. Although it is not possible to completely avoid these instances, participants commonly try to guess who would be able to speak in English with them.

Participants noted having an international, Finnish, and Turkish mix of friends based on shared professions, education, lifestyle, and interests. They prioritize connections with similar educational levels and worldviews over nationality or ethnicity, often identifying as "citizens of the world." Describing their friends as English-speaking, well-traveled, and well-read, they seek a 'habitus fit' among other criteria in relationships. One participant, an academic in Finland for over 20 years, emphasized, "I don't care where people are from, I care if I can have a conversation with them. My friends are from all around the world, including many Finns, open-minded, knowledgeable people. Of course, we speak in English; this isn't a problem in academia."

Navigating an international expatriate lifestyle and asserting almost-native English proficiency is effective in familiar circles but poses challenges in unfamiliar settings. A participant with a respected artistic profession in Finland recounted an encounter with a Finnish stranger asking about his origin. Replying "from Turkey", he quickly emphasized his occupation, associating himself more with expertise than nationality, showcasing a strategic use of symbolic power. When the person further asked why he did not learn Finnish, he explained that his work is non-verbal and international. This dynamic illustrates the ongoing game of acquiring symbolic power, often encountered outside participants' usual social circles. In such situations, negotiating questions of identity becomes a strategic interplay between nationality, profession, and language proficiency.

The narratives commonly reveal anxieties related to being categorized as migrants, particularly 'bad migrants'. Despite diverse looks among the people of Turkey, the participants – particularly men – who have darker features mentioned facing racism in their daily lives. The same participant shared an incident on a tram in Kallio where an older Finnish man targeted him and his international friend with racial slurs. A young Finnish woman intervened, apologizing on behalf of the offender in English. As the example shows, language alone does not wield symbolic power; visible codes such as appearance, gender, clothing style, behavior, and gestures contribute to

assumptions and prejudices – whether positive, negative, or neutral – within a social sphere.

Speaking Finnish in daily life: Like being on stage with linguistic insecurity

In the opening scene of the documentary *La sociologie est un sport de combat* (2001), an anxious Pierre Bourdieu prepares for an online debate with Edward Said in Chicago. Director Pierre Carles captures Bourdieu's palpable tension, his face compressed between raised shoulders. Reflecting on his *l'insécurité linguistique*, Bourdieu explains how this discomfort would not have arisen in a French-speaking context.

I would like to use this scene as a metaphor for the participants' daily interactions. Each participant's relationship with the Finnish language converges on a shared anxiety: the quest for fluency that enables eloquence, wit, humor, and authentic self-expression. In their thirties or forties, educated and skilled, these transnational elites represent economic and social prowess in a globalized world. However, when faced with constructing simple sentences in Finnish, they experience a struggle that finds solace among familiar connections but leads to distress in unfamiliar social settings. Daily grappling with linguistic insecurities and vulnerabilities negatively affects their self-esteem and puts their symbolic power at stake, as they are unaccustomed to linguistic inferiority in their native contexts or English-speaking environments.

While all participants attended Finnish language courses and nearly half secured citizenship through language tests, the efficacy of these courses raised concerns. Tailored for European language speakers and conducted in English, they slow down the participants' learning process as Turkish and Finnish have linguistic similarities. Furthermore, the courses often fell short of providing practical conversational skills. I experienced this when I decided to speak Finnish after six months of Finnish courses. When a cashier said "kippiis!" for thank you, I adopted it and used it generously, thinking it was a Helsinki slang for "cheers!" Turns out, my colleagues corrected me – it is likely "kiit-ti." As the flashbacks of all those awkward interactions passed before my eyes, it taught me the importance of learning "puhekieli".

