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***'I am in no position to express myself.'* An Ethnographic Case Study of
Multilingualism at a Finnish Food Corporation**

By Kristina Humonen

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Intercultural Communication

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is submitted to the University of Warwick in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Intercultural Communication. It has been composed by myself and has not been submitted in any previous application for any degree.

Abstract

Language is at the heart of workplace interactions and has significant implications for lived workplace experiences. Despite the growing body of knowledge on language use in professional contexts and increased visibility outside academia, ‘language-sensitive’ workplace research is still a relatively new orientation in sociolinguistics as well as organisational studies. Both disciplines call for more ethnographic research, especially in understudied low-skilled work settings, to which this project seeks to make a contribution. This is where this thesis positions itself.

The project asks two main questions; 1.) *What is the relationship between the official language policy and language practice in the organisation?* and 2.) *How does access to language resources enable employees to claim positions of power?* It argues that hierarchical divisions of labour are reinforced through prevailing migration discourses and official language policies. The research provides new empirical evidence with respect to the processes of workplace in/exclusion by including both social and spatial factors in the analysis, and explores the relationship between language and migrant kitchen workers’ (in)visibility. The study draws on ethnographically collected data from a Finnish multinational food corporation. It combines 5 different datasets from 10 research sites across the corporate hierarchies; i.e. the occupation of participants ranged from the executive managers to dishwashers. In total, the corpus consists of 101 research participants and 151 hours of recorded data in addition to other supplementary material.

The findings suggest that strategic management of language repertoires enables employees to claim positions of power beyond formal hierarchies. This research illustrates the complexity of claiming professional roles and shows how employees’ ‘language skills’ and professional ‘competence’ are intertwined and mutually constitutive. Employees negotiate situated positions of power vertically (management) and horizontally (co-workers). Contrarily, employees with limited proficiency in the local language are in precarious positions. Specifically, the data shows how language can be used as a mechanism for systematic workplace (in/)exclusion, and suggests that issuing ‘linguistic penalties’ on migrant employees can be advantageous for employers. In closing the thesis I will provide a conceptual frame of the factors that influence the professional identity construction of non-native employees, and introduce a revised analytical model (from Angouri and Piekari, 2018) to guide future research on multilingualism in the workplace.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The fact that workplaces are becoming increasingly diverse and multilingual is a truism. In spite of this, organisations are still following rather narrow language policies that emphasise the importance of local language and/or English (e.g. see Piekkari, Welch & Welch, 2014). Due to this, language policies and ideologies play a pivotal role in employees work trajectories in terms of, for example, accessing the workplace (Roberts & Campbell, 2006; Kirilova & Angouri, 2017; Kerekes, 2017), promotions (Kraft, forthcoming; Itani, Järström & Piekkari, 2015), *perceived* trustworthiness (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007) and commitment (Forsander, 2002) to mention but a few aspects. It is not surprising then that limited proficiency in the host language may place migrant¹ employees (especially those in low-wage employment) in precarious positions (e.g. Piller, 2016; McCall, 2003).

As a response, many companies put in place diversity agendas and inclusion guidelines. However, the actual workplace realities are complex and highly localised, as will be shown in this thesis. In this respect, even though diversity as a notion is constructed as ‘good’ at an abstract level (e.g. in organisational materials), at the same time it quickly becomes a property of the ‘Other’ and a mechanism to distinguish the mainstream ‘Us’ from the (negative) construction of ‘Them’ (e.g. Wodak, 2015; Holliday, 2011). This thesis argues and shows that language ideologies in particular contribute to the maintenance of bifurcation of the labour market in which the working conditions (both physical and social) of non-Finnish speaking employees might be significantly different compared to domestic labour.

More specifically, this thesis demonstrates how access to the relevant linguistic resources, the dominant local language and hegemonic lingua franca in particular, contributes to the enactment of power, gatekeeping, and how language may be used as a mechanism for systematic workplace (in/)exclusion, possibly resulting in ‘linguistic penalties’. The last concept refers to the penalty migrant employees usually pay for not conforming to host society norms and institutional discourses (Roberts & Campbell, 2006), even if the job does not necessarily require language skills, e.g. in routine and manual positions (Roberts, 2010; 2013). To guide the reading of the thesis, I provide below (*Figure 1*) an overview of the core concepts that influence the theoretical grounding and inform the analysis. The literature review revisits these concepts and provides further elaborations on their meaning for this research project.

¹ This work adopts Duchene, Moyer and Roberts’ (2013) definition of ‘migrants’, which stands for: “any mobile citizen who migrates or is mobile for various reasons such as work, leisure, asylum or some other reason” (6-7).



Figure 1: The core concepts.

In line with recent literature (e.g. Vaara, Tienari & Koveshnikov, 2019; Angouri, 2018) I see workplaces as highly politicised sites in which ideological constructs of ‘us’ and ‘them’ are discursively (re)produced. Furthermore, as organisations operate within wider socio-political and institutional contexts, prevailing societal level discourses are seen to further contribute to the processes underpinning the categorisation of people. This thesis shows how language carries status in the workplace in relation to how different hierarchies, work responsibilities and professional roles are performed, claimed, assigned and negotiated into existence. This work is positioned under the postmodern paradigm that follows social constructionist theory of knowledge, and explores workplace language use from a critical sociolinguistic lens.

When it comes to existing ‘language in the workplace’ studies, for some time language was considered to be ‘the orphan’ in business research (Feely & Harzing, 2002:1) and the relationship between organisations and language was seen to be in its “infancy” (Piekkari, Vaara, Tienari & Säntti, 2005:333). Recently though, research addressing this subject has been burgeoning in organisational and international business studies (see Tenzer, Terjesen & Harzing, 2017 for a review) with a new orientation to *language-sensitive research* which sees ‘language’ as a multifaceted and multilevel construct, i.e. it advocates constructionist notions in the sense that language shapes organisational reality rather than just mirrors it (e.g. see special issues by Brannen, Piekkari & Tietze, 2014; Lecomte, Tenzer & Zhang, 2018). In this regard, applied and sociolinguistic studies have highlighted a more dynamic understanding of language

use at multilingual workplaces (e.g. Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; 2016; Lüdi, 2018). There is still little interaction between the fields, however, which I consider problematic. In line with recent work (Angouri & Piekkari, 2018) I am hoping my thesis paves the way for further dialogue between the disciplines.

Despite the growing body of research focusing on language use in multilingual workplaces, it is still a relatively new focus in both disciplines, and there is a call for ethnographically informed studies, especially from low-skilled work settings. This project sheds light on a visible but as of yet unexplored work context: the multilingual restaurant. More specifically, the analysis draws on the data collected from a Finnish multinational food corporation's headquarters and several kitchens located in the capital region of Finland: in the cities of Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo. The lack of research in this context is surprising given that in many European countries the restaurant industry is becoming more and more dependent on migrant labour (e.g. Ollus & Jokinen, 2013; Urban; 2013). In order to get a more holistic understanding of this work context, a "top to bottom" approach to the case study company was adopted. Hence the research consists of accounts provided by the upper echelons as well as low-wage employees. The main focus, I should clarify, is on the non-Finnish speaking kitchen employees' perceived and lived work realities. In addition to expanding our empirical and theoretical knowledge, the thesis seeks to contribute to literature on organisational ethnography through critical reflexivity (e.g. O'Reilly, 2009; Fine & Shulman, 2009).

In order to set this research into a wider context, I will next introduce the prevailing societal level discourses on the relationship between language, migration and work which are relevant to my research.

1.1. Background: Migration discourses, language and employment in Finland

Finland is a Northern European welfare state which has a relatively short history of hosting migrants. The country experienced rapid inward migration in the early 1990s as a consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the number has been steadily increasing. In 2015 it had another flow of migration when the country received 32 000 requests from asylum seekers, which was eight times higher than a year before and counts as the largest increase out of all OECD countries (OECD, 2018). The figure below illustrates the increase of migration.

Thousands of migrants by largest origin countries, 1998-2017

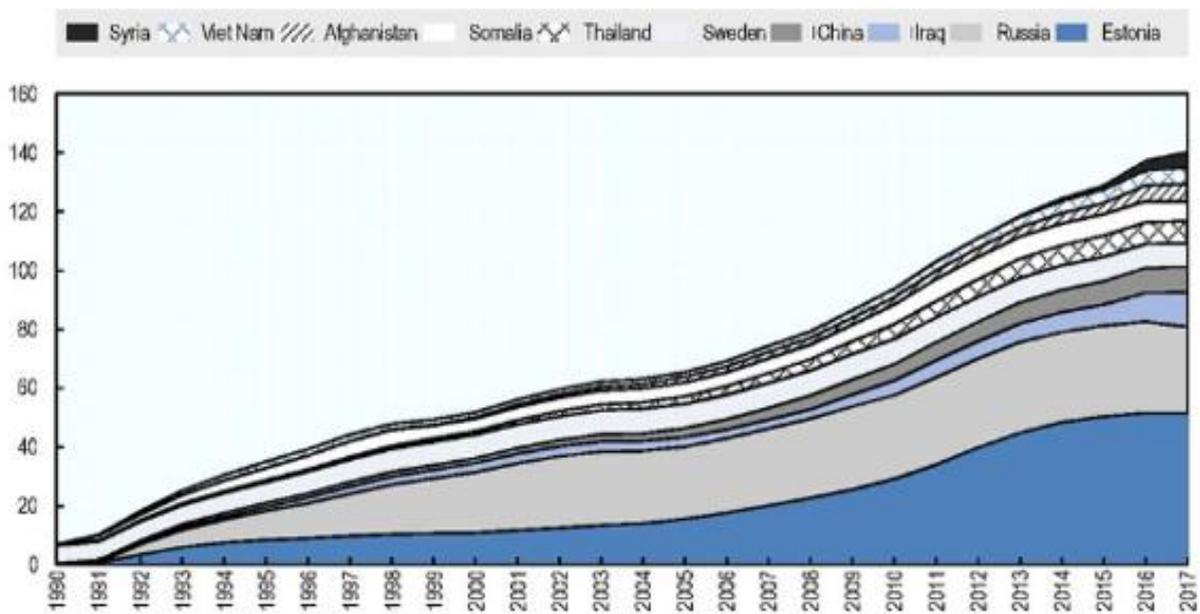


Figure 2: Migration in Finland. *Source:* Statistics Finland.

Notions of employment and good citizenship permeate discourses of societal inclusion and integration. In its integration plan, Finland emphasises the role of language (240 hours of language training), and recently took part in the Social Impact Bond (SIB) pilot which seeks to find employment for migrants within 4 months from the start of the programme (the Finnish Ministry of Employment and Economy). However, being situated in the North with two official national languages, Finnish and Swedish, that are not widely spoken elsewhere (e.g. see Vikør, 2010, on linguistic purism in Nordic countries) the linguistic environment is seen to bring its challenges to employability. Scandinavian languages, and Finnish is not an exception, are considered to be extremely ‘difficult’ by most non-native speakers (Latomaa, 1998). Although these accounts are typically not based on linguistic facts, they are indicative of the attitude and will be made relevant to the data later on. Hence, despite the government providing the basic language training, statistics show that it is not enough, and the OECD (2018: 14) report concludes that “poor language skills leave migrants isolated.”

Even though a variety of factors influence migrants’ employment opportunities there is a certain inclination in the public discourse that links migrants’ lower success rates in gaining jobs to their lack of locally acquired human capital. One of the most identified factors contributing to such capital that holds symbolic weight for Finnish employers (Forsander, 2002) is knowledge of the Finnish language (Ahmad, 2015). This is associated with migrants’ willingness to

integrate and commit to the Finnish society (e.g. Forsander, 2002). Such views are further supported by public authority studies which classify language as a barrier to entering the job market (e.g. Statistics Finland, 2014, the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2012). In this regard, Ollus (2016) argues that because language limits migrants' access to jobs in Finland many end-up in the second labour market – biggest employers being restaurant and cleaning sectors (see also Ollus and Jokinen, 2013; Statistics Finland, 2014). In addition, Wahlbeck's (2007) study on kebab workers show how exclusion and marginalisation in the Finnish labour market may lead some people to participate in the shadow economy (see also Teittinen, 2019, on Nepalese restaurant workers).

The most recent language related issue that caught national media attention was the Institute for the Languages of Finland's (October, 2018) concern of the survival of Finnish and Swedish languages which are seen to be under a 'serious threat' (in Finnish *vakava uhka*) due to global mobilities and the increasing prevalence of English. As a consequence, it is suggested that more Finnish language training would be beneficial for migrants' integration. Also, a point is being raised that native language speakers should have the right to be served in their own language, as opposed to English. The Institute concludes the public announcement with a final subtitle and question: "*Are we giving up our language?*" The discourse and ideology of "our" language is used to appeal to the notion of an (imagined) community (Anderson, 1991; Holliday, 2011) that is distinct from others and, thus, should be valued. I will be revisiting these concepts throughout my work.

At the same time, the Finnish League for Human Rights (2008) suggests that Finnish employers set unreasonably high language requirements as a means of excluding non-Finnish candidates. For instance, the majority of public sector organisations list the knowledge of Finnish *and* Swedish in all job advertisements which leaves migrant applicants at a disadvantage (OECD, 2018). In this regard the city of Helsinki is the only municipality that has changed its language policy to be more open for non-native job applicants; specifically, according to its recruitment guidelines Finnish and Swedish language requirements are now stated to be forms of indirect discrimination if the actual work tasks do not require the use of these languages.

Despite this initiative by the capital city, there is still a heavy emphasis on the local language in private and public sectors, especially when entering low-skilled jobs as opposed to knowledge workers and specialist positions at multinational corporations that highlight the importance of English (e.g. Roberts, 2010). Moreover, to further complicate the linguistic

environment, Finns are annually ranked among the top non-native English speakers (EF English Proficiency Index) and with globalisation, technological advancements, media, pop culture, etc., English has permeated through the society and is used especially among younger people (Leppänen, 2007). Furthermore, Kristiansen (2010: 65) remarks that:

“The English influence issue in the Nordic countries is not only about the use of English words and phrases in the national languages, but also about the wholesale use of English in many domains of society.”

English-positivity (ibid), and placing Britons for example at the top of Finns ‘ethnic hierarchy’ (Koskela, 2014), means that people are becoming more open about using English in their daily interactions, especially in bigger cities. Related to this, Leinonen’s (2011) study presents interesting findings in which American migrants perceived themselves as getting better treatment and service in Finland by using English instead of “Finnish with an accent”. As we can see, Finland’s language environment with its co-existing dominant language ideologies, i.e. Finnish, Swedish and English, have an impact on language use, and positioning of migrants. Drawing on the literature and insights from my data, the simplified figure below illustrates the contradictions between the language requirements versus language use with/among migrant employees.

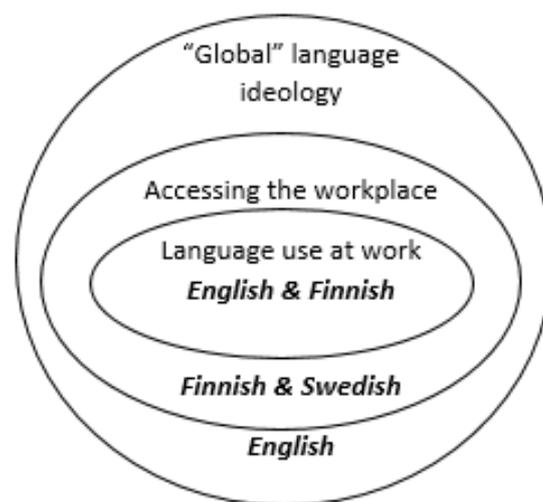


Figure 3: Language requirements vs language use.

In the light of this, the dominant media discourse, especially in the current political environment with the rise of right-wing populist party (True Finns), tends to associate language skills with employment and thus good citizenship. However, as this project will show, it is not a linear process that follows a simple “language + employment = good migrant” logic.

1.2. Personal motivation, objectives and research questions

The starting point for this research was to understand how employees from diverse backgrounds interact and work together at a Finnish multinational corporation (MNC). Initially, I wanted to build on insights gained from my Master's thesis (2013) which investigated how language decisions at Finnish MNCs affected expatriates' (in senior and specialist positions) integration into their work environment. The findings showed how the lack of Finnish language skills and feelings of exclusion among participants set clear limitations that negatively impacted on their ability to adjust not only to their workplaces but also to Finnish society as a whole. After the thesis submission, I was left with multiple unanswered questions and my curiosity for deeper understanding on how languages can (de)motivate employees' collaboration with each other inspired me to produce a larger scale PhD research. On discovering my supervisor's work I was drawn to the applied/sociolinguistics path, moving away from business studies but also creating a new interface between disciplines. Currently, my research interests are situated at the interface of sociolinguistics, international business and organisational studies. Thus, the nature of this research is multidisciplinary and it seeks to understand language use in workplaces from various perspectives and research traditions. I will return to this in Chapter 2.

