# Mentoring for Integration, "If I can do it, so can you"

## A Study on Nightingale Malmö

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# Abstract

Students from Malmö University (mentors) and school pupils from 8 to 12 years old (mentees) participate each year in the Nightingale Malmö mentoring programme. Using Bourdieu's sociological perspective, this thesis aims at examining how Nightingale mentoring may strengthen the mentors' and mentees' social and cultural capitals. Plus, with the concepts of social and system integration, this thesis aims at examining how mentoring can integrate both mentors and mentees. To this end, the empirical data from eight mentors' interviews and their monthly reports has been combined with observations and conversations with Nightingale staff members. The results show that mentoring has facilitated mentors' integration into the labour market to a significant degree. Mentoring enhances a form of social integration for mentees and system integration for mentors. Concerning social capital, eight out of eight mentees' self-confidence (display of social capital) appears to have increased through mentoring. Mentors' and mentees' cultural capitals — linguistic capital, know-how, and knowledge — have been exchanged and strengthened.

**Keywords**: mentoring, integration, social capital, cultural capital, Nightingale.

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# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

As many other European cities, Malmö faces complex challenges of segregation and poverty. About 31,7% of children in Malmö lived under the poverty line in 2012 (Rädda Barnen 2014). Out of this percentage 62, 8% children live under the poverty line in one of the most multicultural neighbourhood (in Rosengård). Conversely, it reached only 11,5% in the least multicultural of Malmö neighbourhoods (in Limhamn-Bunkeflo) (RB 2014). Other indicators such as youth unemployment, access to higher education, and housing conditions can tell the same story of reproduction of inequalities.

Notwithstanding contemporary debates about integration tend to revolve around presumed dichotomies: man/woman, we/them. These debates tend to separate certain taken-for-granted group identities: Swede/immigrant, I/the Other. This overly simplistic view embedded in contemporary debates needs to be challenged. In this context, Nightingale Malmö is a mentoring organisation that has the potential of enhancing integration and tolerance. Ultimately, mentoring is engaged in a battle against segregation and racism. The tremendous potential of mentoring lies on a structured and supervised relationship between a student and a schoolchild. Both mentors and mentees tend to have heterogeneous backgrounds, representing the diversity of Malmö city.

Mentoring addresses at least three critical issues that need further research on mentoring in general, and on Nightingale mentoring model in particular. First, the effects of mentoring have to be studied on a micro-scale (on mentors and mentees) and on a macro-scale (on integration). Second, it is vital to investigate to which extent the encounter between a student and a school child has the potential to enhance integration. Last but not least, there is a need to develop both quantitative and qualitative theoretical tools to measure the effects of mentoring. These issues have become even more urgent since the contemporary refugee situation that has challenged the European Union, as well as the Swedish institutions. This thesis is an independent study using qualitative methods on what happens during a mentoring relationship.

## 1.2 Background information on Nightingale Malmö

Founded in 1997 at Malmö University, the Nightingale mentoring programme in Malmö trains around 80 students each year to become a mentor for a school child (Sild Lönroth 2007). Nightingale Malmö, named *Näktergalen* in Swedish, is sponsored by Malmö University and Malmö city. It inspired itself from the Israeli Perach mentoring organisation, whose participants come from different backgrounds: "Arabs and Jews" (Perach 2015). Contrary to Perach's cross-cultural encounter that would take for granted each participant's fixed culture, Nightingale does not hold an essentialist perspective on group identities. Nightingale promotes thus an encounter between a school child and a student. The most significant differentiating element resides mentors' and mentees' ages and their respective educational levels, school and university. Since its foundation in Malmö (Sweden) Nightingale has expanded into a growing network. At the moment, the Nightingale Network (2016) involves 24 European universities from Spain to Norway, and even a programme in Uganda has been launched recently in 2014.

The Nightingale programme aspires at strengthening mentors and mentees, and generating "integration through encounters" (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011: 143). The Nightingale mentoring model has been built around the idea of "mutual benefit", meaning that both parts will learn and grow from this experience (Sild Lönroth 2007: 16). Its principle is simple: students trained to be mentors meet their mentees once a week from October to May. Regarding the meetings, the mentor and mentee can decide when they want to meet up and what they want to do together. Some activities that remain popular over the years are going to the museum, doing different sport activities like ice-skating, going to the city library or to a movie theatre. Essentially, the activity ought to be decided and agreed upon by both the mentee and the mentor. They may also meet at the mentor's or mentee's home to play Minecraft or bake chocolate cupcakes. Nightingale offers the mentors some group activities, predominantly taking place at Malmö University.

Both mentees and mentors participating are thoughtfully interviewed and eventually matched by the supervisors. Only students enrolled at Malmö University may apply to be mentors. Those who are able to provide a reference person, a clear criminal case record, and pass the interview, can be trained as mentors. Students could earn 5 000 Swedish crowns and a job certificate for being a mentor from October 2015 to May 31st 2016 (Nightingale 2016). They

also take part in a training consisting of supervisory meetings and two lectures. Apart from meeting their mentees once a week, the mentors ought to fill in monthly reports to inform on their relationship.

Regarding the mentees, Nightingale recruits children from five different schools, including Rosengård primary school. In principle, any child willing to have a mentor may participate. This said, it does not comprise children in situation of special needs who receive adequate support from other institutions. Most of the mentees can already speak Swedish since it is the language used at school and in mentoring relations, with a few exceptions. Yet their levels in Swedish and their school proficiency can vary from one extreme to the other. Some of the mentees come from refugee families who are in the process of learning Swedish while others have been born and raised in Swedish-speaking families (Sild Lönroth 2007). To sum up, mentees are children from 8-12 years old (not necessarily at-risk) who express a wish to have a mentor and are recruited from five of Malmö elementary schools.

# 2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to examine how the Nightingale mentoring model can strengthen mentors' and mentees' social and cultural capitals, as well as studying integration through mentoring.

1. How can mentoring strengthen mentors' social and cultural capitals?
2. How can mentoring strengthen mentees' social and cultural capitals?
3. How can mentoring enhance integration for the mentors and for the mentees?

# 3  Previous Research on Mentoring

Mentoring could be considered as a cross-disciplinary study field, though a minor one. Most of the international studies made on mentoring show that it had effects on a micro-scale, on mentors and mentees, while addressing wider issues of integration. The majority of mentoring studies agree on the short-list of the mentoring effects on the mentees: increased self-esteem, improved language skills, less probability to engage in deviant activities, and higher chance to study further (DuBois et al.: 2002; Thompson and Kelly-Vance: 2001; Rhodes: 2002). Nevertheless, the latter studies mostly concern youth mentoring (12 to 18 years old) rather than child mentoring (under 12 years old). Both structured child mentoring and group activities proposed to mentors and mentees have been understudied, hence the need for this thesis.