Despite concerted efforts in language courses, daily active use of Finnish remained uncommon among participants. Those who actively speak Finnish either migrated at a younger age for studies, have Finnish partners, or work in jobs requiring Finnish proficiency. Life course, immigration reasons, family dynamics, and occupation seem

to affect one's willingness to master Finnish. For the majority, Finnish knowledge stayed passive, emerging sporadically in interactions with friends, partners, or colleagues. The temporal nature of their stay posed a challenge, as two-thirds were on fixed-term programs with temporary permits, limiting early commitment to language learning. Surprisingly, all participants initiated learning Finnish despite their precarious situation, with increased dedication once obtaining permanent residence permits.

Those who venture into Finnish conversations mentioned some challenges. One is that attempting to speak Finnish often led locals to respond in English, influenced by preconceived notions tied to 'foreign' appearances. One participant showed me her "Puhun suomea" pin intended to prompt Finnish conversations, but found it ineffective. While Finnish speakers switching to English may stem from thoughtfulness, perceptions about foreign looks can lead to intrusive behavior, as I witnessed during my bus trip. The intoxicated passenger targeted the young woman based on the perceived 'foreign appearance' hence addressed her in English. Intending to gain symbolic power which I thought would diffuse the situation, I made an effort to sound like a Finnish person, hoping to discourage any further disturbance.

Participants usually described Helsinki as an introverted city, where spontaneous chats rarely occur. One participant who is a long-term resident acknowledged that "I can spend my whole life here with moikka and kiitos. That's all you need for daily interactions." The city-dwellers' lack of interest in small talk becomes a hurdle for participants trying to express themselves. One participant, a daily Finnish speaker working in a hospital, shared an incident while waiting for the elevator. As he attempted to greet his neighbor, the neighbor ignored him, taking the stairs. Another participant, in Helsinki only for a year and taking intensive Finnish courses, voiced her concerns by questioning, "How can I improve my Finnish if nobody speaks to me? I go to work, come home, and I barely get someone to talk to me in between."

The interviews uncovered the persistence of symbolic violence even in Finnish conversations. A doctor shared an unsettling incident where a patient, attempting to identify his accent, remarked, "You sound like a Turk." This occurrence highlights the significant power embedded in accents, underscoring that the legitimacy of linguistic correctness is essentially a social construct. Linguistic communities shape accepted speech patterns, deeming expressions valid based on their alignment with the language used by socially influen-

tial groups (Lippi-Green 2012; Bourdieu 1984). This encounter was disconcerting for the participant as it reminded him of being perceived as an 'outsider' despite his proficiency in Finnish—a paradox considering his linguistic competence is foundational to his successful medical career.

Creating one's bubble through Swedish

Bourdieu's (1984) concept of social space explores the multidimensional distribution of agents based on economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital. Divisions within social space create hierarchies through competing principles like class, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and citizenship, influencing group-making and claims-making strategies. Bourdieu's (2008; 2005) examination of physical space refers to the tangible, three-dimensional expanse where agents and institutions are situated. Physical space not only imposes material constraints and facilitations but also materializes mental categories into tangible reality, creating separate neighborhoods based on social divisions.

Language itself constitutes a distinct space, intricately shaping and transforming cities in their spatio-historical evolution. Simultaneously, the modern nation-state acts as the central agent of "linguistic territoriality", employing centralized practices like language standardization, educational policies, and the suppression of minority languages. In cities like Helsinki, hosting diverse ethnic groups and diasporas, individuals often navigate multiple belongings, languages, and identities, negotiating between cultures (Hall 2008). In the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, the choice of highly educated migrants to learn Swedish instead of Finnish prompts intriguing questions about their multiple attachments and social positionings. Despite being an official language of Finland, the status of Swedish in different city contexts, such as Helsinki, remains ambiguous, confined to specific social and physical spaces in the city.