As will be explained in section 3.2.2., this project took several unexpected turns. Nevertheless, I believe it ended-up in a much more meaningful work for me personally than I could have anticipated. More specifically, my family moved from Estonia to Finland in 1990s at the time of the worst economic crisis Finland had ever faced in its history. I have observed closely the challenges and struggles my parents encountered in the environment where Finns tend to hold negative opinions especially towards people coming from post-soviet countries (e.g. Lahti and Valo, 2013; Koskela, 2014). After years of short-term, low-paid jobs and studying for new degrees, my mother got a position at Espoo's Immigration Services. The reason for explaining this here is to explain my own ideological thinking for the reader. Namely, I grew-up in extremely diverse milieu and, because of her work, my mum took me to various multicultural events, conferences and (overseas) volunteering projects. All of this has shaped my understanding of social justice and equality, and has had an impact on how I interpreted the social world as a researcher. Despite attempting to provide a reading that allows the data to speak, my voice and my stance is always relevant as in any ethnographically informed project. I discuss issues of credibility and reflexivity further in the methodology chapter.

Research questions and objectives

This thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the role of language in the workplace, and its impact on the various positions available (or not) for employees. Typically ethnographic oriented research questions tend to be descriptive. My guiding question (RQ1) has remained unchanged from the start of this project. However, during the iterative process the RQ2 and its SQs have evolved and been narrowed down. This research seeks to explore and answer the following research (sub/)questions:

RQ1: What is the relationship between the official language policy and language practice in the organisation?

RQ2: How does access to language resources enable employees to claim positions of power?

SQ1: How are these positions supported or challenged by others?

SQ2: What is the role of language in the negotiation of responsibility?

The first research question aims to provide a general understanding of the case study company's linguistic environment. In addition, it allows me to critically review the notion of "official language policy" and its implementation. With the RQ2, SQ1 and SQ2 I seek to investigate the link between language and power, and how this becomes apparent in the positions that employees take.

The main research objective of the thesis is to *examine the relationship between access to the company's formal and informal language(s), and employee integration processes*. This involves the:

- Critical evaluation of the notion of corporate language(s).
- Understanding how language(s) influence the distribution of power.
- Identification of different language hierarchies and ideologies that may impact on employees' work life.

I am primarily interested in blue-collar migrant employees' lived experiences but without excluding local, Finnish workers. I will also include data collected from the key decision makers at the upper echelons of corporate hierarchy, since I see this data as providing valuable information about the studied context and it reveals a window into management perception of organisational life. As their decisions, e.g. in regards to implementing the "diversity plan" and language policies directly influence *all* employees across the organisational levels, it allows for

a comparison of management views and the actual lived experience of employees in non-senior decision making positions. Exploring diverse interactions and including employees' different perspectives allows for a more nuanced analysis in which multiple realities are represented. For this reason, I refrain from referring specifically to *migrant* employees in my research questions and objectives.

1.3. Thesis overview

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Following this one, Chapter 2 discusses the main theoretical underpinnings that have shaped this thesis and my conceptual understanding of studied issues. In addition it reviews the body of literature from three areas: language use in the workplace, identity construction and (organisational) culture. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodology. More specifically, I will introduce the research tradition in which this study is positioned, describe data collection methods, datasets and analytical frameworks. As part of reflexive process, I will also discuss the challenges associated with gaining ethnographic access to organisations and critically discuss my positioning in the field, as well as engage with the issues in relation to credibility.

Chapters 4 to 6 form the backbone of this thesis: the analysis. Chapter 4 provides an organisational level overview of the language policies, diversity agenda's and employees perceptions of their workplaces. Chapter 5 zoom in closer to one specific restaurant and reports on the migrant employees' workplace exclusion processes. Chapter 6 provides a closer look and analyses micro-level interactions from two different contexts. By including different contexts, levels and perspectives, the analysis aims to show the complexity of organisational life.

Chapter 7 brings the preceding three chapters together and provides theorisation of the findings. Specifically, I will present a model of factors that are influencing professional identity construction, discuss the language paradox, and then I will expand on the implications of language policies on organisational hierarchies.

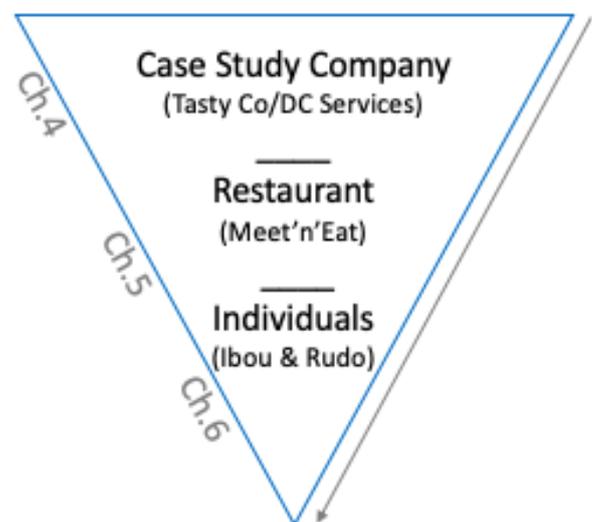


Figure 4: Analysis chapters.

Finally, with Chapter 8 I will discuss academic contribution and practical implications of the study. I will also provide suggestions concerning how to imagine future multilingual workplaces and conduct more novel research in the subject area, after addressing the limitations of this study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter outlines the theoretical and empirical grounds for the thesis in researching corporate language policies, language practices and their impact on employees' work positions. As I seek to provide a holistic understanding of organisational life and language use, the literature draws on international business (management) scholarship (hereafter IB) as well as applied and sociolinguists (see Angouri & Piekkari, 2018, for discussion on multidisciplinary enquiry). IB studies have provided a rich body of research concerning the role of language in corporate contexts, however, the field is still dominated by functionalist views. Indeed, as IB does not usually address the fluidity of language use, I find research in applied linguistics to offer a more dynamic understanding of the studied phenomena in terms of how employees mobilise language resources and how different work positions are negotiated in situ. I also see these studies as limited in that they tend to focus on micro-level descriptions without considering organisational level strategies and/or implications. Therefore combining both disciplines was deemed appropriate with regards to the aims of this thesis.

First, the chapter critically discusses the multifaceted role of language in the workplace from white-collar and blue-collar contexts. Focus will then be placed on discussing the connections between language, group formation and (professional) identity construction. Finally, I will conclude the chapter by discussing the abstract notion of (organisational) culture. With this, the aim is to a.) review the existing body of research focusing on multilingual workplaces, and b.) to introduce the core theoretical frameworks (revisit *Figure 1*) relevant for this project.

Before moving forward, it seems worth clarifying that even though the literature refers to blue-collar (manual labour) and white-collar (office positions) employees, I acknowledge that socio-historically these terms are symbolically considered central in the divide of workforce. I do not see them as being fixed categories (to be discussed in Chapter 7) nor signifying social class or education. This view is also supported by the data.

2.1. Language(s) in the workplace

2.1.1. Standardisation of (English) language

Unifying employees with various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds is commonly acknowledged as a challenging management task (Marschan, Welch & Welch, 1997; Charles & Piekkari, 2002; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen & Piekkari, 2006). As a response, many companies have adopted an official language policy – i.e. language choice for work purposes. Having one (or more) official corporate language(s) is claimed to have several practical advantages. For example, standardised language decisions are argued to facilitate global operations, strengthen corporate culture, reduce time-consuming translation costs, and enhance information flows (e.g. Piekkari, Welch & Welch, 2014; Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Welch, Welch & Piekkari., 2005; Marschan et al., 1997; Sørensen, 2005²; Luo & Shenkar, 2006) to mention a few benefits. Such functional and pragmatic views of language have gained research attention particularly among management scholars and professionals. Crystal (2003), for example, argues that by adopting an English language policy businesses avoid problems of choosing between competing languages since English has already reached the status of a ‘global language’ and is ‘nobody’s’ yet ‘everybody’s’ (Charles, 2007). Therefore, according to these views, the main reason businesses use English has to do more with utilitarian than ideological factors.

Indeed, English has become the dominant business language (Neeley, 2012; Louhiala-Salminen *et al.*, 2005; Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006; Angouri, 2010; 2013; Piekkari *et al.*, 2014; Boussebaa, Sinha & Gabriel, 2014). According to Charles (2007) the number of people who speak English as a non-native language far outnumbers those who use it as a mother tongue. It is the fastest-spreading language in our history and is spoken by 1.75 billion people worldwide at a useful level (Neeley, 2012). However, imposing a language policy and claiming it to be a ‘neutral’ choice is not unproblematic (Lüdi, 2018; Kirilova & Angouri, 2017). I will unpack this next by focusing on ethnographic studies researching Scandinavian corporations as these are relevant to my own research context.

² Cited in Fredriksson *et al.* (2006), pp. 409

2.1.2. Existing studies from multinational corporations highlighting the challenges associated with language standardisation

The decision to follow an official language policy in multilingual work settings may form unequal superiority-inferiority relationships, as shown in Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari and Säntti's (2005:602) case study. Even though it may seem like a rational necessity to confirm whether employees are capable of communicating in the chosen language, this is not always the case (ibid). When Citygroup, for example, changed its language policy to English, sixty percent of its global employees could not comprehend the language (Luo & Shenkar, 2006). By default, language provides an 'unearned status gain' to those who wield the needed language as their mother tongue (Neeley & Dumas, 2016). Since language plays a significant role in power distribution (section 2.1.5.), it can have a significant impact on organisational life and employees' motivation to collaborate with each other as will be illustrated in the following case studies focusing on Scandinavian companies.

Vaara et al.'s (2005) study reveals how choosing Swedish as a corporate language in a Finnish-Swedish banking merger led to a conflict between the subsidiaries. More specifically, it made some Finnish employees feel excluded due to their limited command of Swedish, despite it being Finland's second official language. Moreover, Finnish media associated this language decision with post-colonialism and nationalism; i.e. "Finns being still dominated by the Swedes". Due to the negative reactions of Finnish employees, the company then changed its official language from Swedish to English which balanced the power relations between the employees. In this context English was considered to be a more neutral language which aimed to emphasize equality between non-English speakers (ibid; also in Piekkari, Vaara, Tienari & Säntti, 2005). However, Schneider and Barsoux (2003) provide a counter-example of this 'neutrality'. Namely, when a Franco-Swedish company chose English to be its official language in order to avoid favouring Swedish or French (as suggested in Vaara and associates' study) it still caused frictions between the units. More specifically, French managers felt themselves to be in disadvantageous positions in comparison to their Swedish colleagues who were perceived to be more fluent English speakers. Therefore, the idea of language neutrality is not straightforward.

Furthermore, sometimes the knowledge of local language(s) can supersede the official company policies and hierarchies. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch's (1999b; 1999a) pioneering study of a Finnish multinational corporation, Kone Elevators, revealed that the lack of local

language proficiency may create a feeling of disconnectedness, and employees outside of dominant language clusters had ‘unequal possibilities to become fully integrated members of the Kone ‘family’’ (ibid:435). Despite English being Kone’s official language, non-Finnish speakers felt excluded from communication practices and social networks due to their limited Finnish proficiency. They even referred to the ‘Finnish mafia’ as a means of describing what they saw as Finns forming their own ‘conclaves, and, [who] this way, were able to restrict information sharing within the organization’ (ibid: 429). Similar perceptions also emerged in my data (e.g. Finnish employees being referred to as “royalties”), as we will find out in the analysis chapters.

From a cross-border context Luring (2008) focused on a Danish food corporation at its subsidiary in England. His findings show how language carries symbolic value and contributes to identity making, which can be actualised by competition for resources and recognition between employees. According to Luring, language can be used as ‘an object of expressing ethnicity’ (ibid:356) which may cause polarization between different groups of employees. Another case study by Lønsmann (2014) goes deeper into the role of English as official language. Her findings from a Danish MNC shed light on how different *levels* of English proficiency and dialects are hierarchically ranked with British English being at the top of the language hierarchy. In her data, white-collar Danish employees considered themselves to be proficient English speakers when compared with other non-native speakers. They also categorized their colleagues homogenously into one group and made stereotypical assumptions of other nationalities’ English skills, e.g. Danes having ‘good’ English vs. Estonians ‘bad’ English. Such assumptions, however, do not represent employees through different organisational levels. Namely, white-collar employees in Lønsmann’s study ignored (blue-collar) Danes within the company without any or very little English skills due to a bogus assumption at the higher levels that *all* Danes are proficient English speakers (ibid). Indeed, this is in line with other studies which suggest that a ‘common’ corporate language is strongest among white collar ‘transnational elites’ (Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006); those with higher degrees and status (e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014).

As illustrated in the studies above, an official corporate language rarely makes a multilingual MNC monolingual since multilingual interactions as well as language variations are part of everyday interactions (Nickersson, 2005; Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006; Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007; Luring & Selmer, 2011; Lüdi, 2018). Although, Piekkari and Westney (in

Angouri & Piekkari, 2018) make an important point that a multilingual company is not always multinational, e.g. a 'purely domestic' Finnish firm may use two of its official languages (Finnish and Swedish) in addition to, for example, English.

As each organisation is a unique setting, they cannot be treated as stable structures that are detached from their environment, ignoring naturally occurring languages (Vaara *et al.*, 2005). As Angouri and Miglbauer (2014:165) note 'the modern workplace does not and cannot operate on the basis of one language only'. Hence, regardless of official language policies, informal communication and language use depends on each team's and individuals' localised preferences.

2.1.3. Problematizing monolingual and functional views of language

Treating language simply as a functional skill is problematic. According to Urciuoli (2008) out of all skills, communication skills in particular are 'fetishized as sure-fire techniques that can transform users and bring in the bucks' (:213). In this regard, Angouri and Miglbauer (2014) argue that linguistic capital (see also Bourdieu, 1986; 1990, section 2.1.5.) may but does not automatically result in financial growth because of the socio-political and economic circumstances people find themselves in. Thus, treating language(s) simply as a 'set of skills', ignores the organisational complexity and the interactional work between multilingual speakers.

Moreover, Welch, Welch and Piekkari, (2005) add that workplaces have various *layers of language*. For example, *professional jargon* consists of terminology specific to the occupation, e.g. attending an IT meeting may result in people not following the jargon specific to that profession. Another layer is *company 'speak'* that is full of acronyms, distinctive terms and process terminology used in particular company, and this language keeps evolving. Hence, it takes some time for a new employee to learn and get accustomed to specialised internal language. The last form is about the *everyday spoken and written language* that workers need to employ for daily communication. The first two language forms illustrate that language is *not* merely about 'foreignness' (e.g. learning a new foreign language for work purposes), since all three layers are interdependent (*ibid*). In addition to the above complexity, Tietze, Holden and Barner-Rasmussen (2016) introduce yet another language aspect that they term as *corporate sociolects* as a way of describing language behaviours that mirror speakers' social backgrounds, e.g. occupational education. Full linguistic repertoires, thus, may comprise "several languages,

several specialist languages as well as the corporate sociolects bearing in mind tasks, contexts and situational requirements” (ibid: 329).

Learning specialized terminology and having strong linguistic skills, e.g. correct syntax, phonology and semantics, does not necessarily ensure efficient communication. Individuals should also have sociolinguistic competence as languages are used according to different sociopragmatic rules (Charles, 2007). Therefore, despite an individual’s willingness to learn the right terms, communication is still vulnerable to distortion because in addition to hearing various languages at workplaces, employees may also attach different meanings to the heard sentences and/or words (Mustajoki, 2012). According to Kassis-Henderson (2005), this is due to individuals’ interpretive mechanisms, which are affected by context and people’s different backgrounds. This is to say that not only do people speak in various ways, they might also hear different things in the same message, even if it is communicated through a shared language (ibid; Gumperz, 1982; 2001).

Thus far, the literature review has concentrated on white-collar employees’ language policies in multinational corporations. However, blue-collar employees have received very little empirical attention (Lønsmann & Kraft, 2018; Angouri & Piekkari, 2018), and specifically ethnographic studies on multilingualism are even more uncommon. The next section introduces existing studies from this area.

2.1.4. Language in blue-collar jobs

As it stands, blue-collar employees are underrepresented in the current literature on multilingualism in the workplace – or in general for that matter. In this section, I will introduce the few applied/sociolinguistic ethnographic studies that have explored various language related issues in different blue-collar work contexts. This (limited) body of research is relevant for this project, as the main focus is specifically on (migrant) workers in multilingual blue-collar jobs.