Helen Colley's case study (2003), *Mentoring for Social Inclusion*, is relevant to this study although it investigated informal youth mentoring in the United Kingdom. The investigated programme aimed at integrating youngsters (around 18 years-old) into the labour market. In her study, Colley deconstructs the myths of the mentor figure (2003). She also criticizes loose mentoring models e.g. for the lack of proper evaluations and a counterproductive goal-orientation. The aim to integrate youngsters in the labour market was too narrow and overlooking the youngsters' strengths and own dreams, neglecting their social and cultural capital. She also points out that there is not only a lack of qualitative and quantitative studies on mentoring, but also a lack of common instruments and of theoretical frameworks to study it. Henceforth, she tested two theoretical perspectives: Foucault's and Bourdieu's (2003). Bourdieu's concepts proved to be the most relevant and appropriate for a qualitative study on mentoring. Consequently, as in Colley's study (2003), Bourdieu's theoretical perspective will be applied in this thesis on mentoring.

The Nightingale organisation has the singularity of leading numerous research studies and evaluation reports studies on Nightingale both in Sweden (Rubinstein Reich 2001; Sild Lönroth 2007) and abroad (e.g. Backe-Hansen et. al 2011; Feu Gelis 2015). Notwithstanding, Martin Grander and Carina Sild Lönroth offer an encompassing picture of mentoring, confirming results from previous studies, in *Mentorskap för barn och unga* (2011). In the latter, Nightingale mentoring is portrayed and investigated with a holistic and multidisciplinary approach. Accordingly, mentoring can be understood as a learning

experience, in which students learn something that they could not have learned at the university. Combining both qualitative and quantitative tools, the results of his investigation show knowledge (including know-how, intercultural skills, know-what and experiential learning) acquired during mentoring is context-based (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011). Rather than following a pedagogic approach, this thesis will take into account mentors' and mentees' learning experiences through a sociological perspective.

Likewise, it can be argued that mentoring is a unique learning experience for mentees, in which they learn something they could not have learned at school. Sild Lönroth's study, *The nightingale Scheme – A song for the heart* (2007) comprises a fascinating chapter on what mentees remembered from their experience when interviewed ten years after the end of their mentoring relationship. This is probably the only longitudinal qualitative study of mentoring effects on mentees on such a long time frame, since the mentoring experience — ten years. Former mentees expressed their genuine joy of having had a mentor and points out that they visited new places in and around Malmö. They also dared to engage in new activities, whether cultural or sport. The results indicate that mentees had become more independent, learned and experienced new things, trained their Swedish, and had a better self-esteem and self-confidence.

# 4  Theory

## 4.1  Introduction to Bourdieu's sociological perspective

Pierre Bourdieu (sociologist and social anthropologist, 1930-2002) has dedicated a considerable amount of work to understand unquestioned social and cultural behaviour. Bourdieu's works encompasses the reproduction of inequalities, interpreted as the reproduction of social hierarchies (1977). The point of departure is the following one: identity is not birth-given but constructed through socialisation and social practices. This idea is best formulated in Spinoza's discussion on freedom: "man is not an empire within an empire" (2000: 163). In short, it means that individuals are social beings, conditioned by one another.

Intertwined with concepts of ethnicity, gender and class as such, Bourdieu created conceptual tools in order to understand to what extent the social groups, "we"; have unconscious effects on the individual, "I" (1989). There exists a mesmerizing dialectic between agency and structure, which can be partly grasped with the concepts of habitus and field. This thesis does not have the ambition to end the never-ending debate between agency and structure, but rather to use Bourdieu's concepts through his late works. Among Bourdieu's gigantic corpus (1977; 1989; 2011), five of his most fundamental concepts will be applied in this thesis: socialisation, habitus, field, social capital, and cultural capital.

## 4.2  Habitus and field

The habitus corresponds to the social construction, life-trajectory, and the dispositions of an individual (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu has often been criticized for his determinism, perhaps inherited from Marx's influential concepts of market and super-structure. However the deterministic aspect of habitus is toned down in Bourdieu's late works: "Being the product of history, it is an *open system of disposition* that is constantly subjected to experiences" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 133). In other words, the individual is neither absolutely free nor determined. Furthermore, field is commonly referred to as a metaphor of a game, the "feeling of a game" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 105). Mentoring, just like a sport field, contains players occupying their respective positions — mentors, mentees, and supervisors — and following the rules, embedded with power relations. The game is not only constructed by its rules, also called doxa, but also by its participants (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Applied to study mentoring, one can interprets that the

mentoring field follows a certain doxa. For example, the mentoring relationship takes place within a specific time frame. The mentoring field is located within other fields such as university, labour market, and school.

One of the strengths of the concept of field resides in supposing that the mentee is not a tabula rasa, not a blank page. All players can bring their respective capital to the mentoring field, though it will not automatically be validated or even visible. Notwithstanding, childhood corresponds to the time of the primary socialisation process (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The individual learns to behave socially within her/his specific social groups and fields, mainly through family and school, and to a lesser extent mentoring. Socialisation process takes always place in relation to one another, and continues when one becomes adult. Socialisation processes have influence on the social construction of the individual, for instance by the transmission of social and cultural capital.

## 4.3   Social and cultural capital

Social capital refers to the social networks one revolves in. It includes also displays of social capital: self-confidence, self-esteem, ability to make social contacts, and to fit in specific milieus (Bourdieu 1989). Those social networks may become more significant in the labour market. The concept of social capital is relevant in this study insofar as mentoring is an encounter between two individuals with different social capitals. Mentoring can be understood as a social experience, looking at the relationship between a mentor and her/his mentee's family. Logically, the mere encounter of a student and a schoolchild can strengthen each other's social capitals, as their social networks extend. How and to which extent it is strengthened remains open for further analysis. Each social group having its specific practices and peculiarities, the social capital goes hand in hand with cultural capital.

Cultural capital is a set of know-how, techniques and markers, partly inherited from the family during the socialisation process (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Cultural capital may range from obvious to implicit things: university diplomas, sport skills, clothing items, dispositions, lifestyles, hobbies, and linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). To facilitate its use, the encompassing concept of cultural capital may be divided into three main sub-categories when analysing the empirical material, i.e. linguistic capital knowledge, know-how. Linguistic capital, defined as the mastery and "relation to language" can illustrate

cultural capital in all its ambivalence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 115). Unknowingly, school demands pupils certain extra-curricular dispositions and capital to succeed. Among other dispositions, the school field values specific language skills, which can be interpreted with the concept of linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). It will be relevant to observe how language is practised in the mentoring field, in contrast to the school field.