On my second day in Helsinki, I attempted to use Swedish in Oodi Library's café and faced a grimace from the barista. Immediately switching to English, I asked her if it was not appropriate to speak Swedish. She suggested that I ask the person first if they can speak Swedish, but then added this sentence, "or if they want to." This revealed an interesting dynamic – I understood that Swedish could be perceived as a form of symbolic violence for some Finnish speakers. In time, I observed a division among Finnish speakers in Helsinki regarding the acceptance of Swedish; some resisted the language of the once-oppressor empire, while others recognized its value for economic oppor-

Language itself constitutes a distinct space, intricately shaping and transforming cities in their spatio-historical evolution. Simultaneously, the modern nation-state acts as the central agent of "linguistic territoriality", employing centralized practices like language standardization, educational policies, and the suppression of minority languages.

tunities in the wider Nordic region. Despite my ability to speak an official language, I figure that I intentionally need to seek Swedish-speaking social and physical spaces in the city.

The participants who chose to learn Swedish echoed similar struggles. Three participants chose Swedish as they are married to Swedish speakers, and one participant reflected on her genuine interest in Swedish. The latter highlights the importance of personal affinity in language learning, often overlooked in integration talks. Learning a new language requires liking it, and fostering immersion in both language and associated cultures. While Finland's governmental system allows taking the language proficiency test in Swedish, participants argued that everyday life in Helsinki does not necessarily favor Swedish speakers. One of the participants highlighted that her learning Swedish even met with some judgment by her colleagues: "I was gazing through my Swedish book at the lunch break and my colleagues confronted me. One asked me, 'Why don't you learn Finnish first?' They know that my husband's a Swedish speaker!"

Participants noted that learning Swedish facilitated socializing and networking within Swedish-speaking communities, fostering a sense of belonging towards certain social and physical spaces in the city. However, while Swedish offered social benefits and a supportive network, it did not emerge as a prioritized cultural capital in Helsinki's job market. I benefit from Swedish whilst dealing with bureaucratic matters, feeling safe that I can communicate in one of the official languages of the country that I am living in. Perhaps my reaction at the passport control stemmed from such anxiety – with the fear of being judged for not speaking Finnish, I sought refuge in Swedish, which was received well.

Navigating migrantization through strategic silence

In Anderson's (2019) perspective, the distinction between 'migrant' and 'citizen' is crucial in shaping nation-states and their territorial boundaries. The idea of "migrantizing" citizens involves exploring how the formal exclusion of non-citizenship is connected to various, sometimes informal, exclusions within citizenship itself. Anderson suggests viewing migrantized individuals as outcomes of racialized and classed processes linked to specific locations within both local and transnational societies. According to her, when migration extends beyond borders, it transforms into a matter of "race", frequently subjecting ethnic-minority citizens to migrantization.

Symbolic power subtly influences social interactions, operating as an unseen force. Everyday speech or silence becomes a strategic engagement in this symbolic game. Participants employ various tactics, such as maintaining silence in public settings like transportation, and only breaking it when necessary. Even then, some participants chose to remain silent, motivated by a desire to avoid drawing attention to themselves. For those who believe they can pass as "Finnish" based on their appearance, silence serves as a means of concealing their true identity and avoiding migrantization.

Conversely, those who feel they stand out as racialized migrants may opt for silence to escape potential discrimination or targeting by those around them. One illustrative incident recounted by a participant—a male artist in his thirties—occurred when he was on a bus and a pupil from a school group sat next to him. The participant further elaborated, "This little blonde boy sat next to me. His teacher glanced at me, then instructed the boy to change seats with another pupil, a darker boy who isn't ethnically Finnish. I wasn't sure of the intention; I could've asked but chose not to." We will never know why the teacher asked the students to change seats; however, the participant felt that it was his "obvious foreign look" which led to the teacher's openly expressed disturbance. Despite his confusion and curiosity, he remained silent, lowering his gaze to avoid further attention.

In more intimate settings such as workplaces or educational institutions where participants' backgrounds are known, strategic silence is utilized to project an image of successful integration and understanding. When colleagues or acquaintances switch to speaking Finnish, participants may become passive listeners, hiding their incomplete understanding.