Piller and Lising (2014) focus in their study on temporary Filipino meat workers in Australia, and argue that when language is not a recruitment criterion, it serves to ensure ‘flexible’ migrant labour. Namely, the Australian government requires people to achieve a minimum score of Level 5 on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) in order to be granted visa extensions and permanent residency. The authors demonstrate how butchering work does

not require language as “the speed and physically demanding nature of their work left virtually no scope for talk during work” (ibid: 47). The workers themselves perceived the knowledge of English to be an important aspect of socialisation to the host community, however, they had limited opportunities to use and learn the language. In a similar vein, Strömmer (2016) demonstrates how outsourced cleaning jobs in Finland provide only occasional opportunities for migrants to interact with their colleagues and clients. Consequently, these employees become isolated within their work communities and rely on intermediaries in communication between themselves and clients. She argues that work participation and support are not afforded equally among employees (see also Suni, 2017), and concludes the article by remarking that “cleaning is in fact often a dead-end job instead of a means of entry into the broader labour market, especially for immigrants in the most precarious positions” (Strömmer, 2016: 717).

Duchene’s (2011) research of baggage handlers from Zürich airport provides a contrary perspective to the findings above. The baggage sorting company officially requires from its baggage workers a good knowledge of German whereas customer service and special assistance employees are expected to speak German, English and the former ones also French. The author makes a point how such compartmentalization of language needs reflects organisational hierarchies. However, with an increased number of migrant workers at the airport many new employees do not speak German. Nevertheless, their various language skills are strategically utilised. Namely, the baggage company created a system which takes advantage of migrant workers’ diverse linguistic resources; specifically, the company developed a record of employees’ native languages which means that whenever there is a customer service situation which cannot be handled by other personnel, baggage handlers are called in for assistance. Duchene (2011: 42) argues that this:

“contributes to constructing these employees as linguistic resources who are available on demand—an approach to their linguistic repertoire with purely utilitarian ends, inscribed in a logic of labor in which these skills are entirely naturalized.”

To illustrate how these employees are being commodified and objectified Duchene uses a quote from a supervisor who asks “What do we have?” instead of “Who do we have?” when referring to migrant baggage handlers. Here we can see how employees are commodified on the grounds of their language resources that are associated with exchange value (e.g. Heller, 2010; Flubacher, Duchene & Coray, 2018; Urciuoli, 2008). Indeed, Duchene’s research shows how

companies profit from employees flexibility and language skills while the baggage handlers only get some visibility for a short period of time.

Whereas the above studies appear to highlight the importance of local language for work positions, Goldstein (1997) takes a critical view and provides an alternative account. The findings of her research focusing on Portuguese female factory workers in Toronto, Canada, suggest that these employees' social identities are symbolised by the use of Portuguese. More specifically, the Portuguese language carries social value and acts as a symbol of distinctiveness. Even though the Canadian government provided access to English language classes (which are seen as improving equality and assisting with integration) a majority of the employees did not take advantage of this opportunity. A few women who did learn English managed to improve their professional status and economic viability by getting to supervisory positions. Despite this, the majority of women in factory-lines gave up upward mobility in order to maintain their community and family ties - the company and co-national workers were seen as extended family (ibid: 114). Interestingly, those who did learn English and got promoted, continued working at the factory due to the same reasons. In this regard, Goldstein (1997) raises an important point:

“a vision that links empowerment with participation in dominant language networks is at odds with a vision that links empowerment with efforts to redefine and change existing unequal linguistic relations of power.“ (ibid: 230)

In a more recent study, Theodoropoulou (2019) focuses specifically on multilingualism in Qatar construction sites. Her ethnographic study captures how official language policies that prescribe the use of Arabic and English do not reflect the actual work interactions as employees were drawing on different modes of communication. Theodoropoulou shows how local employees create spaces for minority employees, which provides an alternative view to existing studies in which minorities are often represented as facing challenges and being described as 'non-fits'. In her study, even though hierarchies are present, the workers and supervisors participate in joint activities by employing multilingual and multisemiotic spatial repertoires.

The above studies provide different ethnographic insight into the complexities of multilingual blue-collar workplaces. One study that focused on a New Zealand construction site by Holmes and Woodhams (2013), while not focusing on migrant employees, does add to the previous examples. The authors highlight the importance of language in socialisation processes with regards to becoming a legitimate member of the dominant work community. Holmes and

Woodhams argue that employees have to acquire proficiency in appropriate ways of communicating for the purpose of constructing a convincing professional identity. The authors illustrate how it takes both transactional *and* relational skills in order to become an accepted member. This process involves workers negotiating membership through transactions, technical jargon, and relational talk such as humour (see also Holmes & Marra, 2002, on humour between blue-collar factory workers). Such gradual socialisation processes impact the trajectory and move from peripheral positions to core status in work communities (Holmes & Woodhams, 2013:291).

Even though ethnographic studies exploring specifically multilingualism in blue-collar jobs are scarce, there is a growing body of research that employs other methods. For example, Duchene, Moyer and Roberts (2013) provide a collection of research on migration and social inequalities from institutional and work settings; and Angouri, Kerekes and Suni (forthcoming) bring together an edited volume on ‘Migrants in Working Life’. In addition, Holmes and colleagues have made a significant contribution to the sociolinguistics field with their ‘Language in the Workplace Project’ (LWP) in which the analysis centres on “authentic everyday workplace talk for evidence of the social relationships between speakers, and the discursive construction of different facets of their social identities” (e.g. Holmes & Stubbe, 2015: xiii; also e.g. Holmes, 2013; Vine, 2004; Stubbe *et al.*, 2003; Marra, King & Holmes, 2014; Holmes & Chiles, 2010). My analysis is informed and influenced by the LWP research, hence these studies will be revisited in the upcoming analysis chapters 4 to 6.

2.1.5. Language and power

The relevance of power has become an important part of organisational communication and business discourse studies (e.g. Mumby, 2001; Clegg, 1989; 1998; Whittle *et al.*, 2014; Vaara *et al.* 2005). Mumby argues that ‘power itself must be made sense of through a communications lens’ (2001:585) and ‘it is well recognized that the language issues are closely linked to identity and power in multinationals’ (Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006:420). In the same vein, Charles (2006:272) notes that ‘language is a power-wielding instrument in organizations’ and those who master it (whether on individual-or/and unit level) have more power, since it is closely linked to knowledge sharing (Vaara *et al.*, 2005; Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007). Thus, social order is created and recreated through different communicative interactions, and these social patterns are essentially associated with the systematic inequality found in society/organisation wherein accessing symbolic and material resources is restricted according

to e.g. gender, race or class (Mumby, 1988). Therefore, for critical researchers language is seen as a medium and outcome of dominant interest-groups who try to maintain and/or extend their material interests (e.g. Vaara & Tienari, 2008). Language policies and ideologies (sections 2.1.1. and 2.1.6.) may favour certain groups of employees (van den Born and Peltokorpi, 2010) and create positions of ‘superiority’ and ‘inferiority’ (Vaara et al., 2005).

The exact definition of power, however, has remained rather vague. Looking at influential classical works: Marx (1987), for example, links power to class hierarchy and social conflict, Gramsci (1971) to ‘cultural hegemony’ whereas Weber (1978) takes a more pluralistic view in which power is associated with the individual’s will, i.e. ability to exercise power. These works have contributed greatly to different conceptualisations of the notion. Clegg (1989), however, goes against dogmatic views of power as being something unchangeable and always controlled suggesting that organisational power and rules cannot be automatically classified and framed by authoritative relations (e.g. compared to Foucault’s, 1972, power structures). Namely, there is always room for certain openness and indeterminacy. Thus, power as such is not a singular monologue because it involves objection and pluralism; there are different organisational perspectives and discourses (ibid). Moreover, ‘power and resistance stand in a relationship to each other’ (ibid: 208) as one can unlikely exist without the other.

In this regard, applied/sociolinguists researching workplace interactions and institutional talk have paid close attention to how power is manifested in talk (e.g. Locher, 2004; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Angouri, 2018). From a discursive perspective power is relational, dynamic and contestable (Locher, 2004), constructed and negotiated in interactions (Angouri, 2018; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015) by, for example, looking at how one ‘does power’ in order to reaffirm his/her position at work (ibid). Therefore, power is not fixed based on organisational positions, as will be illustrated in Chapter 6.

Thus far I have introduced some of the classical and current thinking on the relationship between language and power at workplaces but I have not yet explained what power exactly means for this project. In this regard, I find Bourdieu’s (1986; 1990) concepts of *capitals*, *habitus* and *field* to be particularly useful in understanding social power structures; i.e. how employees position themselves and are positioned by others, and what is the impact of their ethnic/linguistic backgrounds on this. I will next unpack these terms for the reader, as they play a central role in my interpretation of the data and analysis.

Bourdieu and Power

Bourdieu's conceptualisation differs from classical works on power 'struggles' (e.g. Marxist views of social classes) in that he takes into account that members are unlikely to have the same experiences, and their 'sense of reality(ies)' vary. Thus, in his view the emphasis moves from structures to agents, and power is seen as socially and symbolically (re)created over interplay between agency and structure. According to Bourdieu (1986) capital presents itself in three integral guises: economic, cultural and social (later added symbolic capital, 1990). He approaches the social world through economic theory, which is seen as self-interested as it is objectively and subjectively oriented to maximise profit (ibid, 1986). Hence, *economic capital* is the root of other types of capital but does not take into consideration alternative (non-material) factors which may affect inequality and power relations. *Social capital*, for example, refers to a network of connections and memberships in a group. Being associated to a 'great name' or 'core group' in the workplace has symbolic power and it may help to fulfil one's political aspirations, e.g. getting promoted. An aspect that is particularly relevant for this thesis is the notion of *linguistic capital* which is one form of *cultural capital* on the individual level. The possession of needed linguistic capital (depending on the context) contributes to *symbolic capital* which is a source of power and influence based on existing networks, perceived prestige, and knowledge. Strategic utilisation of linguistic resources may also allow an employee to claim positions and authority beyond the official role and responsibilities, as will be shown in Chapter 6.

The power that comes with symbolic capital is closely related to Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* which refers to "a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of the others'" (ibid, 1994: 131), and contributes to the formation of social groups e.g. based on language use (ibid, 1990; 1994: also Kirilova & Angouri, 2018). Bourdieu and Wacquant add that 'habitus is a socialized subjectivity' (1992:126) meaning that it is a collective property that operates within a social structure. Even if people do not share the same understanding of habitus, they share an imaginary set of norms that constructs an idea of a homogenous group.

Interrelated to this is the notion of the 'field', which represents a specific social space with certain rules and expectations (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Fields differ in sizes (e.g. small field being a family nested in a larger fields like economic field), they overlap and co-exist at various levels and even though fields are semi-autonomous, they also:

“[...] often share similarities (homologies) in terms of defining social patterns and practices. All fields fall within the overarching field of power (social space), which is structured by two competing principles of social hierarchy: the distribution of economic capital and the distribution of cultural capital” (Edgerton & Roberts, 2014: 195).

The field mirrors positions of power that are negotiated within the limits of the rules of the field. In other words, it is a context where the negotiation between structure and agency occurs, and where social positions are located. For example, an employee’s workplace participation is relative to power and negotiation: what is impossible, what is appropriate, and what can one reasonably expect from oneself within the boundaries of a specific context (Bourdieu, 1990). Difference thus, be it linguistic, ethnic, sexual and so forth, can be closely associated with ‘fitting in’ to the workplace and wider society.

To bring it all together, an agent’s habitus and capital influence the rules of interactions and positions in the field. Following Bourdieu’s conceptualisation provides a framework for an exploration of the both macro and micro-level contexts and duality of social stability and change. I will next turn the discussion to language ideology, which is one of the central concepts for this thesis.

2.1.6. Language ideologies

Silverstein (1979), one of the earliest scholars exploring the topic, defines language ideology as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (1979:193). In a similar vein, Rumsey (1990: 346) argues that ideologies are “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world”, and for Irvine (1989: 255) they are “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading with moral and political interests”. Together then language ideologies can be understood as being related to beliefs, commonsense and interests, which create subjective ‘interpretive filters’ (Mertz, 1989, in Woolard, 1992:241). Language ideologies can be explicit as defined by Silverstein, or, alternatively, Coupland and Jaworski (2004) place emphasis on the implicit:

”The central point is that language is necessarily used against background sets of assumptions – about what is ‘correct’, ‘normal’, ‘appropriate’, ‘well-formed’, ‘worth saying’, ‘permissible’, and so on [...] these evaluative and prescriptive assumptions are ideological. That is to say they are part of specific socio-cultural

frames, with particular histories, tied in to particular power struggles and patterns of dominance.” (2004: 36-37)

Coupland and Jaworski (2004) reject the conceptualisation of language ideology as being innocent, behavioural accounts of language. Because language ideologies create a set of expectations (i.e. how one should sound or speak), they are inherently evaluative and interpretive. They are also closely tied to power and dominance (ibid). For example, according to Seargeant (2009) whereas power determines ideologies, ideologies in return create power relations:

“in so far as ideologies are classifications of the world according to a specific system of values shared by a community, they reproduce hierarchies within society and thus are, in the final instance, determined by and productive of power relations.” (ibid: 27)

Gal (1998) explains that if ideologies produce representations of the social world, the power of ideologies has the ability to constitute social groups as well as valorise other groups, through formulating certain forms of discourses. Therefore, language ideologies are also context-bound and constructed to serve the interests of specific groups (Kroskrity, 2004). For instance, the existence of multiple and conflicting language ideologies means that more powerful groups define the dominant ideologies; an example being “*Finnish in Finland*” ideology.

For this work, I broadly understand language ideology as involving both individual and social, and explicitly and implicitly impacting on peoples thoughts. Thus, influencing interactions and social relations with each other. In line with Billig (1991) I see the constructions of commonsense thoughts being a form of ideology in that the content of such thoughts are cultural products if we consider for example values, opinions, arguments and so forth. More specifically, Billig (1991) argues that:

“[...] the expression of an attitude is a dual expression. Most obviously, it indicates something personal about the individual attitude-holder. In addition to its individual significance, an attitude has a social meaning, for it locates the individual in a wider controversy. In this way, our attitudes refer not just to the beliefs we might uphold, but they refer to those other positions in a public argument to which we are opposed.” (ibid:42)

In the light of the above provided definitions, ideologies hence create hierarchies, constitute to the formation of social groups, construct discourses and strengthen social identities (section 2.2.2.). As such they also contribute to our understanding of the social world and structures

our social behaviour (Seargant, 2009). Jaworski, Coupland and Galsinski (2004) illuminate how what they call as metalanguage affects the social world:

“Metalanguage can work at an ideological level, and influence people’s actions and priorities in a wide range of ways, some clearly visible and others much less so. When we approach language use as discourse and social practice, we naturally view language as a form of social action. But it is in the interplay between usage and social evaluation that much of the social “work” of language – including pressures towards social integration and division, and the policing of social boundaries generally – is done. That is one of the reasons why metalanguage matters” (ibid: 3)

For example, some of the existing and the most prevailing language ideologies appear to be (1) “*English as the global language*” (Philipsson, 2008), the premise of (2) “*one nation, one language*” (e.g. Gal & Irvine, 1995) and (3) *the “standard/native-like”* language ideology (e.g. Canagarajah, 2016; Lönsmann, 2014). As nonstandard language variations are often devalued against the dominant ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) and might be seen as deficiencies (Canagarajah, 2016), language ideologies have clear implications on ‘Otherisation’ processes (section 2.2.4.). Before turning the discussion to the ‘Otherisation’, I will first introduce another central concept for this project: linguistic gatekeeping.

2.1.7. Language and gatekeeping

The concept of gatekeeping was initially introduced by Erickson and Schultz (1982) which refers to decision-making in institutional encounters. By investigating identities in student counselling sessions, the researchers found a connection between the students’ backgrounds and level of interactions. In other words, shared ethnicity or panethnicity resulted in more help during the session as opposed to those with different ethnic backgrounds. Hence social identities and communicative styles are pivotal in determining interactions and outcomes.

According to Gumperz (1982) communicative styles, i.e. constructed frames, impede successful communication as the gatekeepers from the majority community use cultural and linguistic differences against minority community members, generating unequal environments (Gumperz’s work discussed in greater detail in section 3.7.3.) Celia Roberts and colleagues have made a significant contribution to gatekeeping studies some of which are on medical students’ oral examinations (Roberts, Sarangi, Southgate, Wakeford & Wass, 2000), doctor-patient interactions (Roberts & Sarangi, 2005) and more recently on job interviews (Roberts & Campbell, 2006; Roberts, 2013; also Kirilova & Angouri, 2017). What is particularly useful for this project is the relationship between the (expected) institutional talk (Sarangi & Roberts,

1999) and the notion of linguistic penalty. Namely, Roberts and Campbell (2006) have shown how a mismatch in communication styles and power imbalance between an employer and a migrant job applicant can be explained on the basis of language ideology and cultural stereotyping. People with migrant backgrounds typically pay a “linguistic penalty” for not conforming to dominant societal discourses and ideals (ibid). Indeed, this is not necessarily matter of limited work experience or lack of fluency in the host language (English in their study) rather than:

“largely hidden demands on candidates to talk in institutionally credible ways and from a mismatch of implicit cultural expectations, evidenced by mutual misunderstandings, protracted attempts to resolve them and negative judgements by interviewers.” (Roberts & Campbell, 2006: 1)

In this thesis I will seek to expand on the concept of linguistic penalty beyond gatekeeping encounters by exploring how linguistic penalties are embodied in workplaces (Chapter 5). I should also clarify that linguistic gatekeeping carries for me a slightly different meaning. It involves the social and physical transition from ‘outside’ to ‘inside’ (i.e. getting a job after passing the interview stage as explained above) but is also about the utilisation of available language resources that may place an employee to a higher ‘gatekeeping position’.