## 4.4    Philia and the transformation of the social and cultural capitals

To a certain extent, the reproduction of inequalities is realised by the inheritance of social and cultural capital within the same social groups (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Inheritance is meant as a metaphor of long socialisation processes that transmit capital, for instance from parents to a child. In the 1970s France, an academician's child had a much higher probability to study at the university, than a farmer's child (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). School is a field where inequalities can be reproduced. A field where children's pupils' own social and cultural capital, e.g. pupils' language skills in Polish, can be silenced or depreciated if they do not fit in the school curriculum (Lgr11, Skolverket 2011). However, in school and mentoring fields, cultural and social capital can also be transformed: "fructified" or "dilapidated" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 133). It will be relevant to study how mentees' and mentors' respective social and cultural capitals can be invisible or visible, squandered or strengthened, kept or exchanged, and so forth. When a mentor introduces ice-skating to a mentee, the mentee's cultural capital is strengthened by this encounter. If a mentee who loves playing a violent video game do not have the occasion to play, or discuss, it with the mentor, the mentee's cultural capital has been silenced.

Chantal Jaquet (2014) has investigated the cases of non-reproduction of inequalities, the exceptions of the theory of reproduction of inequalities (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Jaquet studies the mechanisms that could make the passage from one class to another possible, for instance for non-graduated parents to see their children obtain a university diploma. These mechanisms include affects, becoming conscious of one's own habitus and capital, and philia (Jaquet 2014). "Philia" is a concept that comes from the 4th century BC Aristotle's reflections on friendship and is usually translated as a manifold form of brotherly love (*Nicomachean Ethics* 2011). "Relations of philia" can refer to friendship, love, family relations, and other caring relationships (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 145; Jaquet 2014: 18).

## 4.5    System integration and social integration

The concepts of fields, social and cultural capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) can be combined with the concepts of system integration and social integration. Integration is known to be an impractical and context-bound concept. Nevertheless, it is needed for this study because mentoring may have the potential of integrating its participants. Two models of integration will thus be applied to study mentoring: system integration and social integration (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011). On the one hand, system integration can be interpreted as the integration of an individual into the labour market, school, or the university. On the other hand, social integration focuses on encounters, more precisely "integration through encounters" (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011: 143). Both concepts are not antagonistic and can be used as complementary models to analyse the empirical material, to ask to which extent mentoring may be an integrating instrument for mentors and mentees. Moreover, it could be relevant to take a look at how prejudices and stereotypes are being negotiated in a mentoring encounter.

# 5 Method

## 5.1 Data collection

Exclusively qualitative research methods will be applied in order to interpret what happens during a mentoring relationship and its potential effects on mentors and mentees. The empirical material has been collected during seven months. More precisely, the study started in 25th October 2015, when the mentors and mentees first met, until May 25th 2016, the last month in the mentoring year. This time frame allowed studying the entirety of the mentoring year, with the exception of the last encounter (29th May) and the last monthly report. Once gathered, the data was translated from Swedish to English. The method starts with the detailed presentation of four data collection methods: interviews, monthly reports and applications, participant observations, and informal meetings. It continues with the sample of the participants, and reflections on my role as a researcher, to end with a reflection on the validity and on the limitations of this research.

### 5.1.1    Semi-structured interviews

Eight mentors have been interviewed to collect primary data of their mentoring experience. By interviewing the mentors, this study aspires at getting insights in the mentoring relations they have with their mentees. In comparison with other interviewing styles, semi-structured interviews allow possibility of a real dialogue between interviewee and interviewer (May 2001: 123). A couple of themes had previously been selected prior to the interviews (e.g. knowledge exchange), and the latter were used as guidelines. This method has been chosen in order to obtain in-depth qualitative data from the mentors.

The interviews have taken place at the Nightingale mentoring office, after a supervision meeting, lasting from 40 minutes to one hour. No matter how systematic, an interview remains a meeting between two social beings. The interview material will neither be taken as facts nor as an external reality, but rather as the interviewee's own subjective reconstruction of their mentoring experience (May 2001: 122). All the interviews followed the same systematic routine. Before the interview I reminded the mentors of the ethical considerations this study respects. All the participants are voluntary and anonymous. The interviewees were asked if the interviews could be recorded. They were informed in details about the purpose of this study.

### 5.1.2    Mentors' monthly reports and applications

From November to May all mentors write "monthly reports" about their encounters with the mentees. Six reports, one for each month, were gathered from eight different mentors, which amounts to a total of 48 reports. Although this study ended in May and could not include the last monthly report, it is uncommon that new insights appear at this final stage. In this intern documentation mentors write down information about the mentoring encounters: what, when, where and how long. Each monthly report contains a reflective question at the end, e.g. "How can you strengthen your mentee?". All the interviewed mentors have granted an authorization for using this intern documentation.

Put together, they form a mentor's narrative over the course of their mentoring relationships. The reports will be used as a written narrative that may inform on the mentoring practice and its effects. The entire study relies thus on the informants' own constructions of reality (May 2001). The narrative emerging from monthly reports should be appreciated at his right value. Monthly reports have therefore a specific function for this study. It is a written narrative of a mentoring relationship, through the mentor's perspective, that is going to be analysed as a text.

### 5.1.3    Participant observations of group activities

The following group activities have been observed:
- At Malmö university:
    - Day One (25th oct. 2015), the first meeting
    - IT-programming workshop
- At Malmö Opera: mentors and mentees were invited to the musical Billy Elliot
- At Lund University theatre-academy: study visit and drama workshop

While the first day gather over a hundred participants, the other group activities tend to be more intimate, gathering from three to ten mentors and as many mentees. All the activities have been observed through participant observations. Participant observation is a method technique inherited from ethnography. In short, it means that observations occur on the field, directly where mentors and mentees meet (May 2011). Afterward I took notes of the observations. The interviewed mentors have participated in one to four of these activities, as their attendance is not compulsory. Notwithstanding group activities have been a meaningful

dimension of the mentoring relationship for some participants. Nightingale group activities represent a relevant yet understudied dimension of mentoring.

### 5.1.4    Conversations with Nightingale Malmö staff

Mentoring relationship can be seen as dyad, meaning a mentor-mentee, one-to-one relationship. It could be understood as a triad: mentor-mentee-supervisor, as Colley points out (2003). Nightingale staff comprised one executive manager, and three supervisors (including myself) in 2015-2016. At Nightingale Malmö, the main tasks of the supervisors, in relation to the mentors, are the following ones:

- To interview and match the mentors and mentees;
- To follow up and support the mentoring relationships via supervision meetings
- To organize and lead group activities;

Due to their functions, supervisors represent another valuable source of data, another perspective complementary to the mentors'. Nightingale supervisors and manager have offered some insights on mentors/mentees participating in this research.

## 5.2   Sample of the participants

Eight mentors have been selected for this study. The main criterion when selecting was that all mentors should have met their mentees on a regular basis and completed the mentoring period from the October 2015 to May 2016. Only eight mentors were comprised in this study because of its qualitative dimension. Indeed, each of the mentoring relationship has been studied in-depth. The sample, though random, is heterogeneous and representative of the groups of mentors and mentees. The mentors come from different faculties from Malmö University: three primary school teacher students, two IMER-students, two preschool teacher students, plus one student taking an orientation course. It comprises two men and six women.