However, the practice of remaining silent is not uniformly adopted among the sample group. The majority of the participants perceive themselves as conscientious 'citizens' who advocate against inequality and discrimination. Yet, particularly in their initial years in Finland, navigating the balance between speaking up and maintaining silence is challenging. The fear of being migrantized serves as a deterrent to assertiveness, reinforcing the participants' awareness of the pervasive nature of symbolic power dynamics in their everyday lives.

Key Takeaways

Proficiency in English is indispensable for the educational and professional advancement of highly skilled individuals, enhancing their societal stand-

ing. However, stepping outside familiar social circles exposes them to challenges, as the use of English may lead to experiences of migrantization. In urban settings with English as the primary language, these professionals can expand their social networks and fulfill their need for meaningful interactions.

Learning Finnish becomes essential for those envisioning a stable future in Finland, prioritizing jobs and permanent resident permits. Yet, speaking Finnish presents challenges, including perceptions of lower social status due to limited proficiency or accents. Mitchell (2013, 340) argues that "...where biological race can no longer be an explicit, legal tool for discrimination, culture, and language have become powerful factors in institutionalized discrimination and racist outcomes..." Likewise, instances of Othering and discrimination occur daily through symbolic violence tied to language and culture. Acceptance of foreign-accented Finnish appears crucial for promoting pluralism and encouraging newcomers to engage without fear of insignificance.

The adoption of Swedish by some participants highlights the complex relationship between language, social positioning, and belonging. While only 5.2% of the population speaks Swedish, newcomers may learn it for familial or personal reasons. However, the practical benefits of Swedish proficiency, especially in Helsinki, remain uncertain and requires further investigation.

Strategic silence emerges as a coping mechanism, navigating power dynamics and avoiding potential discrimination. The fear of migrantization influences participants' communication choices in social settings, highlighting the nuanced interplay of speech and silence in shaping daily interactions and identity negotiations.

Imposing monolingualism and elevating Finnish as the dominant language may hinder newcomers' self-expression and sense of belonging. Ideally, Finland should embrace linguistic diversity,

supporting the growth of all newcomer languages. For instance, one-third of the sample group comprises families raising multilingual children. Consider a family exposing the children to Turkish and Swedish at home and Finnish and English at school. This diverse upbringing stands as a significant asset for Finland's future, enriching the nation's fabric and benefiting the children shaping it.

References

- Anderson, Bridget (2019). New Directions in Migration Studies: Towards Methodological Denationalism. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 7 (1), 1–36.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1977). L'économie des Échanges Linguistiques. [The Economy of Linguistic Exchanges.] *Langue Française*, 34, 17–34.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1984). *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1989). Social Space and Symbolic Power. *Sociological Theory*, 7 (1), 14–25.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2005). *The Social Structures of the Economy*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2008). *The Ball of Bachelors: The Crisis of the Peasant Society in Béarn*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hall, Stuart (2008). New Cultures for Old? Timothy Oakes & Patricia L. Price (eds.), *The Cultural Geography Reader*, London: Routledge, pp. 264– 274.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina (2012). *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mitchell, Kara (2013). Race, difference, meritocracy, and English: Majoritarian Stories in the Education of Secondary Multilingual Learners. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 16 (3), 339– 364.
- Navarro, Zander (2006). In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu. *DS Bulletin*, 37 (6), 1 –22.
- Pöyhönen, Sari & Mirja Tarnanen (2015). Integration Policies and Adult Second Language Learning in Finland. James Simpson & Anne Whiteside (eds.), *Adult Language Education and Migration*. Routledge, 107–118.
- Steel, Tytti, Anna-Maija Lämsä, & Marjut Jyrkinen (2019). Paradoxes of Mentoring: An Ethnographic Study of a Mentoring Programme for Highly-Educated Women with Migrant Backgrounds. *Culture Unbound*, 11 (2), 275–297.