For example, in IB studies (e.g. Welch et al., 2005; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a; 1997) linguistic gatekeeping is usually associated with access to knowledge and information (e.g. Welch et al., 2005; Feely & Harzing, 2003). Language resources, hence, give more power to individuals (Charles, 2007) who can link different ‘language clusters’ (Tange & Luring, 2009) and act as ‘boundary spanners’ (Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshnikov & Mäkelä, 2014) by facilitating, intervening, linking and exchanging knowledge. On the downside this responsibility can also turn into a burden if employees are expected to act as ‘translation machines’ on top of other work tasks (Vaara *et al.*, 2005). I will return to the concept of gatekeeping in the analysis chapters.

2.2. Identity at work

My work approaches identity as a discursive construct that emerges through social interaction and is open to negotiation between participants. Identities are seen to be always multi-dimensional; plural *and* singular (Jenkins, 2008). Even though an individual may have a strong perception of his/her personal identity (or ‘the self’), it also involves intricate web of social practices and positioning of oneself to different contexts. I will elaborate further on these notions in the following sections.

2.2.1. Definitions of identity and roles

Identity as a term has been described as fuzzy (Angouri, 2016), untenable (Mendoza-Denton, 2004), and ambiguous (e.g. Alvesson, 2010). As Jenkin’s (2008:28) points out:

“Identity has been one of the unifying themes of social science for the last twenty years, and shows no signs of going away. Everybody has *something* to say about identity: anthropologists, geographers, historians, philosophers, political scientists, psychologists, sociologists [...] Identity, it seems, is bound up with everything from political asylum to credit card theft, shopping to sex. And the talk is about change, too: about new identities, the return of the old ones, and the transformation of existing ones.”

Indeed, there is no single conceptualisation and it is hard to get a coherent view of the notion (for an overview from the organisational field, see e.g. Alvesson, 2010). In this research identity is seen as ‘a self-referential description that provides contextually appropriate answer to the question “Who am I?” or “Who are we?”’ (Ashforth, Harrison & Corley, 2008:327). This self-conception guides ‘what is appropriate, natural and valued for a specific subject’ (Kärreman & Alvesson, 2001:64). Thus, ‘identities translate into individuals' ways of being and acting in the world’ (Kira & Balkin, 2014) and show ‘the social positioning of self and other’ (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005:586). Identity refers to both an individual’s own subjective sense of self as well as classification ‘markers’ which are considered to be important to oneself *and* others in terms of delineating group memberships (Groebner, 2004³). Particularly comparisons to ‘others’ are essential because according to Hall (2000) identities are constructed through difference (see also Butler, 1993; Jenkins, 2000). This means that the sense of self is created through a complex interaction of separation *from* and identification *with* the (perceived) significant others (Jenkins, 2000, Bourdieu, 1990; Edwards, 2009). With that said, identities are also constructed and

³ In Edwards, 2009

projected based on social foundations; i.e. “How we would *like* to be seen by others?” This conceptualization is relevant particularly in workplace contexts because professional identities are (co)constructed through different situational positions and emerged possibilities in which employees usually try to accumulate social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1990) to, for example, progress in their careers.

Linked to individuals’ navigation in organisational environment is the notion that employees’ professional identities evolve from attached meanings to different *roles* at work (as well as outside of work). Whereas some roles evolve more ‘naturally’, other roles are imposed as a consequence of structural role positions (Thoits 1991 in Hoggs *et al.*, 1995; Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). For instance, an organisation may provide various roles with certain expectations of performance. However, roles do not come with fixed behaviours; employees may have several distinct role expectations which may stabilize or be conflict with their personal identities (see Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). If, for example, a customer’s complaint is perceived to be unreasonable, employees may challenge their assigned roles and expected behaviours by going against “the customer is always right” proposition. Alternatively, a positive relationship with a customer may turn to a friendship. These examples illustrate how depending on the attached meanings and perceived importance, roles are closely linked to identity.

Thus, the two notions, identity and role, are closely related. However, compared to identity, roles are more observable. They can be examined through the subjective positioning of how work roles are embraced, negotiated or rejected by employees. Therefore, even though there is an interplay between the terms, this project makes a distinction in a sense that roles refer to a ‘more generalized expectations of behaviour communicated in the environment’ (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003:1169). In this regard, workplace interactional sociolinguistic studies emphasise interactants’ roles and status in professional role enactment (e.g. Sarangi, 2010; Angouri & Marra, 2011; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). Indeed, here status is important because “a role is the dynamic aspect of a status: what the individual has to do in order to validate his occupation of the status” (Linton 1971:112 in Sarangi, 2010). Drawing on Goffman’s (1959) work, roles are understood in these studies as performed instead of being pre-defined social facts. This conceptualisation is relevant for this thesis because I see professional roles to be performed and negotiated – the outcomes, consequently, may have an impact on professional identity construction.

The next section explains the interconnectedness between social and personal identities.

2.2.2. Social identity theory

This section briefly covers social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Haslam, 2004), one of the most influential theories in identity studies (Angouri, 2016). Social identity theory (SIT) postulates that people desire to achieve positive self-identity through group memberships, be it a national or departmental group. It is ‘the individual’s knowledge that he [or she] belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him [or her] of this group membership’ (Tajfel, 1972:31). Therefore, it is integral for an individual’s understanding of who they are when ‘associated with any internalized group membership’ (Haslam, 2004:21). Group belonging can be argued to be based on ideological constructs which mirrors an individual’s ‘understanding of the group’s normative behaviours and which the individual adopts during the process of developing or enacting group membership’ (Angouri & Marra, 2011:3). For example a new employee’s learning is done both formally and informally by imitating and observing other employees in order to be accepted into the ‘ingroup’.

Hence, it can be argued that social categorisation is done linguistically (e.g. Lüdi, 2018; Lønsmann, 2014) meaning that people are placed into different social groups in relation to an individual’s position within a system of social categories. To a degree, this sort of simplification offers a shortcut to interpreting various social situations. Studies from workplace contexts show that language varieties and styles play a central role in, for example, group distinctiveness (Tajfel, 1982); participation (Gudykunst & Kim, 2003), inter-unit trustworthiness (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007), and that speech style, accent and language fluency have an impact on how others may perceive an individual (e.g. Rakic *et al.*, 2011; Boussebaa *et al.* 2014; Kirilova & Angouri, 2017), to mention but a few studies. This is particularly important for this research, since the emphasis is on migrant employees and their (social) positioning.

2.2.3. Discursive approaches to the study of identity

In discursive approaches ‘the primary and defining thing about language is how it works as a kind of activity, a discourse’ (Edwards, 1997:1; see also section 3.7.2.). Burr (2003: 64) explains that:

“A discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events. It refers to a particular picture that is painted of an event, person or class of persons, a particular way of representing it in a certain light.”

According to Angouri & Marra (2011) the discourse strategies that are used to enact particular identities draw on the individual’s linguistic behaviour and the societal contexts, i.e. people may use different discourse strategies depending of the situation they find themselves in. Speakers may choose to use another language or a different variety of the same language in order to adjust to and interact with different groups (Mendoza-Denton, 2004; Edwards, 2009; Bucholtz and Hall, 2010). This acknowledgment has led to re-conceptualization of identity as multiple and emergent-in-interaction (Mendoza-Denton, 2004).

Furthermore, Angouri & Marra (2011) note that identity cannot pre-exist language since both personal as well as social identities are attained in negotiation with others. Edwards (2009:20) refers to the following metaphor to illustrate this: ‘no man is an island, entire of itself’. This means that our personal characteristics evolve through socialisation; ‘one’s particular social context defines that part of the larger human pool of potential from which a personal identity can be constructed’ (ibid). Identity, thus, is seen in sociolinguistics as something that we actively *do* through our social interactions rather than something that passively *is* (Angouri & Marra, 2011). Discursive approaches follow the assumption that workplace discourses and professional identities are action oriented and observable through specific practices. I will next briefly introduce the most relevant discursive practices for this work that have influenced my thinking and interpretation of the data; *indexicality*, *categorisation* and *relationality*.

Indexicality refers to the process in which a linguistic form is connected with a social meaning (Ochs, 1992). Hence, language may be perceived as an identity marker/label in a sense that varieties, styles and dialects can index a person’s origin or social class (e.g. ibid; Bourdieu, 1990). As such, indexicality is based on ideological structures within a specific context by associating language with a particular identity (De Fina, 2011). According to Bucholtz and Hall (2010:21) identity relations come into existence through (1.) direct categories and labels, (2) implicatures and presuppositions, (3) stance taking in talk, and (4) ideological associations with language and groups.

I have already briefly introduced social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) in section 2.2.2., which highlights the social *categorisation* processes. Discourse scholars emphasise that

identities are constantly shifting and thus one can belong to several categories simultaneously (Angouri, 2016). Here the focus is on an individual's linguistic repertoire. For example, a rich language repertoire allows speakers to choose a variety according to 'perceptions of situational constraints and demands' (Edwards, 2009:27). People may attempt to identify with 'sameness' by marking themselves or others in specific ways (Jenkins, 2000; Mendoza-Denton, 2004; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). They take (conscious *or* unconscious) stances by positioning themselves and categorizing others.

Relationality in relationship to identity is explained by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 23) in the following way: "identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often, overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/delegitimacy". As we can see relationality operates in different levels but what is of interest to this research is the construction of 'us' and 'them'. De Fina (2011) argues it to be one of the main mechanisms of identity construction "since differentiation is a fundamental process of self-affirmation" (ibid: 271).

I see the above described discursive stances together with ideologies as being closely related to the processes of 'otherisation', which shall be explained next.

2.2.4. Otherisation

The monolithic perspectives of how one should sound, look or behave are closely related to stereotypes and processes of 'Othering'. Stereotypes provide shortcuts into interpreting the complexities of the social world. According to social psychologists (e.g. McGarty, Yzerbyt and Spears, 2002:2) stereotypes can be identified as 1.) helping to explain the social world, 2.) serving as 'energy-saving devices', and are 3.) shared group beliefs. As they form certain beliefs about social groups, this may result in polarised representations of reality in which 'us' and 'them' are juxtaposed. It also constructs the imagined 'Other'.

'Othering' has implications in terms of disempowering minority groups. Van Laer and Janssen (2011) for example show how difference is being negatively judged at workplaces through subtle discrimination, which is embedded in societal structures and exiting discourses that have become naturalised over time. In the similar vein, Angouri (2018) argues that metacultural discourses reaffirm inequalities between employees by drawing on macro nationalistic narratives that are referred to in daily work practices, and 'politics of difference is at the core of the process' (:37) (see also Vaara et al., 2019, on identity politics in MNC contexts). What

is relevant for this project is the 'local' vs 'non-local' positioning against the dominant national (language) ideologies. Baxter and Wallace (2009) for example demonstrated how male British construction workers strengthened their professional identity in relation to other threatening out-groups. More specifically, Baxter and Wallace make connections between the newspaper discourse that steer 'moral panic' against migrants and British workers' demonization of Polish employees, i.e. the 'Others'. Drawing on dominant media discourses, Polish workers are perceived to threaten the available jobs for British workers and they were seen to act illegally by 'not paying taxes'. Moreover, migrants were described as "murdering, job-stealing and untrustworthy" (ibid: 419) in British builders talk.

Moving to an MNC context, Ybema and Byun (2009) illustrate how Japanese and Dutch employees draw on the cultural 'Other' and create symbolic boundaries between the 'self' and the 'Other' by signifying 'sameness' and 'otherness'. Employees have, the authors argue, strategic agency in that they can legitimate and oppose discursively the organisational power asymmetries in highly politicized MNC contexts. Ybema and Byun further claim that:

"identity construction may thus be a far from neutral process, coloured by emotions, moral judgments, and political or economic interests. Identity discourse appears to be instrumental in attempts to establish, legitimate, secure, or challenge the prevailing relationships of power and status. It implicates social manoeuvring and power games." (ibid: 341)

Indeed, othering acts as a source for identity construction by drawing on discourses of exclusion. As Said (1993: xiii) points out: "culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or the state; this differentiates 'us' from 'them', almost always with some degree of xenophobia." Similarly, according to Holliday (2011: 94) "Othering is built on the idealization of the Self and the demonization of an imagined foreign Other. It is common in many aspects of life." Holliday also notes the imagined Other may work with or resist the imposed positions. My data will show both positions.

This thesis seeks to look at how the positioning of the 'Other' is discursively constructed and how such positions are mobilized in practice at workplaces. This is done by drawing on Bourdieu's concepts (section 2.1.5.) and discursive practices by looking at indexicality, categorization and relationality. Next, the discussion turns to the complex notion of 'culture'.

2.3. Culture in workplaces

According to Holmes (2018), workplaces are prime sites for the enactment of cultural inequalities. Indeed, as ‘culture’ and ‘cultural comparisons’ (i.e. national categorisations, sections 2.2.3. and 2.2.4.) are an overarching theme in my data, as mobilised in research participants’ interpretations of their colleagues’ and organisational practices, e.g. “Filipinos are always hard working”, the following sections will review different approaches to the term ‘culture’.

The notion of culture has attracted interest between different disciplines e.g. social psychology (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Burr, 2003), international business and management (e.g. Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner; 1997; McSweeney, 2002; 2015; Schein, 2010; Fang, 2006; 2011), organisational studies (Martin, 2002; Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2016), and linguistics (e.g. Holmes, 2018; Angouri, 2018; Holliday, 2011), among other disciplines, which all have diverse reference points about the term (for a historical overview see Sarangi, 2009). As the notion of ‘culture’ tends to be associated with the concept of difference, particularly in the cross-cultural management literature, I will problematize positivist views by referring to postmodern critical theorists’ works (e.g. Alvesson, 2002; Martin, 2002; Weick *et al.*, 2005). Following the discussion on the philosophical debate between positivism and social constructionism, the upcoming sections will review the notion of organisational culture from different angles and looks at how it is seen and ‘operationalised’. First, however, I will discuss what is meant by *culture* and how it is conceptualized in this research.

2.3.1. Definitions of culture

Culture is a commonly discussed concept yet it is a difficult to describe and so far there is no agreement upon the exact definition of the notion. According to Schein (2010:13) it is ‘an empirically based abstraction’ because it is a phenomenon which can be found below the surface level – it is powerful, yet invisible, and to a substantial degree unconscious. In a way, culture can be characterised as being to ‘a group what personality or character is to an individual’ (ibid:14). If personality guides and limits our behaviour, culture does the same through norms that are accepted by (majority) group. Therefore, it is challenging to study culture; even though certain behaviours are observable, the underlying causes of such behaviours are hard to detect or define. For example, in their critical review anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) registered 164 different definitions of the word. The authors formed their own extensive definition as follows:

”Culture consist of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action.” (ibid: 181)

For ideas and behaviours to be characterized as cultural, they should be shared by two or more people. Thus, culture is collectively constructed, and affects both social and individual behaviours. Furthermore, it can be manifested through symbolic culture (religion, sport, art, status etc.) and material (e.g. food, clothes, housing etc.).

As depicted above, culture is a rather abstract term and, thus, it has been suggested that defining it is needless. Instead, Blommaert (1998) proposes that we should focus on specific *contexts* and *practices*, because ‘culture’ in all its meanings and with all its affiliated concepts, is situational’ (n.p.), which is one of the reasons why there is a need to take into consideration the increasing complexity of both within and between people. Furthermore, cultures, in their various meanings, keep changing and diffusing as societal structures also change with time.

The focus of this project is on, as suggested by Blommaert, on contexts and practices. I understand culture to be ”with fluid and negotiable boundaries” (Holliday, 2011: 1). Culture in the workplace in particular is emergent through the situated negotiation of positions that individuals take (I discuss this further in chapters 5 and 6). My work aligns broadly with a social constructionist approach. This label however is not straightforward and has attracted attention and criticism over the years as I discuss next. Specifically I will now provide the reader with my understanding of the relevant aspects of essentialism and social constructionism that guide my interpretation of participants’ accounts of culture in my datasets.