Both gender- and faculty-wise the group is highly representative. Interestingly enough, student teachers and female students have always been the two dominant groups in their respective category in Nightingale Malmö. In a similar ways, the heterogeneity of the mentors' cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Swedish, Thai, Iranian, Chinese, Kurd, Polish) is also quite representative of the heterogeneity of the whole group of mentors. Mentors and mentees observed in this study speak and understand Swedish, with the exception of one

Polish-speaking mentoring dyad. The mentees' mother tongues range from Arabic, Swedish, Polish, Farsi, to Chinese, and Mandingo. Their families' cultural backgrounds from a long list of countries, ranging from Iceland, Sweden, Iraq, Gambia, Poland, to China; mirroring the diversity of Malmö city.

## 5.3   Reflections on my role as a researcher

Since November 2015, I have been working as a supervisor for Nightingale, hence at the time of writing of this thesis. Previously, I had been engaged as a mentor three times, with three different mentees. These two positions within the Nightingale organisation may both limit and validate this research. On the one hand, power relations between interviewer/interviewee and supervisor/mentor should not be underestimated, and will thus be taken into account (May 2011). On the other hand, my experience has offered me two different perspectives on mentoring: through the eyes of a mentor and of a supervisor. Working as supervisor has allowed me to get to know the mentors, which may have increased their confidence during the interviews. Besides, it is in Nightingale's best interest, and of general interest, that this independent study adopts a critical perspective on mentoring.

## 5.4   Validity of the research and triangulation

Triangulation can be defined as the process of encompassing a variety of sources and data collection methods to offer a more encompassing and multifaceted picture of one and the same study object. In comparison to using only a single data collection method from one source, i.e. mentors' interviews, triangulation may enhance the validity and reliability of this study. Borrowing from Denzin's concept (2009), three forms of triangulations have been applied to this research: 1, data triangulation; 2, theory triangulation; 3, methodological triangulation.

First, data triangulation means that data have been collected from different sources. Mentors and supervisors were the two sources present in this method. Second, theory triangulation, as it will be detailed further on different theories and concepts will break the empirical data down in the analysis. Third, methodological triangulation refers to using different data collection methods (Denzin 2009). Here, observations, interviews and reports enrich each the data to give a more nuanced and ambivalent picture of mentoring. Reports and interviews are

complementary since some mentors may be more loquacious in either written or oral communication.

## 5.5   Limitations of the research

Merely mentors have been interviewed, letting aside the mentees' perspective. Mentees have not been interviewed during this research for three different reasons. Firstly, the mentees are elementary schools pupils from 8 to 12 years old. Meaning that it would problematic, ethically and methodologically, to arrange an interview. The power relations would be much more accentuated than interviewing mentors (adults). Secondly, previous mentoring studies have shown the difficulty met in conducting and relying on child interviews (Colley 2003; Sild Lönroth 2007). Thirdly, time restriction was taken into consideration though to a lesser extent than the previously cited reasons. Notwithstanding, I have been gathering quotes from children that were given by mentors and to do participant observations of both mentees and mentors to compensate the lack of children interviews.

# 6   Analysis

## 6.1   Exchanging cultural capital: Buddhism and Minecraft

**Supatcha and Hugo**

Supatcha[1] is currently studying to become a primary school teacher. She has both a pedagogic and caring approach to her role as a mentor. During the interview, Supatcha said that she has been encouraging her mentee to "think by himself, to dare and express himself freely". Her mentee, Hugo (8 years-old), has interests ranging from Minecraft, cars, Burger King, to football idols. Hugo has migrated to Sweden in his early childhood and his parents have Scandinavian and Asian backgrounds. Together, they have done numerous of activities: baking at the mentor's place, visiting museums, building a pile of branches (playing), eating frozen yoghurt, and so forth. What is most striking in their relationship remains Supatcha's ability to plan activities in function of her mentee's interests and questions. Here follow two examples representative of their exchange of cultural capitals: visiting a Buddhist temple and playing Minecraft.

**Visiting a Thai Buddhist temple**

Supatcha and Hugo are strolling around the city, on the way to a park. Passing by the Synagogue, Hugo wonders: "Why is there a Star of David on this building?". Hugo is currently studying religions at school and that he seems interested by religion and architecture. To Hugo's deception, they had school visits at a church and a mosque, but no synagogue. When they rang the bell at the step of the synagogue, two aloof guards blocked the entrance: "For members only". This investigation that started a week ago from the mentee's question could have ended here, in front of a closed door. Persistent, the mentor offered an alternative ending, a visit to a Thai Buddhist temple instead of the synagogue.

Supatcha recounted the visit in a monthly report (February 2016):

> Since we could not come in the Synagogue I asked if we could visit a Thai [Buddhist] temple. It is a silent day at the temple, and the monk is predicating on meditation, my mentee did not quite understand what he is talking about but I tried to explain it to him.

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[1] All the names are fictive to preserve the mentors' and mentees' anonymity.

The monk took the first step and explained to Hugo that meditating could make activities demanding concentration easier, like doing the homework. Supatcha happens to go to this particular temple and knew this place before the visit. As Supatcha speaks fluently Swedish, English, and Thai, she acted as an interpreter in the encounter between the Buddhist monk and her mentee. The visit made visible the mentor's linguistic capital (Bourdieu). Hugo wondered about the temple: "This is just a normal house with a Buddha in it". By "Buddha" he was referring to a statue of Buddha. The mentor agreed that temples could look more spectacular, like in Thailand, and she tried to explain to him why.

In this example, the mentee was invited to visit a part of Supatcha's cultural capital. The visit was a way to satiate the mentees' curiosity on religion and architecture, which partly came from his experience of religion as a school subject. Even if Hugo's school arranged two other visits of other temples, this particular visit with a mentor differentiates itself from school visits for two main reasons. First, it was Hugo's own initiative to visit other temples than the church and the mosque. Second, it was not a guided tour for a whole group, but rather an individual experience accompanied by a caring mentor, who became his interpreter and guide.

According to Bourdieu (2011), embodied cultural capital can also comprise knowledge acquired, and that can be displayed. Here, the mentee gained knowledge by a first-hand experience of religion and architecture. He familiarized himself with Buddhism, a Buddhist Thai temple, a monk, and even Thai language. The mentor led the way into an unknown territory. The mentee has probably gained explicit knowledge (cultural capital) about two topics that had awoken his curiosity — religion and architecture. This knowledge acquired in the mentoring field could be partly valued in the school field, when he will study Buddhism and other religions at school the following year. The mentee has also strengthened his cultural capital with new knowledge on architecture.

**Know-how and self-confidence**

A month later, Hugo invited Supatcha home to play Minecraft. It is a building video game that allows one to play at being the architect of a virtual world. Supatcha did not know about this video game and let her mentee make this introduction to this unknown territory. Hugo showed her what he had built within this game: "a submarine, a spacecraft, a couple of houses, and an entire land". Supatcha seemed impressed and expressed the desire to learn. Hugo showed her the Minecraft game and how to play. The mentee has therefore shared and

transmitted his knowledge and know-how can be seen as cultural capital (Bourdieu 2011). She has increased her cultural capital with knowledge and know-how. For Supatcha, teacher student who has recently started working as substitute teacher, basic knowledge about mine-craft can be a precious knowledge about her own pupils' potential cultural capital. Plus, she has learned the know-how of the game, the basic commands. Here, this exchange was illustrated by, but not limited to, by the visit of the mentor's temple and the introduction to the mentee's video game.

During other occasions, the mentee seemed proud to be given the chance to teach the mentor, here a form of know-how (part of Hugo's cultural capital). For instance, Hugo taught Supatcha how to play some card games and how to count points playing mini-golf. Supatcha said that she lets her mentee "take the role of the mentor sometimes" and that "mentoring allowed Hugo to increase his self-confidence". To take "the role of the mentor" could also be interpreted as the role of a mentor, a teacher or a parent; namely, any socialising agent seen in a position of transmitting cultural capital. The empirical material shows that the mentor and mentee have exchanged and thus strengthened their cultural capitals (know-how and knowledge).

Eight out of eight interviewed mentors made similar claims about their mentees' self-confidence, though with small variations in the phrasing. The mentors observed that their mentees dared to show more emotions, had more self-esteem, and "opened up" more and more. Bourdieu's concept of social capital can also comprise display of social dispositions, such as self-confidence and self-esteem (1989). To conclude, the mentees seem to have increased their social capitals through mentoring, by appearing more and more self-confident in the mentoring field. During our conversations, Nightingale supervisors confirm that the increase of self-confidence is something that can be observed in virtually in all successful mentoring relationships. They usually interpret it as a sign that a relationship has "matured". It can be interpreted as a sign that the mentoring relationship has become a relation of philia, where cultural capital may circulate in both directions (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992).

**System integration**

Nightingale provides a job certificate for the mentors who complete their mentoring year. Per se, this is an addition to the students' CV that can facilitate their system integration in the labour market. Furthermore, mentors tend to request their coordinators to serve as their

reference for job applications. Supatcha happened to need of a reference person during the mentoring year in order to apply for a job as a substitute teacher. Her supervisor agreed. She has recently started working a substitute while being a mentor. The mentors' social capitals can increase by meeting Nightingale supervisors, which can eventually be transferred as another type of capital. In Bourdieu's vocabulary (2011), the reference and job certificate can be understood as the mentors' display of institutionalized cultural capital, valued within the field of the labour market. Before the end of the mentoring year, three out of the eight interviewed mentors had already used their respective Nightingale supervisor as a reference on their respective CV before the end of the mentoring year. This surprisingly high number is likely to increase afterwards. This pattern shows how Nightingale mentoring can enhance the mentors' system integration into the labour market (via job certificate and reference on request).

## 6.2  On linguistic capital

**Erik and Ali**

Ali (9 years old) has numerous interests and is willing to try new things too, which made the mentoring year easier for the mentor than in other cases when the mentees "don't know" what they wish to do. Erik, teacher student, noted that his mentee seemed "shy and nervous" when they first met. Pedagogic and thoughtful, Erik wrote down a long list of all they wanted to do together during the mentoring year. The aquarium, the Science museum, and baking were among Ali's favourite activities. Ali's initial shyness faded away. Here too, the mentee displays a strengthened social capital in terms of self-confidence. For Erik, meeting his mentee is "a break from other activities", during which the mentor and mentee feel that "time runs away". Both Erik and Ali give the impression of having built a close and caring relationship. It symbolizes Aristotle's concept of philia, an affectionate relation (2011). The supervisors and the mentoring field encourage mentors to build such relationships, although its intensity may vary from one mentoring dyad to another. Philia-relations have more potential of enhancing a transformation of capital in caring relationship (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). In this context, the mentor acts like a socialising agent and can thus have a tremendous impact on the mentee's social and cultural capitals.


**The day-to-day Swedish language**

Erik has been raised in a Swedish-speaking family, while Ali has been raised in an Arabic-speaking family. Each time Erik and Ali meet, they speak in Swedish. Erik related that mentoring could "strengthen" Ali since it allows him to practise Swedish after school:

> Some baking-concepts are not so easy to grasp, like "butter and smear the casserole". It sounded a bit weird at first, but now he can use these terms. Actually, he only speaks Swedish at school… and with me! It is something he has been practising: to be able to express more things in Swedish to someone who has time to listen to him.

Bourdieu and Passeron advanced that language could be studied as a part of cultural capital that refers to the mastery and "relation to language" (1977: 115). To speak "day-to-day Swedish" is a cultural capital that Erik had inherited through his family, during the primary socialisation process. Conversely, his mentee has been acquiring the day-to-day Arabic language, which is not as used, hence not as valued as, day-to-day Swedish in the school field. The latter is the dominant language in the Swedish school field.

Notwithstanding, Ali has the opportunity to practise Swedish with his mentor once a week in daily situations: conversing, baking, and playing. "Butter and smear the casserole" is an illustration of a type of speech that is more pragmatic than the symbolic language traditionally transmitted by schoolteachers (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). After school, the mentoring field enables Erik and Ali to practise a day-to-day speech mode of Swedish. The latter is the language spoken in mundane conversations within the fields of the ordinary and the intimate. This way of speaking is used at home, with friends, or in the office corridors. It is used in relationships of philia, between close friends or between a mentor and mentee having developed such a deep relation. This proves that mentoring has the potential of increasing the mentees' linguistic capital, especially when they do not have the occasion to practise the day-to-day Swedish at home.

**School language**

Erik noted that school language differs from the language practised in the mentoring field:

> He masters the school language, for example when speaking of a "hypothesis" or an "experiment". Then, words that I would take for granted like right/left, knife/fork can be harder. He knows these words but he uses them so rarely that he tends to confound them.

The mentoring field and the school field use two different languages, or rather both use Swedish in radically different ways. The words "hypothesis" and "experiment" symbolize the language used at school, a language of concepts. School expects pupils to "talk like a book" (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977: 116). It opposes itself to the common and day-to-day form of Swedish, illustrated in a previous quotation by the verbs "butter and smear". According to the empirical material gathered from the eight mentoring dyads, both school language and day-to-day Swedish are spoken, although the latter seems to be the dominant one in the mentoring field.