2.3.2. Limitations of positivist approaches to culture studies in organisations

Cultural differences in MNCs have been of interest particularly in cross-cultural management studies (e.g. Hofstede, 1980; Gudykunst & Kim, 2003; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner; 1997; the GLOBE project by e.g. House *et al.*, 2014). These studies draw on essentialist understandings and tend to propose typologies of cultural differences (i.e. ‘tools’ for handling people from various ethnic backgrounds) which objectify cultures by prescribing pre-determined cultural dimensions/characteristics. Here differences are seen as sources of possible collisions, friction and/or miscommunication (Søderberg & Holden, 2002). For example,

Schmidt et al., (2007) warn in their book that: ‘the meeting of two different “patterns of thinking” (*cultures*) inevitably results in conflict, disorientation and disagreement’ (ibid:8). Furthermore, managerial literature seems to often suggest that there are stronger and weaker cultures (e.g. Da Silveira & Crubelatte, 2007). As these cultural frameworks have been widely accepted and used in international business studies (Osland & Bird, 2000) linking organisations to nation-states (Martin & Frost, 1997; Sørderberg & Holden, 2002; McSweeney, 2015), it is worth addressing some of the limitations with the positivist research tradition. The reason for doing so lies in the essentialist meanings of culture that are mobilised by participants in my data.

Culture is seen from positivist standpoint as a relatively stable, homogeneous and coherent system of beliefs, norms, and values which are transmitted via socialisation from one generation to the next one (Fang, 2005). Thus, it is assumed that groups can be predetermined and that people within these groups are more or less alike (e.g. idea of “collectivist Chinese” vs “individualistic Americans”). The positivist claims of the ‘truth’ seek to generate theories and laws in terms of explaining and predicting empirical (social) phenomena through measurable evidence. Relying on statistical data and numbers, however, is not unproblematic when it comes to human beings and the notion of agency (e.g. Holliday, 2011).

To illustrate this, I refer to Hofstede’s (1980; also G. Hofstede & G.J. Hofstede, 2005) due to his canonical contribution to the study of culture and management (Sørderberg & Holden, 2002; Da Silveira & Crubelatte; 2007; McSweeney, 2015). For his ground-breaking book, *Culture’s Consequences* (1980), Hofstede conceptualised four cultural value dimensions (later added fifth: long/short-term orientation): individualism-collectivism, masculinity-femininity, power distance, and uncertainty avoidance based on IBM employee survey results. On a macro-level these dimensions allow for a comparative research in which country A is compared to country B. This work commonly is applied to unpacking micro-level situations where the assumption is that nationality may create prejudices of a person coming from country A to B. Although Hofstede’s work was not intended to be applied to predict individual behaviour in organisations, and it is certainly the case that Hofstede cannot be held accountable for subsequent uses of his work (for a discussion see Angouri, 2018), his cultural dimensions have significantly influenced thinking in the field. It was and still is used extensively in relation to understanding, explaining, predicting and training organisational ‘behaviour’ within and outside of professional contexts (e.g. McSweeney, 2015).

The cultural difference frameworks and models are based on generalisations by presenting the ‘averages’. These frameworks/models do not acknowledge *temporal diversity* nor explain social events occurring in *specific* contexts neither do they leave space for the expression of individuality (McSweeney, 2002; 2009; Da Silveira & Crubelatte, 2007). Due to this reason, Osland & Bird (2000) call these generalisations as ‘sophisticated stereotyping’ because they reinforce the dominant stereotypes (Søderberg & Holden, 2002) and contribute to ‘Othering’ (Holliday, 2011).

Furthermore, Jameson (2007:204) notes that when ‘equating culture with country (it) limits our understanding of business issues, problems, and strategies.’ In addition, increased globalization has witnessed the constantly changing, reshuffling, and contact of cultures at workplaces (Fang, 2005; Camargo-Borges & Rasera, 2013). Traditional culture models fail to recognise the global demographic shifts, organisational changes and impact of technology, to mention but a few factors. Fang (2011), for example, argues that “cultural learning takes place not just longitudinally from one’s own ancestors within one’s own cultural group but dimensionally from different nations, cultures, and peoples in an increasingly borderless and wireless workplace, marketplace, and cyberspace” (:26). Hence, it is suggested that the emphasis should be on ‘localised’ narratives that take into consideration particular events and contexts.

2.3.3. Social constructionist views of culture

Social constructionism (SC) questions the given assumptions about the world and ‘focuses on the subjective nature of reality, which is seen as a situated and dynamic construct’ (Angouri, 2016:50). Instead of being concerned with *what is real*, the focus is on *what makes something real* (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Gergen, 1994; Burr, 2003). Researchers focus on how people negotiate what they ‘know’ or accept as a fact (reality) in their everyday lives, ‘initially justified by the fact of their social relativity’ (Berger & Luckmann, 1966:15).

Constructionism does not offer any single doctrine, and it is up to the researcher to decide how to apply it (e.g. see ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ constructionism by Schwandt, 2000). However, it is commonly recognized that *agents* - i.e. actors’ ‘modes of participation’ within existing structures (Berger and Luckmann, 1966) - create their environment through words and materials which can be either constraints or opportunities. They invent concepts, models and schemes in order to make sense of the experiences that are constantly being tested and modified, thus, co-creating new realities (Schwandt, 2000; Camargo-Borges & Rasera, 2013). Compared

to the positivist perspective, here the shift moves away from making universal claims of national identities to acknowledging that individuals identify/affiliate to multiple cultural groups simultaneously (e.g. ethnic, organisational, occupational etc.). Constructionist approaches could be characterized as looking at how people ‘do culture’ vs ‘have culture’ (e.g. Sarangi, 2009). For the purpose of this project, Street’s (1993:25) *culture is a verb* term seems important because languages and cultures are seen as fluid ongoing processes.

SC has been criticised as it is interpretive, based on the reading of a situation or interaction by the researcher. It also, often, reproduces hegemonic meanings associated with people/situations that are not that different or far from essentialist readings but packaged as such (Angouri, 2018). Having said that, mis/applying theoretical paradigms in research does not suggest a problem with the approach; the core concept of SC, the negotiated nature of our perceived reality is a robust conceptual framework which guided my reading of the phenomena I study here as I discuss further in Chapter 3.

Further on this, Benedict Anderson’s (1991) distinct conception of a nation (‘culture’) is one of the best known; he argues that nations are fictional but are turned into reality through sociocognitive processes. Specifically, members of nations will never interact with most of their fellow-members but still in their minds the image of communion exists. National anthems, for example, create strong emotional feelings and social cohesion between people who are unknown to each other – even if there is no other connection except for the ‘imagined sound’ (ibid). Anderson explains that communities of any size are constructed and perpetuated through language which ‘creates’ an idea of *common* history, symbols and values. Thus, for social constructionists’ communities are socially constructed entities in which individuals’ identification with each other may form and affect the decisions and choices they make, leading to the formation of one’s identity/ies.

To close this discussion, essentialist and SC approaches have been juxtaposed in relation to different binaries, objectivity/subjectivity, etic/emic research, generalizability/context-specific research, focus/breadth, and level of depth (Martin, 2002: 29-30). It seems to me however that the either/or approach is not particularly fruitful as there is no one theory that covers all aspects. Understanding the influence of core work in the field and the development of concepts is particularly useful for positioning any research project and is what I have aimed to do in this literature review. This discussion has taken me to the relevant notion prominent in my data, namely organisational culture.

2.2.4. Organisational culture

The notion of organisational culture is seen to be important for employee integration, coordination, commitment, organisational stability, efficiency and so forth. As such, managerial literature often suggests that creating a ‘strong culture’ will influence organisational efficiency (Schein, 2010) and “in response to competitive pressures and the desire to be recognized and supported, corporations invest millions every year to strengthen their corporate images and reputations” (Hatch & Schultz, 2004:1). According to Martins and Terblanche (2003: 65):

“organisational culture is defined as the deeply seated (often subconscious) values and beliefs shared by personnel in an organisation. Organisational culture is manifested in the typical characteristics of the organization.”

Hatch & Schultz (1997: 358) add that organisational culture is “the internal symbolic context for the development and maintenance of organizational identity”. Here organizational identity refers broadly to what members “perceive, feel and think about their organizations. It is traditionally assumed to be a collective, commonly-shared understanding of the organization’s distinctive values and characteristics” (Martin, 2002: 357). Alvesson and Sveningsson (2016) add that organisational culture is also a source for identity work, i.e. “*our* values are [...]” feeds to the (professional) identity construction.

For the reasons described above, it appears that organisational culture is often seen in the management literature as something that should be improved or taken seriously in order to make positive organisational changes possible. It is seen to be epitomised in symbolism, the meaning behind language, physical settings and artefacts. Rational tools and processes like strategic direction, goals, tasks, technology, structure, communication, cooperation and interpersonal relationships are designed to meet the organizational goal (be it for example profitability or increase of memberships in the case of volunteering organisations). In this regard, Martin (2002) provides guidepoints on how culture presents itself in 1.) *the cultural forms* (i.e. physical arrangements, rituals, espoused values etc.), 2.) *formal practices* (rules and procedures, financial control, use of technology, structures etc.), 3.) *informal practices* (e.g. social interactions), and 4.) *content themes*, which are cognitive (beliefs/tacit assumptions) and/or attitudinal (personal values). The content themes can be externally espoused or inferred deductively. Organisational culture is maintained through employee interactions (manifested

in attitudes and behaviours) in terms of work routines, values, philosophy and rules of the game which among other factors form part of organisational culture (ibid).

More recent organisational/management research (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2016; Ybema & Buyn, 2009; Martin, 2002) has recognised that organisational culture cannot be viewed as static and homogenous since it exhibits heterogeneity based on organisational hierarchies, departments, (country/regional) locations etc. nor can employees be assumed to automatically follow values set by the management. In this regard, Alvesson and Sveningsson (2016) criticise prevailing management scholarship for thin and superficial descriptions in which organisational culture tends to be characterised through slogans rather than deeper understanding. Instead, Alvesson and Sveningsson suggest exploring organisational culture through a reflexive approach which takes into consideration constant organisational change. Here the emphasis is on investigating the creation and meaning of stories. Organisational discourses hence turn thinking and talking in particular ways into workplace actions and practices.

Underpinned by social constructionist reasoning (previous section), organisations and organisational cultures are seen in this project as contextually negotiated and socially (de/re)constructed sites (e.g. Maitlis & Christianson, 2014; Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000; Weick, 1995). This project follows Weick's (1995) re-conceptualisation of organisations in that they are talked into existence and actions. At the same time "the socially created world becomes a world that constrains actions and orientations" (Weick, 1995:36). Organisational culture emerged from my data as a prominent way of explaining 'difference'. In line with other work and recent studies in the area (Kim, 2018) I also see it as a discursively created category. For example, employees may draw on discursively reproduced constructions of corporate ethos which may enhance their professional identities.

2.4. Summary

The aims of this chapter were twofold. Firstly, it provided a review of the seminal (ethnographic) work from 'language in the workplace' studies to establish an understanding of the studied social phenomenon and context. Secondly, it introduced the main concepts that guide this research. More specifically, language ideologies are central for this study as they contribute to power im/balance in multilingual workplace. According to the existing literature this is manifested through the processes of Otherisation, membership in/exclusion and linguistic penalties. As employees are expected to navigate through power structures, notions

of (professional) identity and organisational culture are useful in understanding how and why employees may position themselves and others at workplaces the way they do.

In line with any discourse theory and relevant research in my field (e.g. Weick, 1995; Gumperz, 1982; 2001; Fairclough, 2001; Clegg, 1989; Kirilova & Angouri, 2017; Vaara *et al.*, 2005), I take the stance that discourse constructs social reality. I see workplace interactions involving negotiation, justification, rationalizing, political decisions, controlled information processing etc., and language enables us to spot various meanings and ‘hidden messages’. Hence, workplaces are highly politicized sites (Vaara *et al.*, 2019; Ybema & Byun, 2009; Angouri, 2018) in which inequalities and power im/balance are reproduced through daily practices (Lugosi, Janta & Wilezek, 2016; Ward & Winstanley, 2003). Whereas many existing studies are relying on participant accounts (*ibid*), I took an ethnographic approach which allowed me to immerse myself in the field and better understand work practices and structures. I will discuss the research design and my position in the field in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

To briefly remind the reader of the core aims of this study (section 1.2) it seeks to (a) investigate the relationship between language policies and practices, and (b) explore how language resources enable employees to claim positions of power. I attempt to identify how language ideologies and hierarchies may impact on employees' workplace integration. Given the objectives of this project, I decided to take a, broadly put, qualitative approach. Although, as Angouri (2018) notes, the traditional labels and binaries of qualitative and quantitative paradigms are quite problematic in that the latter still appears to hold more 'scientific value' in terms of claims about truth, validity and objectivity. I see both approaches as providing valuable data but in the light of my research interests, i.e. exploring lived workplace experiences, I find qualitative approaches to be better suited to exploring the nuances of 'how' rather than the 'how many' (Silverman, 2017).

Drawing on my earlier research and work experience in multinational corporations, I felt that survey and interview methods only allowed a researcher to scratch the surface of the participants' (work) realities, hence, I found ethnography as a mode of enquiry to be appealing for this PhD project. Furthermore, considering that the guiding question for this research centres on language policies and practices, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) remark that employees' actual lived experiences in organisations in comparison to official policies are 'stock-in-trade of ethnographic work' (:161).

However, before being granted full ethnographic access to the case study corporation, this project took several turns over the first two and a half years. Recognising that reliability and validity are important to any research, I seek to address several of these issues in the following sections. Therefore, in addition to introducing a rationale for the chosen methods, context, data sources and analytical frameworks, this chapter provides a critical reflection of the researcher's access, experiences and positioning in the field throughout, which are often missing in existing ethnographic studies (Fine & Shulman, 2009; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). In order to illustrate the negotiation of multiple positions and the politics of 'being in the field' (Giampapa, 2011), I will also include a few excerpts from the data here. With this I seek to provide a realistic account (Fine & Shulman, 2009) for the reader of the context in which the data collection took place. In line with Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) I believe this is critical because

negotiating access, data collection and analysis are not distinct phases of the research process since they are overlapping and influence each other.

I will begin by providing a brief introduction of the origins of ethnography and case study approaches before clarifying the difference between the terms for this project.

3.2. Briefly on (organisational) ethnography and case study approaches

The origins of ethnography lie in Western anthropology, namely it is based on the work of Malinowski (1922) who is considered to be the founder of modern anthropology. According to Bate (1997) ethnography was born as a result of the ‘romantic rebellion’ against science; more specifically, not everything can be explained rationally through evidence and reason, especially when it comes to human relations and the study of culture. Around the same time, a group of sociologists from the University of Chicago developed similar approaches from the 1920s to 1950s to studying social life which they named ‘case study’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The ‘Chicago School’ scholars (e.g. Anderson, 1923; Whyte, 1943) were interested in exploring urban ecology and social interactions. As this project refers to both terms, it should be clarified that I see the two notions as being interrelated but nonetheless distinct: specifically, *case study* refers to the organisational setting where the study takes place, whereas *ethnography* is used to explore social phenomena taking place in the aforementioned context. The data for this research is collected from a single *case study company* (introduced in section 3.3.), and from within, I present *smaller case studies* (Chapters 5 and 6) to describe what is happening in the company.

Ethnography is today widespread and adopted in various sub-fields and disciplines, such as organisational studies, psychology, cultural studies, management theory etc. (Neyland, 2008). The notion of ethnography has been reinterpreted and reconceptualised on several occasions depending on the disciplinary context and needs. To give an example from the socio- and applied linguistics fields some scholars (e.g. Rampton, 2007; Copland & Creese, 2015) have been trying to push forward a relatively new orientation: *linguistic ethnography* (LE) which brings together a number of formative traditions (e.g. critical discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and literacy studies). However, as a response to this orientation Hammersley (2007) critically remarks that: “the continual invention of new approaches within the social sciences in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries could be interpreted as part of a broader cultural phenomenon: an obsession with re-branding and relaunching” (:690). For this

reason I refrain from referring to any specific ethnographic orientation and instead I am content with the affordances of ‘ethnographic methodology’ as the overall orientation of my work.

Indeed, the semantic boundaries and exact definition of ethnography have become somewhat blurry due to overlap with other labels such as ‘fieldwork’, ‘qualitative inquiry’ and ‘interpretive method’ (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Blommaert and Dong (2010) note that there is a widespread perception of ethnography as simply a method for collecting certain types of data, and this, the authors argue, must be corrected (2010:5). In this regard, I find Bate’s (1997) suggestion of three key ethnography features to be useful when conceptualising it:

- Ethnography as method – a way of ‘doing’ fieldwork; participant observation.
- Ethnography as paradigm – intellectual thinking and contextual awareness.
- Ethnography as a way of writing – narrative/rhetorical style of writing, e.g. turning scientific writing into literary writing.

As will be explained later, I will account for all three features in this project. Despite the above presented differences, it is commonly accepted that ethnography is a qualitative orientation to research (Iszat-White *et al.* 2004) which usually involves researcher participation and close observation of people in naturally occurring environments (e.g. Bell, 1999; van der Waal, 2009, Neyland, 2008; Atkinson *et al.*, 2007), conversational interviewing (Spradley, 1979) and documentary evidence (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). With this, the aim is to capture a detailed account from the ‘insider’s view’ of the ways in which employees organise their daily work lives (van der Waal, 2009). Organisational ethnography research ordinarily tends to be a small-scale study concentrating on a single setting and group(s) of people. Despite it being suited particularly for micro-level analysis, this does not mean it cannot test macro theories (see Burawoy *et al.*, 2000) and be linked with macro-level discourses (Angouri, 2018), which makes it particularly useful for my project.

The next section explains how I tried to approach the field and data by drawing on Agar’s (2006) ethnographic logic, which encourages researchers to stay open for new ideas and readings.

Ethnographic logic

In considering what counts as “*real*” ethnography, Agar (2006) introduces three intertwined notions: *abductive* (Latin: ‘lead away’), *iterative* (‘to repeat’) and *recursive* (‘run again/back’) logic. Drawing on Peirce’s (1906) work, Agar (2006) argues that traditional *deductive logic* derives conclusions from old premises whereas *inductive logic* centres on fitting material to existing concepts. Both of these most common logics in research are closed with reference to the concepts involved, hence, *abductive* logic entails new understanding of the data and learning from our experiences, as opposed to being “creatures of habit and seekers of certainty” (ibid: 11). Because the author sees ethnography as being dynamic, i.e. the reading of the data changes constantly depending on our constructions of new concepts and understandings, this leads to the second characteristic of ethnographic logic: the abduction of ethnography is *iterative*. This means that, even though it is the most important to report to an ‘Outsider’, “the early applications of abduction in fact *change* the historical context and create a new one within which the next abduction will occur” (ibid: 12-13). In other words, ethnographers are advised to be open for new ‘surprises’ and alternative readings of the data. Finally, abduction is also *recursive* “in the sense of abducting in the process of abducting” (ibid: 13), meaning that even when we pursue constructing surprises, new ones will come up. So an “embedded sequence of abduction occurs as we explain one surprise after another before we return to the original one” (ibid). Agar (2006: 14) summarises the ethnographic logic in the following way:

“It is first of all abductive logic, taking surprises seriously and creating new explanations for them. It is also iterative, something that is applied over and over again in the course of a piece of work. And it is recursive, calling on itself to solve a problem that comes up even as it is solving a problem.”

Hence, these logics can be characterized as being procedural and they point to a way of coming to know about meanings. Therefore, with this conceptualization, ethnography can be described as an epistemological approach: engagement with abduction requires a certain way of approaching inquiry. While it can be impossible to approach a new situation without preconceived ideas, finding a balance between them and being open to ‘rich points’ is important. With iteration and recursion, the researcher is called to be alert to changes, be skeptical, and imagine new and unimagined alternatives, which is how I seek to approach the case study.

3.2.1. Critical issues in ethnography

As with any research approach, ethnographic studies from organisational contexts in particular have been criticized. I provide a short discussion of the main issues relevant for this project below.

Time

Ethnographic studies require time for building trust, especially for close engagement with the members of the group being studied (Neyland, 2008). For this project, one could argue that it is questionable whether a few months of fieldwork allows a researcher to truly understand the underlying social complexities within organisational life. Due to this, Bate (1997) states that organisational ethnography should be called ‘quasi-anthropological’, since ‘prolonged contact with the field’ means a series of flying visits rather than a long-term stay’ (ibid:1150). Indeed, my data collection schedule had to be negotiated and approved with the gatekeepers. Considering that I was entering their premises as an outsider, and took away employees’ time, justification for my research approach and providing a rationale for the time spent at each location is understandable.

Writing

Van Maanen (1988) identifies and contrasts three different writing styles, or ‘tales of the field’: realist, confessional and impressionist tales. Often scholars present their research in the realist literary style (e.g. Vaara et al., 2005), and studies in which the researcher features as a main character are rare (Bell, 1999). Not much has changed since Bell’s critical paper; namely, while I was reading and working on my literature review, I did not come across studies where the researcher’s influence on the data was highlighted. The reporting style tends to be formal, unemotional, ‘scientific’, and told through a third-person narrative (ibid). My ‘tale’ falls somewhere between realist and confessional. More specifically, I am including the ‘confessional tales’ as complementary text to the realist by taking into account my influence, personal perceptions, problems, (believed) biases, etc. as a researcher and interpreter of different situations (also e.g. Buscatto 2008; Giampapa, 2011).

Indeed, the interpretation in any research is *always* influenced by the researcher’s previous experiences and professional identity (Bell, 1999). However, since constructionists do not believe in objective reality, but on the performance between agents and the researcher, this is

not seen as a problem as long as the researcher's influence is accounted for (Angouri, 2016). This leads to the next point of discussion: the ethnographer's reflexivity.

Reflexivity

This project adopts Heath & Street's (2008) definition of reflexivity which refers to a process 'by which ethnographers reveal their self-perceptions, methodological setbacks, and mental states, often includes broad general critiques of the field' (:123). Guillemin and Gillam (2004: 273-274) add that it 'is closely connected with the ethical practice of research'. Indeed, Bate (1997) notes that organisational 'reality' is not as important as how the researcher positions him/herself, and what kind of challenges s/he faces. Here, the question is not whether the researcher is biased but *what kind of biases* are related to the study (Bell, 1999; Giampapa, 2011). In this regard, Fine and Shulman (2009) problematize institutional expectations of the researcher's role because it tends to result in "Lies from the Field" (see also ten moral/ethical dilemmas by Fine, 1993). The authors argue that fieldworkers' (disciplinary and professional) 'idealism should be balanced against a 'reality'' (ibid: 178) even if this involves revealing less flattering practices.

Indeed, organisational ethnographers rarely address how the relationships with the studied groups are formed (Bell, 1999). For example, using existing connections with higher management to access case studies sets questions about power relations and ethical implications (e.g. van der Waal, 2009; Fine and Shulman, 2009). Firstly, because researchers usually have to give something in exchange to the corporations (such as feedback reports, workshops etc.), their roles may be perceived as quasi-consultant (Bell, 1999). This again restricts the kind of information employees are willing to reveal to the researcher (despite confidentiality and anonymity), as I have experienced and discuss in section 3.6.1. Secondly, organisational ethnography can be described as 'researching up' (compared to the original anthropological 'research down' approach in which Western ethnographers were seen to be more powerful than the studied groups), meaning that a manager's power should not be ignored. For instance, at times I found it hard to ask critical questions out of fear of losing access to the case study company. Furthermore, I had to make several adjustments and changes before I was even granted fieldwork access. Another issue that I faced is that elite⁴ interviewees may try to take control of the research in order to give a more favourable image of their company. Status and

⁴ Elite employees refer to the highest managers and executive board members that have the decision-making power and control over the corporation's policies, operations etc.

power negotiations, thus, are present in the interactions between the researcher and corporate managers as the prestige of the company as well as participants' professionalism might be at stake.

I believe that being aware and reporting the above mentioned critical issues will make the descriptions and analysis richer, fair and most importantly critical. Therefore, I seek increasingly to introduce my own voice in the following sections. I will start by describing my experiences in entering the field.

3.2.2. Power, politics and bureaucracy in negotiating access to corporations: Reflections and key challenges

Gaining ethnographic access to organisational premises was more difficult than I could have anticipated. After contacting 14 companies and using personal networks, I managed to set up meetings with four influential managers. The power relations and hierarchical structures were omnipresent during the research access negotiations (e.g. Buscatto, 2008; Fine & Shulman, 2009; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). As trust has to be established prior to intensive fieldwork, the initial contacts and meetings are pivotal but, for the most part, are uncontrollable (Van der Vaal, 2009). The section that follows describes the barriers I faced in gaining access and provides the background information about the process that led me to research the current case study company and its specific business area, i.e. restaurant and catering services. Even though these are not directly related to my research questions, I find it important to include the following sections in order to provide a critical account that shows an ethnographer's dependency on organizational gatekeepers, and how their demands shape the research directions. Access is rarely discussed in organizational ethnography even though it sets the foundation for the research design (e.g. Fine & Schulman, 2009). For this project, it meant several revised research proposals from significantly different contexts. Hence, the following description is provided as means of placing my study in its current context. In addition, the insights can be seen as contributing to the literature on accessing private organisations.

The companies introduced here are treated anonymously with the following pseudonyms based on the industries they are operating in; Design Co, Tech Bus, EdTech, and Tasty Co. Due to my PhD scholarship I was expected to do "research in business and economics that enhances Finland's competitiveness" (the Foundation for Economic Education) hence why my sampling

was limited to Finnish companies. The timeline below illustrates the time spent on the research access negotiations with each company.

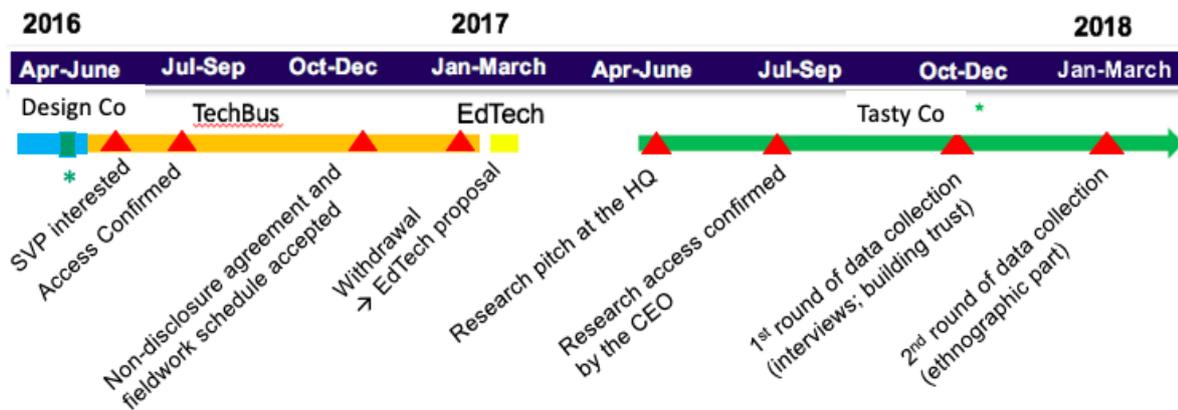


Figure 5: Time spent negotiating research access.

The aim of the next section is *not* to criticise the companies. As known in workplace studies, the researcher (i.e. the outsider) requires access to sensitive data, employees' time during working hours and is seen as someone whose presence influences work dynamics. Thus, companies' cautiousness when granting full research access is understandable.

Design Co

Design Co seemed like a good potential case study company due to its international outlook and previous participation in academic research. I sent my research proposal to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in April 2016 through a gatekeeper who had worked with him in the past. We arranged a meeting in May at the company headquarters (HQ), and during the meeting the CEO expressed his interest in participating in the research. In the preliminary discussions it was agreed that I would start the fieldwork in August. However, a month later I was informed that due to a failed product launch, the company had to downsize its staff. Because of the turbulent situation and high pressure, the CEO was worried that my presence might cause more tensions between the employees, and could put me in an awkward position. Hence the decision to withdraw from the study.

Despite this setback, the discussions confirmed the need for my research. Namely, even though Design Co products are sold in over 100 countries, the CEO revealed his decision for not hiring any new international employees to their Finnish HQ. According to his account, employees formed their own ethnic groups that kept clashing, and racial accusations and favouritism was a big theme in the company. I believe I was seen as an outsider who could

trigger more conflicts, particularly since my research involved the investigation of how (multicultural) work groups are formed, functioned and maintained.

Tech Bus and EdTech

Tech Bus provides online marketing services globally and has offices in four continents. Their employees at the Finnish HQ represent diverse backgrounds and based on the media image they seem to take pride in having a ‘global’ workforce. After Design Co’s rejection, I sent an email to the CEO of Tech Bus in June 2016, who forwarded my email to the Senior Vice President (SVP). At this stage I was fortunate because I did not know the corporate email addresses, which meant that I had to guess several email address options and hope that one of them will get through. This strategy paid off as the SVP responded positively to my proposal and we arranged a meeting for August. During the meeting the SVP showed enthusiasm towards the study, expressed her ideas and even suggested co-authoring research publication(s). However, because the company had put many resources into creating a particular kind of brand image and organisational culture through artefacts, I was asked if it was possible to incorporate visual aspects of communication into the research. Afterwards, I revised the research proposal to embed the company’s wishes, as these seemed reasonable within the scope of the overall study.

In October 2016 the SVP proposed yet another research angle. More specifically, she and her colleagues thought that my research would best serve Tech Bus’s interests from a ‘customer engagement’ perspective. Instead of concentrating on the organisational culture (and visual aspects), I was asked to specifically analyse their salesforce-client interactions. My report was seen as providing useful information with regards to optimizing customer engagement and rotation. After careful consideration of different research options with my supervisor, we decided to approach this from an Appreciative Inquiry (AI) point of view: a model that seeks to concentrate on organisational change through *positive* feedback. Focusing on strengths rather than seeking out weaknesses in reporting to the management felt to be more in line with my understanding of research ethics. Particularly since I knew that the salespeople were under pressure.

After the third research proposal, the SVP seemed pleased but wanted to postpone the fieldwork to February 2017 when, according to her, it would be quieter. To make the research official, Tech Bus’s legal department sent me a non-disclosure agreement (NDA), which proved to be problematic. Specifically, it stated that the collected data belongs to Tech Bus for the next 5

years and that I would not be allowed to use any of the material without prior permission from the company. This was discussed with Warwick University's Research Development office (with the company's authorisation) and it was agreed that many articles in the contract were unacceptable and went against the University rules with regards to data ownership. This resulted in the University of Warwick's research team and Tech Bus's Legal department exchanging different NDA versions for nearly two months until both parties were satisfied and signed the final agreement. At this stage, I could do nothing but observe and inform my gatekeeper that this was a normal procedure.

I cannot know whether different understandings of research ethics between Tech Bus and the University caused lack of trust but in January 2017 the SVP wanted to withdraw from the study despite our agreement and signed NDAs because, as I was told at the time, they were undergoing internal changes. Instead, the SVP surprisingly offered me an access to "EdTech"; a company providing an educational online platform for various institutions. The preliminary discussions indicated that there was an expectation that the research would be heavily influenced by the core participants. Furthermore, in exchange for data access I was assigned roles: specifically, that I would become a brand ambassador for the UK markets by representing the company at higher education events, e.g. academic conferences. This contradicts my understanding of good academic research, therefore, I did not proceed further with potential collaboration.

Later I found out that the SVP is one of the co-founders of EdTech, and she had resigned her position at Tech Bus to start working permanently for the new company. Whereas researchers are accused of taking advantage of the participants for the sake of interesting data (e.g. Fine and Shulman, 2009), the reason for sharing this here is to show that equally companies and gatekeepers may try to take advantage of researchers. EdTech was registered as a new company before I contacted Tech Bus, so even if I had, hypothetically speaking, pitched a master plan, the SVP was already making a move to EdTech.

After this, together with my supervisor we decided to use our existing links at another company, Tasty Co.

Tasty Co

Initially, I contacted Tasty Co at the same time as Design Co, early summer 2016. I sent my proposal to the communications team, which got rejected.

In spring 2017 we decided to contact Tasty Co once again. As they receive annually hundreds of research proposals it was crucial to get through straight to the senior management, bypassing assistants and middle managers. Hence, this time I used my own and my supervisor's network, and managed to access the core gatekeeper through researchers already known in the company. As the figure below illustrates, I used four links in order to arrange a meeting with the key decision-makers. Such help and references from contact persons are pivotal especially in big multinational corporations (e.g. Van der Waal, 2009).

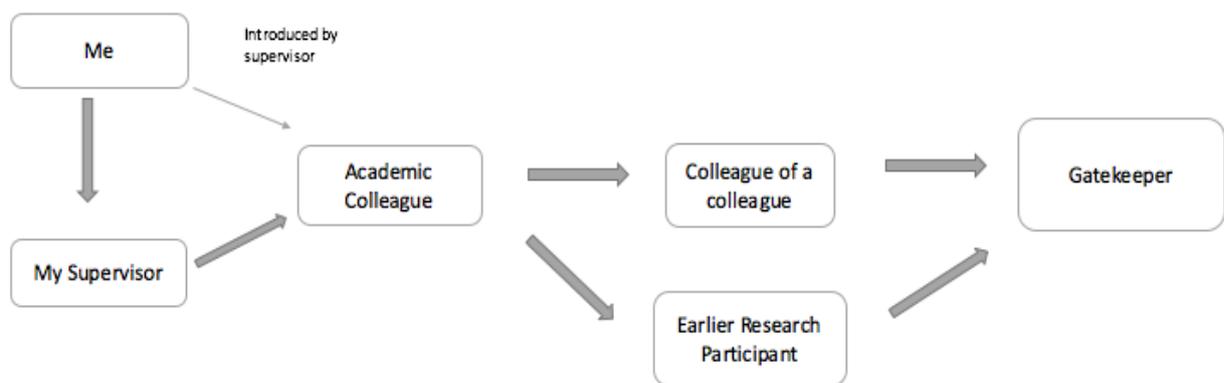


Figure 6: Utilising existing link in gaining research access.