Erik became conscious of the differences between the dominant language spoken at school, and the dominant language spoken in his mentoring relationship. He admitted that this has been a ground-breaking knowledge as he studies to become a primary school teacher. His own knowledge (cultural capital) got reinforced, by becoming conscious of how it can be to learn Swedish for a child who speaks another language at home. Bourdieu argues that the

power relations inherent of language and the relation to language, omnipresent at school, can be "suspended" in "relations of philia" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 145). It seems that caring mentoring relationships have the potential of becoming relations of philia, as it may happen between two siblings or two childhood friends. This affective closeness allows the practise of a day-to-day language in a non-repressive field, the mentoring field.

As Bourdieu and Passeron recall: "University French has never been anybody's mother tongue" (1977). This can be also said on Swedish school language. Language is acquired through long socialisation processes, before becoming embodied cultural capital. However, at the same age, Erik and Ali had two linguistic capitals with unequal values in the school field. Evidently, the possibility to speak Swedish at home makes the learning of the Swedish school language easier, as in Erik's case (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). Contrariwise, to not practise day-to-day Swedish at home may make it harder to learn the official school language, as in Ali's case. Mentoring can strengthen mentee's linguistic capital in two ways. First, the ability of practising language after school in a relation of philia may reinforce the mentees' confidence in relation to the Swedish day-to-day language. Second, the mentor appears thus as an agent of socialisation complementary to family and school that may facilitate the learning of day-to-day Swedish, and indirectly, of Swedish school language.

**Comparison with Anja and Kate**

Anja and her mentee, Kate (10 years old), came from Polish-speaking families and speak this shared language when they meet. This is an exception that rarely happens since the quasi-majority of mentoring dyads speak Swedish with each other, in accordance with Nightingale Malmö doxa. This example is worth studying because it highlights patterns present in other relations while contrasting with the previous narrative on linguistic capital. Anja and Kate had the occasion to practise day-to-day Polish together. Further, Anja has taught her mentee to ride a bike. Her parents had been trying for a couple of years in vain. For the simple reason that bike riding is a procedural knowledge that may give the mentee more autonomy by making some places easier to access. Further, and at her Kate's request, Anja showed to her mentee how to do the homework in Swedish and how to use a Swedish-Polish dictionary (two forms of know-how). Her mother used to do the homework for Kate, instead of doing it with her. The art of doing the homework is a cultural capital that is unequally transmitted through the families depending on their social classes (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). The mentor

strengthened Kate's cultural capital in a way that will probably raise her chance of succeeding at school.

To sum up, the mentee has increased her self-confidence, practised day-to-day Polish, learned how to ride a bike, how to use a dictionary and do the homework. Henceforth, the mentoring relationship has tremendously increased the mentee's emancipatory know-how (cultural capital) and self-confidence (social capital) (Bourdieu's concepts 2011). Notwithstanding, the practise of Polish (linguistic capital), which increased the mentee's linguistic capital, is likely to be invisible in the school field, bearing a lesser value than day-to-day Swedish. Regarding know-how, it regularly happens that mentors show their mentees how to loan books from the city library. It is the case if three out of eight mentees in this thesis sample. This is a typical example of how the mentors can show the mentees how they can gain more cultural capital by themselves on the long term. Even years after the end of the mentoring relationship, the mentees will still know how loan books at the library.

### 6.3  DIY cultural capital and Billy Elliot

**Quan and Leila**

A glimpse of Quan's habitus, or life-trajectory, is pertinent to understand her relationship with her mentee. She has graduated in Law before moving to Sweden. Quan is currently taking an orientation course for students with foreign diplomas. Her mother tongue is Mandarin and she also speaks fluently English and Swedish. Quan has a daughter, it is relatively uncommon for students who apply to be a mentor and valued positively by Nightingale in the application process. Quan and her mentee, Leila (9 years-old), share a common passion for Do It Yourself activities (DIY). Nightingale supervisors describe Leila as social and outgoing. Leila has moved to Malmö in her early childhood. Arabic is her mother tongue, she speaks Swedish fluently and is learning English at school. In the interview, Quan says that her mentee's profile seems different from other mentees due to her "very complicated family and housing situations".

**Social integration**

Three times, Leila had the opportunity to visit her mentor's home and to meet Quan's husband and daughter. She had an instant connection with her mentor's daughter. "[Leila] expressed that she really enjoyed that the whole family sat down and ate dinner together" (Quan's April report 2016). To meet her mentor's family, has logically expanded Leila's social capital. A social integration has also occurred, in which Leila's worldviews got confronted. For example, she was truly astonished to witness Quan's husband washing the dishes. "Men don't wash dishes", she fiercely advanced. Although it appeared "weird" for Leila, this meeting with a different way of living engendered a discussion on concepts such as "house-holding", "man", and "woman". It may have consequences for a child to know so early about different lifestyles, different ways of being a woman/a man. Mentoring can thus be seen as a social integration (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011), which can lead to a challenging reflection on one's own worldview.

Six out of the eight interviewed mentors, including Quan, noted that their mentees had a radically different social and cultural capital, notably concerning housing conditions. Some mentees live in three to four different places over a single week. Other mentees live in "cramped" apartments. Quan asked herself the following question when she was aware of her mentee's precarious housing conditions: "What shall we do about it? As a mentor, one can

not cross the line". "We" refers to Nightingale Malmö and herself, and "the line" corresponds to the doxa of the mentoring field. Other mentors have expressed this question, or rather reflection. Simply by being mentors, respecting the doxa of the mentoring field, something happens when mentors and mentees visit each other's homes. The mentoring field has the potential of making visible different living conditions. Quan's knowledge on her mentee's housing condition can be interpreted as an explicit knowledge, hence an addition to her cultural capital (Bourdieu 2011). Through their mentoring relationship, mentors can gain knowledge (thus strengthening their cultural capitals) about others' housing conditions. This cultural capital could have a value yet only within certain fields, for instance for student teachers who could meet pupils living in precarious conditions.

**Billy Elliot**

Nightingale has invited all the mentors to the opera to see an adaptation of the film *Billy Elliot* (2000) into a Swedish musical. *Billy Elliot* tells a story of emancipation, of class struggles, and offers a reflection on masculinity and dance (2010). This is a story of a boy from a miners' family on strike in Thatcher's England. A boy who wants to dance, even if it is not considered normal to dance ballet for boys, and even less for miners' children. And yes, Billy Elliot can dance his way out of a seemingly determined reproduction of inequalities. Leila had never been to the opera. She had a many questions before, during and after the musical. During the musical she asked questions such as: "What does *homo* mean? What does worker mean?". After the musical she rejoiced: "The boys were so talented! They could dance and sing so well!".

Two months after the Billy Elliot musical, Quan and Leila accepted Nightingale invitation to visit Malmö Theatre Academy (Lund university). Mentees got to wear fancy shoes and odd wigs backstage! At the end, after the playful drama workshop, there was even time to ask questions to drama students. Leila asked several questions to the students "How do you manage to concentrate? What happens if you forget the script?". There, she also met a drama student with whom she had a conversation in Arabic. Leila's social capital grew bigger through this encounter when meeting drama students from different backgrounds. When she spoke Arabic with an aspiring actor, their shared linguistic capital became suddenly visible and accepted — within the mentoring field and the university field.