In May 2017 an opportunity arose when I was given 45 minutes to pitch my research to the human resource managers and an executive board member at company headquarters. The topic of my project was seen as timely and at the end of the meeting I was specifically asked to review and analyse Tasty Co's language policies and implementation. After the experiences described in the earlier section, I was relieved by this because it meant I did not need to compromise my research interests and original proposal. It took another 6 weeks before the CEO of the company approved the research, and I was finally granted permission to proceed with the fieldwork. Although I was under the impression I was through a major gatekeeping event, incidents between September and October showed the relevance of access in project design once again.

Specifically, the first stage (section 3.4.) of my data collection took place about a month *after* another research project which, as I was told, put Tasty Co and one of the interviewed senior

managers in a negative light. It was made clear that I was categorised as one of ‘Them’ (‘them’ being the academic community) even though my project clearly had nothing to do with any other research. Fortunately, my gatekeeper was equal in seniority to the manager who wanted me out of the company; both are also executive board members. After several conversations with my gatekeeper and justifying my ethnographic approach, he made a risky decision by going against the other manager’s wishes and allowed me to continue my research with some amendments. Namely, the best way forward was to move away from the governing HQ (and its manager). Hence, I was allowed to carry out an interview with a senior manager from another business division: Tasty Co’s Dining and Catering Services (henceforth D&C Services, organisational structure to be presented in the next section). After the interview I pitched my research proposal to this person and asked if I could continue my research at D&C Services. At this stage, I found it easy to present my ideas as I already had more detailed information about the company’s future aspirations, strategies and problems. Namely, the interviews with the decision-makers indicated that there were gaps in their diversity management strategies (see Chapter 4). My research was seen as providing a potentially useful contribution, and, hence, she became my new gatekeeper and my research moved from Tasty Co to D&C.

Fine and Shulman (2009: 179) note that: “ethnographers are more often beggars than choosers”. I do not fully agree with the statement but in this context it did hold some truth. The aim of this section was to show how entrance to organisational settings can be challenging; it requires building trust, tending to misunderstanding, diplomacy, flexibility, adjustment and a degree of patience. Whereas many researchers might be constrained by limited resources and time, I was in a privileged position in that even though overcoming the above-described hurdles had slowed down the research process and schedule, I was still able to successfully complete the data collection. The next section introduces Tasty Co/D&C Services, the case study company.

3.3. The case study company & research sites

Tasty Co is one of the most valued Finnish multinational corporations with nearly 15 000 employees in Finland and its foreign subsidiaries. It has a wide business portfolio; namely, in addition to its own brands the company has acquired many other Northern European food companies which operate rather independently from the corporate governance. The illustration below shows the organisational structure and hierarchy between the business areas and units, and sites (indicated with red lines) where the data collection took place.

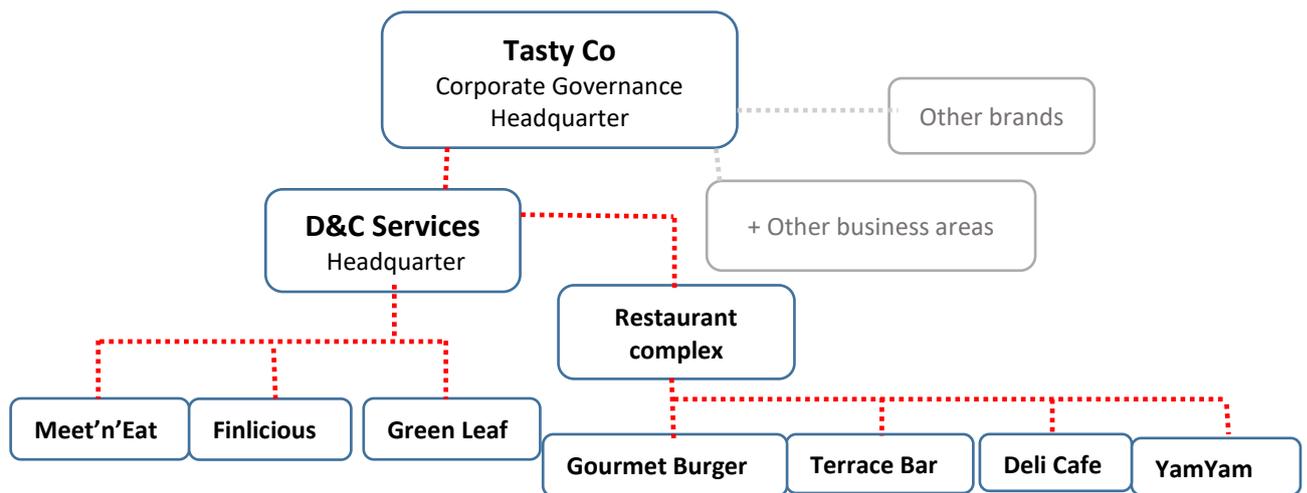


Figure 7: The research sites

Even though Tasty Co's various business areas and brands are operating rather independently (e.g. they have their own CEOs/CFOs, buildings, budgets etc.), it has a centralized corporate governance at the Finnish headquarter (HQ). The board of directors and executive managers decide upon the overall strategies, risk management, resource allocations, and corporate values, for example. Hence, the corporate language policies are initiated by the top managers, whom I interviewed at the Tasty Co's HQ. This was the first phase of data collection (section 3.4. explains the research stages). Moving from the central governing body, I then focused on Tasty Co's Dining and Catering Services (hereafter D&C Services). D&C Services have substantial business operations in the industry with over a thousand restaurants in Nordic countries, consequently, employing thousands of kitchen and restaurant service workers. The company has stabilized its position by offering catering services through different channels: their own restaurants, private businesses and governmental institutions such as universities, hospitals, schools etc. After identifying the research problem for further investigation in the first data collection phase, it was decided that I would conduct the ethnographic part of the research at D&Cs most multicultural restaurants. The food services at governmental institutions were not an option - despite training and employing many migrant employees- because of its sensitive environment (i.e. schools and nurseries involving children) which would have had prolonged my fieldwork access due to third parties involvement. Hence, the research sites were narrowed down to D&Cs independent restaurants.

The restaurant managers from the capital region have regular meetings at the D&C Services HQ. My gatekeeper, with her team, pitched my research plan at one of these meetings and asked for volunteers. Hence, the restaurants were chosen on my behalf. Because I did not participate

in this process, I am aware that I cannot be sure how ‘voluntary’ this decision was considering my gatekeeper’s organisational status. Nevertheless, when I asked the restaurant managers why they wanted to participate in the project, they all said it sounded interesting. Although my suspicions arose when one laughed and added that she had ‘no other choice’.

I was sent to four different locations. Meet’n’Eat, Finlicious and Green Leaf are lunch providers. Two of these restaurants, Meet’n’Eat and Green Leaf, operate within the premises of other organisations; a multinational corporation and European Union Institution, and these sites had restricted access to the public. Finlicious is located in one of the business districts and attracts various customers most of whom are employees from nearby companies.

In addition to the above-described three restaurants, I collected data from the “Restaurant complex” which has dozens of cafes, restaurants, and (pop-up) bars. I mainly visited four locations (Gourmet Burger, Terrace Bar, Deli Café, and YamYam) and spent some time at the office with the “Restaurant Complex” managers (shadowing one of my main research participants). As the capital city region (see the map) is the most multicultural part of Finland, perhaps that is why I was sent specifically to these locations. By no means does this limited data represent the linguistic environment of Finland as a whole. I will revisit Meet’n’Eat (Chapter 5), Finlicious and the Restaurant Complex (Chapter 6) in the analysis chapters, and introduce the main research participants to the reader there.



Figure 8: Restaurant locations in the capital region of Finland in cities of Espoo, Vantaa and Helsinki.

3.4. Research stages

The research design was guided by the main research question of the project (Silverman, 2017). Gaining ethnographic access required collaboration with the gatekeepers from the Human Resources departments, and justification for the chosen research approach. In order to do so, I needed first to identify the core issues that would be of interest to the company. The first phase included semi-structured interviews with seven senior managers from the company

headquarters. At this exploratory familiarisation stage, the aim was to a.) hear senior management’s views of Tasty Co’s language policies and language environment, b.) get a general “sense” of the organisation, c.) identify core focus and main research participants. Consequently, it resulted in rather broad data, as illustrated in the summative map below. This map emerged from the thematic analysis of the data and gives an indication of Tasty Co’s language ecosystem based on interviewee accounts. For clarity, specific language issues are colour coded in the figure: yellow boxes illustrate issues related to English language, green indicates local languages, and blue indicates other languages.

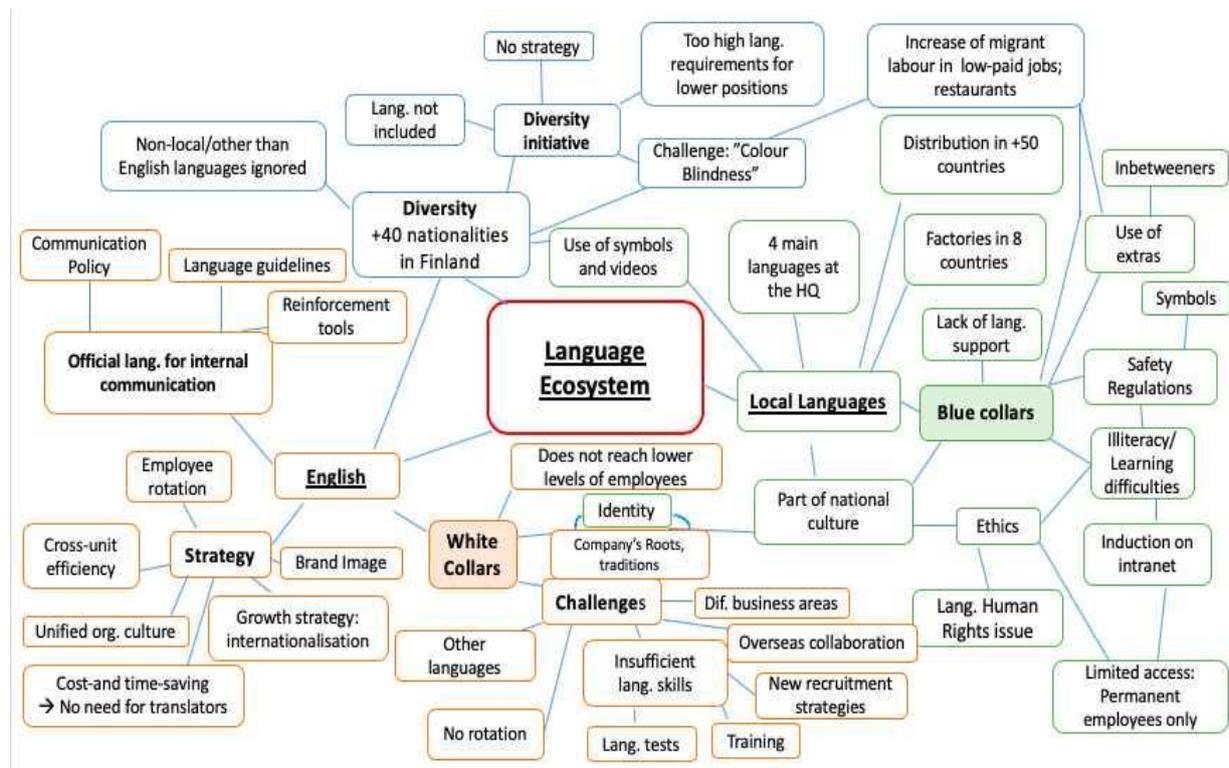


Figure 9: Tasty Co’s language ecosystem

In relation to multilingualism, the increase of migrant labour in the restaurant industry was a topic of concern for the interviewed decision-makers in terms of how to best manage the diversification of the workforce. Finding this pattern in interviewees’ responses helped me to narrow down the focus. Namely, initially we discussed with my gatekeeper three very different research settings: factories, an overseas subsidiary office, or restaurants. After the first data collection stage and doing more reading on the topic, it became clearer that I could make a contribution by focusing on multilingualism and migrant employment in the restaurant sector. In line with the ethnographic character, the open-ended approach to my research design allowed me to explore new opportunities and be flexible. I also acknowledge the support from my

gatekeeper who allowed me to access the corporate premises and events and thus made this research possible. Following approval, I started the ethnographic stage in January 2018. The table below summarises the research stages at Tasty Co.

	Stage 1: Familiarization	Stage 2: Detailed insights	Stage 3: Confirming and reporting
Aims:	Learn more about the case study company, identify core issues and research participants.	Focus on D&C Services and its kitchen staff's experiences and work realities	Revisit the core members and report the findings.
When?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Oct-Nov 2017 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Jan-Feb 2018 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Spring 2018
How?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Artefacts, written materials, policy documents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 'work in action'- participatory ethnography 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Follow-up interviews for clarifications
Where?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Interviews with key organisational members at the company headquarters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 4 main restaurant sites in the capital city area 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Present the preliminary findings to the company and provide feedback
Why?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Developing and narrowing down the research focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1 week/location ▪ "being in their shoes" 	

Table 1: Stages of data collection process at Tasty Co.

The second stage involved the investigation of multicultural- and lingual teams at selected restaurants. Finally, in the third phase I contacted a few participants for clarification and more information regarding their interviews. Drawing on my fieldwork experiences and preliminary findings, this phase also involved providing feedback to key organisational members. I will discuss the implications of the study in the Conclusion chapter. The next section explains the utilised methods and different datasets.

3.5. Data material

Before and during the fieldwork I utilised several data collection methods, which is typical in ethnographic approaches. As Spradley (1980) notes in his seminal work, ethnographers should document the social situations through fieldnotes, tape recordings, pictures, artifacts, and a record of participant's responses to the ethnographer. In the next sections I provide a rationale for the chosen methods.

3.5.1. Observations

Observations are one of the main data sources in ethnographic research tradition (Spradley; 1980; Hammerley and Atkinson, 2007). In addition to immersing oneself in the research context, observations enable researchers to see ‘insider’s perspectives’ that would have been hard to detect through, for example, relying on participant’s accounts only. It allows for the identification of new issues that interviewees may not mention or are unwilling to talk about. Being familiar with the context and spending time in the kitchens with the interviewees helped me to ask critical questions based on my observations. In fact, often there was an expectation that I knew what the interviewees were referring to in their answers which is detected in comments like: “... as you’ve seen...”, “you know what I mean”. Moreover, because I was interested in finding out whether and how language policies differ from practices, it was important to learn the local workplace practices and interactions (Nicolini, 2009). “Getting close” required physical and social proximity to research participants’ daily lives and activities (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011).

Active participant observer

As a participant observer I was working side by side with my participants and, hence was part of their work activities and discussions. My tasks varied from assisting the permanent cooks and chefs to cleaning and customer service, and at two locations I was responsible of preparing simple food items such as smoothies, sandwiches, pizzas etc. The photo below illustrates my embeddedness in the field.



Photo 1: Being in the field.

I followed the notion that “participation enables the ethnographer to learn about events, feelings, rules, and norms in context rather than asking about them” (O’Reilly, 2009: 160). This helped me to approach and build rapport with employees who might have found it hard to voice their opinions otherwise due to their vulnerable positions (as we will learn in the analysis chapters). In addition, I wanted to get a better understanding of participants’ relationships with each other, which is particularly useful in analysing workplace interactions. Moreover, the reason for choosing this particular approach stems also from my earlier experience: prior to the main data collection, I had an opportunity to test the ‘observation only’ approach for one day at one popular café. When asking for feedback I was told that the employees found my presence intimidating (I was sitting at the staff table with my laptop and notebook), which did not surprise me because I felt like the elephant in the room. Furthermore, with this approach I was missing the little nuances of workplace practices and social talk, whispers, gossip etc. Therefore, being part of the teams seemed like the best way forward, and this decision, indeed, proved to result in more meaningful data.

However, participant observation also brought *challenges*. Firstly, I did not have any prior experience in kitchen work, which required careful preparation with regards to kitchen practices and protocols as well as passing the hygiene tests and inspections. For example, I was reprimanded once for not wearing a cut resistant safety glove (the blue glove in the photo on the left hand). Sometimes I felt like I had to ‘prove’ my place in the kitchens, especially at the start when the employees would naturally observe me with curiosity. I openly encouraged people to teach and guide me if they saw me doing something wrong, which appeared to be a good strategy for rapport building as I was seen to be less threatening, i.e. “a kitchen trainee” rather than a researcher.