Obviously, these first-time experiences at the opera and Theatre Academy may have made a great impact on the Leila's cultural capital. These experiences at the theatre and the opera have probably widened Leila's horizons on what she can do, multiplying her possibilities across the fields. Still concerning cultural capital, Leila has gained new knowledge (cultural capital) on opera and theatre through first-hand experiences. She has learned that she could move into different fields (opera, university, and theatre), not solely as a spectator. Now she knows that there are plenty of educational programmes and employment possibilities on and back-stage. It would be erroneous to say that Leila has only visited new places, as a tourist would take a picture of a monument façade. Leila, alike other mentees participating in these Nightingale group activities at the theatre academy and at the opera, has increased cultural capital through knowledge on opera, university, and theatre.

**DIY and cultural capital**

Quan wrote that her mentee had a "huge interest in handcraft, DIY activities, and is so talented and creative". Sometimes they met near Leila's school, at a café to make some DIY handicrafts. DIY is a part of Quan's and Leila's cultural capital, a form of know-how par excellence (Bourdieu 2011). Quan has noticed that Leila had a great social capital in her neighbourhood, and that Leila proudly told all of her acquaintances about her mentoring relationship. At the time of the interview Quan planed to offer her mentee some DIY material for their last encounter. "This way can continue create things on her own", explained Quan. Beyond this gift, Quan has also shown her mentee where to find DIY books at her district library (another form of know how). They take advantage of being at the library to read about panda bears, at her mentee's request. Then, Leila could borrow DIY-books herself and choose what they would do. After doing something, her mentee usually needs confirmation and acceptation from others, as it seems to comfort her self-confidence. During their relationship Quan and Leila have made a lot of artefacts that Leila could either show or give to her family.

As *Billy Elliot* (2010) tells the story of the emancipation of a working class boy with a passion for dance, Nightingale can tell the story of emancipation of a creative mentee interested DIY crafts. To be handy and creative at DIY is a handy know-how (cultural capital; see Bourdieu 2011) that is valued within specific fields, including here the mentoring field. The empirical material does not show whether DIY capital can be valued at Leila's school or at Quan's university. The mentor encouraged Leila in a future-oriented perspective. Indeed, she wished that Leila could continue DIY after the mentoring relationship is over, no matter if she

develops her potential for work, studies, or leisure. That is why Nightingale encourages a future- rather than goal-oriented approach. Incidentally, this relationship highlights the importance of matching mentors and mentees sharing a common interest, a shared piece of the mentor's and the mentee's cultural capitals (Bourdieu 2011). To sum up, Quan has valued and developed her mentees' pre-existent cultural capital (DIY know-how) in significant ways. She has also taught her mentee how to go to the library and how to use DIY manuals on her own, which represent emancipatory forms know-how.

## 6.4 Improvised dancing and social integration

**Elly and Ahmed**

Elly, Ahmed's mentor, studies International Relation and Ethnic Relations (IMER). After her studies, she aspires to work in a field where she could help other people. She took her mentoring role seriously and held high expectations. Indeed, she wished that her mentee "could grow up and laugh all the time"! Prior to mentoring, Elly had the experience of taking care of her younger siblings while "growing up in a tough environment". Her experience of being the caring oldest sibling can be valued as a cultural capital in the mentoring field, as a form of know-how. Her mentoring experience makes her experience with children finally visible on her CV, an institutionalised display of cultural capital (Bourdieu 2011). This can be seen as another example of system integration, by giving value and transferring a mentor's previous know-how (cultural capital) into the fields of mentoring and eventually into the field of the labour market.

**Social integration: conversations on gender and race**

While Elly speaks fluently Swedish, Persian and Kurdish; Ahmed speaks Arabic at home and Swedish at school. Not to mention that Ahmed also speaks Swedish when meeting Elly. Ahmed (8 years old) seemed "shy" during their first meetings, and gave the impression of being a child who enjoys interactive and physical activities. When Elly and Ahmed met for the first time, at Malmö University, Ahmed seemed disappointed: "I wish I had a *male* mentor", to have someone to "play football with". Elly answered that she would enjoy playing football with him. They did so the following week. Afterwards, Ahmed has written several thank you cards to Elly, "the greatest mentor ever" in his own words. This is a sign that their mentoring relationship has become a relation of philia. The mentee's frustrated expectations, here to have a male mentor instead of a female mentor, are regularly expressed during the first encounter.

Ahmed, the mentee, expected doing activities perceived as "manly", in the company of a "manly" male mentor. His worldviews and expectations have been discussed and confronted. The mentee's expectations were embedded with a rather essentialist approach to identities — boys will be boys. Although it remains virtually impossible to measure the consequences of this encounter, Elly's answer should not be reduced to a simplistic statement: "women can do manly things to". Indeed, her attitude appears anti-essentialist. On an analytical level, she

does not position herself as the spokesperson for a whole gendered group, "women", as she represents only herself, "I" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). She explained further that one should pick a sport/activity one enjoys, independently on gender, social class or habitus. It does not mean that power relations and the concept of gender suddenly vanish, but they are at least discussed in theoretical and practical ways, via conversation and sport. This led to a confrontation the mentee's worldview on gender dichotomies such as boy/girl, man/woman to a new experience. This norm-critical attitude, regularly noticed in the mentoring field, can be seen as emancipatory for the mentees and as a form of social integration via conversation and sport.

Similarly, a mentee (Nadia) of another interviewed mentor asked the following question when they first met: "Do you wish you that had a dark or white child [as a mentee]?". Nadia, from Gambia, was referring to her skin colour, which appeared darker than most of the other mentees in their surroundings at this moment. Her mentor genuinely answered: "It doesn't matter to *me*. *I* want *you* as *you are*". Her mentor attempted to break down group identities, here race, in this conversation into a micro- and personal level: "you" and "I". Prior to the first encounter, the mentors and mentees only receive basic information about each other: name, school, and age.

Nightingale supervisors match mentoring dyads based on shared interests (cultural capital) and compatible personalities (habitus). Gender, race, culture, religion, or even geographic location, are not considered relevant in the matching process. Only linguistic capital can be of interest as most mentoring dyads converse in Swedish, with a few notable exceptions. With the element of surprise of a blind date, the first meeting encourages mentors and mentees to confront each other's own prejudices. Confirming findings from previous studies, mentoring is a form of "integration through encounters", a social integration (Grander Sild Lönroth 2011: 143). Social integration is made possible due to Nightingale's non-essentialist doxa and to the closeness of the one-to-one mentoring relationship.

**"Do you remember when we danced?"**
During the first encounters, in October and November, Elly was under the impression that her mentee was introverted and shy. Then, within five weeks, their relation evolved:

This is our fifth meeting. We ate a falafel and then we played in the People's Park. He likes falafel and was thrilled at the idea of eating one. We climbed, swung, jumped on the trampoline, etc. It was a lot of fun even if it was raining. Neither he nor I wanted to go home. Then, we bumped into a demonstration [on climate issues] where they drummed and played some music. All of a sudden he started to dance, so I danced with him. He is not shy like he was during the first meetings. I really enjoy being with him! (Elly's report, December 2015)

Elly followed her mentee's wish, to eat a falafel. After playing in the park took place something that was unexpected. When wanting to cross the street to go to the bus stop, the stream of demonstrators blocked Elly and Ahmed. Once in the demonstration, Ahmed started to dance and Elly joined him. The caring presence of the mentor might have encouraged this improvised dance. Three months later, they came back to the People's Park. Once there, Ahmed asks Elly: "Do you remember when we danced? It was right here". To be able to dance in a public place can be seen as a manifest display of self-confidence, thus of social capital (Bourdieu 1989). This is even more remarkable for a child who has been described as "shy" in other contexts. Then, This example symbolizes a pattern present in eight out of the eight interviewed mentors' narratives: the art of improvising. The art of improvising can be interpreted as know-how (Bourdieu 2011), a part of the mentor's and the mentee's cultural capital that has been strengthened and could have value in several fields, such as school and the labour market.

**Mentor as a pathfinder: "If I can do it, so can you"**

Furthermore, mentees and mentors have dared to engage in new activities. "If I can enter the snakes room, so can you", told Elly to her mentee in the Terrarium. Eventually, they held hands and came in together, overcoming the mentee's apprehension. Both mentor and mentee were a bit scared when they attempted roller-skating for the first time. "If I can stand without falling, so can you", said Elly. The first minutes were obviously more challenging, but both persevered and learned with the help of instructors. It is an evident example of how both mentors and mentees can gain more cultural capital (know-how), by daring to try a new activity (Bourdieu 2011). The same principle is present in those two experiences: "If I can do it, so can you" says the mentor. Further than a role model, the mentor takes the role of a pathfinder breaking down the barriers from certainty to uncertainty, from the known to the unknown.

**IT-programming workshop**

Both Elly and Ahmed have decided to "participate to all of the group activities" (Elly's report, February 2016). One of these activities will be analysed thereafter: an IT-programming workshop was organised and led by a former mentee — Aida, 12 years old. She is regularly invited to brainstorming sessions, due to her genuine interest in Nightingale. Aida's cultural capital on programming, knowledge and know-how, was shared and highly valued within the mentoring field (Bourdieu 2011). She introduced two advanced yet playful programs to the five mentoring dyads that accepted the invitation. As a consequence, the mentors and mentees that were present have strengthened their cultural capitals, namely knowledge and know-how on programming. In the mentoring field, group activities have this underestimated potential of strengthening mentors and mentees with cultural capital that can have high value in the fields of school and university.

# 7    Conclusions

## 7.1   Summary of the results

According to the empirical material gathered from eight mentoring dyads, three types of *cultural capitals* have been exchanged and strengthened during mentoring relationships — *linguistic capital*, *knowledge*, and *know-how* (Bourdieu 2011). First, all the mentees have strengthened their linguistic capital by practising day-to-day Swedish, with the exception of one mentee who practised day-to-day Polish. Second, mentors and mentees have gained explicit knowledge through their mentoring experiences. The mentors gained knowledge e.g. on children's housing conditions and on games such as Minecraft, while the mentees gained knowledge on religion and IT-programming. Third, mentors and especially mentees have gained an emancipatory form of knowledge: know-how. For instance, three out of eight mentees had learned how to loan books from the library. Furthermore, most of the cultural capitals were exchanged between one to the other member of the dyad. To a lesser extent, both members of the dyad had the occasion to learn a new sport activity together, like roller-skating (know-how).

This thesis has been exploring how mentoring could strengthen mentees' and mentors' *social capitals* (Bourdieu 1989). First, eight out of eight mentees' social capitals grew bigger as time went by, probably as their relationships became relations of philia. Mentees' gain of self-confidence should not be underestimated, as it could be of significant value for school proficiency. Second, mentors' social capitals have been transformed through the encounters with their mentees and supervisors. The former has made them conscious of their own cultural capital; the latter has facilitated their integration in the labour market. Three of the eight interviewed mentors had used their Nightingale coordinators as references to apply for an employment, hence facilitating students' *system integration* in the labour market.

According to the empirical material, Nightingale mentoring can enhance mentees' *social integration*. The mentees' worldviews have been confronted with their mentors' views on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and also sport and house holding. This is even more striking during mentees' first encounter with their mentors. Mentoring, by confronting differences mentors' and mentees' respective worldviews, can be seen as an example of a social integration. Confirming previous studies on Nightingale, mentoring enhances a form of

"integration through encounters" (Grander and Sild Lönroth 2011: 143). This is the case, especially for the mentees as they are in the primary socialisation process (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Nightingale non-essentialist approach of group identities (via the matching process) and the relations of philia have made this social integration possible.


## 7.2   Concluding remarks

The mentees' perspective could have shed light to mentoring through another essential viewpoint. The lack of primary data from the mentees' side has made it nearly impossible to assess if parts of their cultural capitals have been silenced or depreciated under their mentoring experiences. However, child/youth interviews have proven to be impractical in previous mentoring studies (see Colley 2003). To compensate, this thesis used a triangulation of concepts, sources and methods (Denzin 2009). Further research is needed though, via new methodological attempts, to gather primary data on the mentee's perspective in different fields, such as mentoring and school.


The mentoring relationship is not "an empire within an empire" (Spinoza 2000: 163). Meaning that the mentoring has effects far beyond itself, and is interdependent to other fields. The mentees have gained extra- and co-curricular cultural and social capitals (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). First, the mentees learn things they could not have learned at school, or outside of a relation of philia. For instance, to gain self-confidence (social capital) is not on the school curriculum (Lgr11), hence extra-curricular, yet it could be a factor of school proficiency. Second, some of the mentees' cultural capital can be interpreted as a co-curricular know-how and knowledge (Bourdieu 2011). For instance, a mentee has learned on Buddhism and his mentor on Minecraft, thus exchanging know-how and knowledge. These types of capitals can be seen as co-curricular as they are valued in the mentee's school curriculum (Lgr11) and the students' university programme syllabus.


Social integration and the exchange of capitals were realised due to the mentoring relation of philia, in which power-relations seemed "suspended" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). The mentoring relation dyad, "we", shall end after seven months and yet its effects may last longer on the separate individuals, "I". It could have impacts on mentees when choosing what to study, and what to work with, which language to learn, even which sport to practise. Mentoring embodies a metaphor of an emancipatory passage from the familiar to the

uncertain, from the known to the unknown. One mentoring relation of philia can act as one grain of sand in the gears of the mechanical reproduction of inequalities.

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