Secondly, a high degree of participation also meant less focus on observations (O’Reilly, 2009), especially in busy periods. Hence, the recorders, rather than written field notes, came in handy when capturing organisational life onsite. I will return to this in the next section. Moreover, my researcher role sometimes became blurred (see also section 3.6.1.). In this regard the *insider* and *outsider* perspectives often raise concerns in ethnographic research (Agor, 2006). Being a participant observer meant that I was both as I asked questions but also shared my experiences. I felt being part of the teams whilst trying to maintain distance and remind myself of my role. Indeed, occasionally I struggled to find the balance between identifying myself as an insider (with an emic perspective) and an outsider (an etic perspective). However, positioning myself

as *either or* seemed limiting. In this regard Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue against the dichotomy between insider and outsider status: “it is restrictive to lock into a notion that emphasizes either/or, one or the other, you are in or you are out” (ibid: 60). The authors propose a dialectical approach which “allows the preservation of the complexity of similarities and differences” (ibid). Drawing on Aoki’s (1996) work they see a hyphen between the two notions (*insider-outsider*) to represent “a space between, a space of paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction” (ibid). I believe being an ‘insider-outsider’ enriched my insights because by drawing on both insider and outsider perspectives allowed me to see and experience the daily work realities from my participants perspectives whilst critically reviewing my own understanding and ideas of what is happening.

3.5.2. Fieldnotes

During participant observations, I always carried my field journal with me, as fieldnotes are known to be “the basis on which ethnographies are constructed” (Walford, 2009: 117). Following Hammerley and Atkinson’s (2007) and Emerson et al.’s (2011) recommendation, I tried to document the observed actions as soon as possible, but as Walford (2009: 125) remarks: “even the most disciplined of ethnographers sometimes fail to live up to their own standards”. Indeed, due to my involvement in the kitchen work, making notes in the field proved to be challenging. The volume of work and workspaces set certain constraints. To give an example, dishwashing rooms are wet, hence my journal would have been ruined. And when I was working at the front-of-house I was asked to keep a low profile due to customer contact. However, I always carried post-it notes and a pen in my pocket, and scribbled key words quickly in an attempt to avoid attracting attention (sometimes in the toilets, storage rooms and so forth). After the first days of my fieldwork, I found my two recorders (when not in use for interactional data) and my phone to be useful tools for describing my observations. This seemed more efficient as I could turn the recorder on quickly whilst moving from one space to another, whereas writing was more time consuming.

I still carried my field journal with me on a daily basis. Immediately after exiting the field, I used the “raw” notes (Emerson *et al.*, 2009) and recordings to write more comprehensive descriptions in the journal. I usually started writing while commuting from research sites and finished at home, always on the same day. Admittedly, at times this was also a very tiring process. For example, on two days I did 12 hour work shifts in the restaurants, it took me about 3 hours to commute, and when I got home I would organise my data and finish writing the

fieldnotes. Hence, in addition to working at the restaurants, other research-related activities added on average about four hours of work to each evening. This, unfortunately, did influence the quality of the fieldnotes but also made me aware of the privilege of the researcher to dip in and out of difficult working conditions. The emotional work (Fine and Shulman, 2009) and the intensity of the physical work in the field meant that by the time I got home I found it hard to concentrate on writing detailed descriptions. Some of these ‘gaps’ were filled later. However, as Emerson et al. (2009) note, there is never only one “best” description of events because fieldnotes are inherently based on ethnographer’s own perceptions and interpretations.

There are differences in how to actually construct the fieldnotes. Whereas Spradley (1980) suggests keeping a personal journal (a record of experiences and feelings) and field notebook separately, ethnographer’s experiences can be also appended in the daily fieldnotes, and this is what I did (*appendix 5*). In the fieldnotes I drew and described the physical settings, people involved, work routines, behaviours, and my own feelings (e.g. surprises, fears, challenges, expectations, etc.). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that personal feelings have analytical significance because, firstly, they influence the social relationships in which we engage during the fieldwork, and secondly, such subjectivity inevitably has an impact on what we consider as noteworthy or problematic. For this reason, I found it useful to have the fieldnotes and my reflections in the same place, as it offered different meanings to the reading of the events, e.g. why something feels problematic, and what is my relationship with the people involved? In my observations I specifically focused on my participants’ language use and its impact on workplace participation, decision-making, socialisation and task completion. Hence, my notes revolve mainly around these issues.

3.5.3. (Ethnographic) Interviews

During the exploration and familiarization phase, I utilised semi-structured interviews in which I followed a pre-determined set of questions, whilst leaving space for the interviewees to open new topics (O’Reilly, 2009). The interview questions were related to language policies, strategies and corporate culture. In the second phase, the nature of the interviews took a slight change. Namely, after working in the kitchens and building rapport with the key participants, it seemed intuitive to follow a more naturally-flowing discussion style, ‘non-directive interviewing’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). I had a general idea of the topics that I wished to cover – language use, social practices and work experiences – but I let the discussions flow. With this I was following O’Reilly’s (2009: 126) advice that:

“we usually begin with an outline, guide or plan, but are content to let the interviewee wander off what they think is the point. An ethnographer is usually attempting to learn about participants from their own perspective, to hermeneutically understand the other’s view, and this will not be achieved by imposing one’s own line of questioning on people.”

Indeed, according to Heyl (2001)⁵ a key distinction between ethnographic and other types of interviews is that the first one is conducted in the context of established relationships with participants. Here the fieldwork experience can improve and inform qualitative interviews. O’Reilly suggests that vague topics might be useful but the interviews themselves should be unstructured. This permits freedom and can potentially introduce new material (Labov, 1979). This meant that my interview schedule progressively changed over time. The first interviews were broad and descriptive, but as I immersed myself in the context, learned and discovered new things, I was able to ask more detailed questions about the company and the participants, their teams and dynamics with each other.

The length of the interviews varied significantly; with the shortest one being 11 minutes and longest 1 hour 34 minutes. The research context set certain limitations on one-on-one interviews. For instance, even though I was authorised to interview the participants during working hours, most of the interviews with the kitchen employees were conducted during breaks or towards the end of the day when it was quieter. This is based on the simple fact that the kitchens cannot function, for example, without chefs, and dishes would pile up without the dishwashers and so forth. In this regard, the length of the interviews appeared to be tied with organisational positions. Namely, the longest interviews were with the corporate managers and shortest with the workers from lower organisational hierarchies – with both Finnish and non-Finnish employees.

Moreover, the interviews with the senior management also differed in that some of the responses appeared to be more polished and in line with the corporate policies and stated values. One manager’s assistant requested to see the interview questions in advance - I sent her the general themes instead. The managers also seemed to believe they were doing me a favour by participating in the interviews. For example, one senior figure tried to take control of the interview, corrected me, gave me advice and even made remarks on my appearance. Their power was evident also in the interview settings which took place at the catered conference

⁵ Cited in O’Reilly (2009)

centre or their offices. Two interviews got cancelled and were rescheduled to be conducted over Skype, which was the wish of the participants as it suited better their busy schedules.

When interviewing kitchen employees, some appeared to be surprised that I was interested in their lives, as depicted in section 3.6.1. On some occasions I had to assure them that their opinions and stories do matter and, as most ethnographers, I genuinely believe in this. Despite this, I felt that it was challenging to get some of the participants to relax and talk in one-on-one interviews, even though they would talk about their experiences in the recorded kitchen interactions whilst working. Perhaps this was due to the interview setting which unfortunately was not ideal. Namely, the majority of the interviews took place at the front-of-house⁶. Sometimes I would ask if we could use a manager's office or employees' changing rooms to get more privacy but most of the time this was not possible due to these spaces being occupied. At the front-of-house I always selected the quietest and furthest table from the kitchen but this did not stop the other employees from seeing us. Sometimes this seemed to distract the interviewees. In this regard walk-along-interviews proved to provide more in-depth insights and I quickly learned that storerooms and walk-in fridges, for example, are useful spaces for private talk as opposed to open kitchens. Therefore, in addition to the 44 one-on-one interviews, I have dozens of shorter conversational interviews with the kitchen employees.

Indeed, the context and rapport played significant roles on the 'flow' of the interviews. I see this data as being co-constructed with the participants, meaning that the interviewees' responses to researcher's questions are produced for that specific occasion and circumstance (Walford, 2009). They reveal subjective perceptions which will change over time according to different circumstances. I am also aware that through my questions and probing I have imposed some pre-determined categories like "Finnish employees" and "foreign employees", "managers" and "subordinates" etc. Therefore, I tried to take into consideration my influence on the direction of the discussions and expressed views when analysing the data. Despite the aforementioned limitations, interview accounts are seen as providing glimpses into participants own ideas and thoughts, and hence are a useful data source.

⁶ When discussing the data I am referring to the *front of house (FoH)* and *back of house (BoH)*. BoH refers to the workspaces "behind the scenes" like the kitchen area, dishwashing stations, office(s), storage rooms etc. FoH stands for the space where the customers and D&C employees may interact such as food stations, dining room, tills and dish return point.

Language choice, transcription and translation of the data

According to Chapman, Gajewska and Anoniou (2004) language goes beyond translation issues as the selection of research phenomena, formulation of questions and access to participants are most likely to be determined by the researcher’s language skills. My interviews were mainly conducted in Finnish or/and English languages according to the participants’ language preferences. One interview involved two sign language interpreters, and two interviews were aided by Google Translate due to language limitations. With these participants I facilitated the interviews by adopting the following techniques: repetition, clarification, slow pace and use of ‘simpler’ language. Occasionally I would also utilise my limited knowledge of Estonian and Russian in an attempt to give the interviewees the possibility to express themselves in their native languages. Using more than one language and codeswitching was not an uncommon occurrence with migrant participants. This meant that the interviews themselves produced a certain kind of language diversity.

I transcribed all interviews in the source languages. Even though this resulted in the “cocktail” of languages (Welch & Piekkari, 2006: 426), I see them as better reflecting interviewees’ constructed meanings because “in the translation the words are literally not their own anymore” (van Nes, Abma, Jonsson, & Deeg, 2010: 316). Specific culturally-bound words provide an example of this. For instance, many Finnish interviewees referred to “rallienglanti” which translates as “rally English”. Without a cultural reference “rally English” is a meaningless term, however I will return to this in Chapter 4. At other times, even though I aimed to convey the same meaning with minimal changes, some translations required changing words and syntax. The following quote provides a simple example of this:

Original quote	siis jok’ikisellä on vastuu siitä, että itse ottaa koppia	<p>“Ottaa koppia” means to <i>catch the ball</i>. However, “koppi” translates as “booth” in English, hence carries entirely different meaning. This is a common metaphor in Finnish deriving from a sporting context. Essentially it means that each team player has his/her own role, but for a team to function, everyone needs to “pass” and “catch the ball”. In other words, everyone is responsible of doing their part whilst pulling the team together, or corporate goals in this context. Thus, my interpretation and translation.</p>
Literal translation	so each and every is responsible of that itself take booth	
My translation	so everyone is responsible for doing their part	
	(Extracted from an interview with Tanja)	

Table 2: Sample of translation

I analyzed the interviews in the original languages, and my notes and coding mix Finnish and English. This seemed like a more natural way for me to engage with the data since Finnish is my native language. In the initial analyses I included the original and translated quotes in my reporting. However, due to space limitations of the thesis, the selected illustrative quotes are presented in English only. Even though I tried to pay close attention to the accuracy of the translations, it is worth pointing out that English is not my native language. As such, I acknowledge that my English is limited and “translation is also an interpretive act, meaning may get lost in the translation process” (van Nes et al., 2010: 313).

In order to ensure my participants felt comfortable with the material they shared with me, I offered to send the full transcripts to them via email. Three out of forty four interviewees wished me to do so- all senior managers-, but they did not ask me to delete or change any parts afterwards, even though I reminded them of this possibility.

3.5.4. Audio-recordings of workplace talk

In addition to participant observation, fieldnotes, and interview data, I collected audio-recordings of restaurant employees’ talk. Interactional data from workplaces is seen to be relevant for this research in order to investigate employees’ language use, power, role negotiation and identity construction in their typical daily work interactions (e.g. Angouri & Marra, 2011). It enables discourse analysts (section 3.7.2.) to explore the “nexus between language and society and how this is reflected and constituted in everyday spoken interaction” (Stubbe, 2001: 2).

In the data collection process I tried to be unobtrusive, minimizing disruptions to normal work practices and interactions (ibid). In addition, the recordings should be accompanied with relevant contextual and demographic information. This was accomplished with interviews, participant observations, and fieldnotes. Therefore, as described in section 3.5.2., I wrote the fieldnotes and organised my data immediately after each fieldwork visit. I used WavePad software for this, which allowed me to mark the key points straight to the audio-recording. The initial key points (e.g. conflicts, joking, participation in decision-making) were identified during the observations: times and key words were written on the post-it notes (discussed in section 3.5.2.) which I carried in my pocket, or, alternatively, I used recorders for this. This saved me time later in the evening if I wanted to, for example, revisit and listen to a specific interaction. It helped me to identify focus points on the following fieldwork days. However,

over the course of the research the initial ‘key points’ changed and developed upon listening to the entire datasets.

Collecting clear quality audio-recordings from the kitchen interactions presented a number of challenges. Unlike linguistic workplace studies in office contexts that involve “interactions in which the participants keep relatively still, and the background noise levels are relatively low” (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015: 18) the kitchen setting proved to be the exact opposite. Firstly, these work environments have extraordinarily high noise levels: washing, cutting, frying, use of juicers and blenders, in addition to the radio being turned on caused constant background noise, which would often overlap with or drown out the spoken interactions. Secondly, the kitchen workers are in perpetual motion whilst finishing work tasks, and they constantly change workspaces (getting equipment and ingredients from the storerooms, fridges, ovens, front-of-house, dishwashing rooms etc.). Hence, when placing the recorders on the kitchen shelves, much of the data in the initial data collection stages ended up being scattered and hard to follow for analytical purposes. Thirdly, it was challenging to place the recorders in places where they would be safe. Heat was one concern, another one was water. For instance, the dishwashing rooms were wet from floor to ceiling, and the kitchen surfaces and shelves were frequently washed with water hoses for efficiency reasons. One of my recorders got wet on one occasion, but luckily it did not break and the data was saved.

As such, obtaining high quality data and locating the recorders were issues that needed to be managed. I had to utilise and test different strategies where I could, which resulted in various interactional data material. I will briefly explain these next:

- Interactional data from the kitchens, approx. 46 hours. Explained above.
- Interactional data from the front-of house, approx. 18 hours. The recorders were placed at the service counters. This setting had less background noise and I wished to see how the waiting staff and kitchen workers interacted with each other. However, this data consists almost entirely of employee-customer interactions and consequently does not map with the aims of this research.
- Self-recordings, approx. 24 hours. Utilisation of this approach to data collection is inspired by the Language in the Workplace Project, and is particularly useful in noisy environments (Holmes & Woodhams, 2013; Holmes & Stubbe, 2013). Volunteer research participants were asked to carry a recorder with them during their work hours. This is what Stubbe (2001) calls a ‘hand-off’ approach in that the participants have the

full control of the data. I used this method in one kitchen which resulted in rich data with contextual, detailed information; e.g. I knew when and where the interactions took place (by being a participant observer), who was involved, what the relationship was between the interlocutors, how dynamics changed between employees from different kitchen hierarchies etc. My participant was informed that he was free to turn off the recorder at any point but he ended up carrying the device for a period of three days.

- Interactional data through a shadowing technique, approx. 7 hours. This data was collected through observing one research participant. I stayed by his side and recorded his work interactions for a day.
- Interactional data from two-way radio interactions, approx. 12 hours. At one restaurant employees were scattered and used Walkie Talkies for more efficient communication. This data consisted of the Finnish employees only and the interactions revolved around jokes. This is interesting (and entertaining) data but not relevant for the purposes of this research.

One of the claimed benefits of recorded workplace interactions is that it captures ‘naturally’ occurring data. This claim needs to be contextualized as participants are aware of the fact that their interactions will have an audience afterwards. For example one participant sang to the recorder and left me the following message: *“hiii, what’d you think? Pretty good, right?”* Moreover, sometimes the participants might remind or warn each other of the recorders as illustrated in the excerpt below:

Example 1

Female1: [...] I want to take it back, I don’t want carry wet stuff with me

Male1: you carry only one wet thing, and it starts with a p (.) p p puss[y] especially on [party] cruises (...) Great and I just remembered that the Doctor is recording everything.

Female2: is she? Was it today?

Male2: [name of Male1] the police is waiting for you outside so you better start packing up your things <laughter>

Female2: oh no it was today

Female1: she’s been recording for the past two hours so [name of Male1] wash your mouth

The example illustrates how the recorders may censor or limit some of the interactions, especially since workplaces are environments where employees are expected to perform a certain kind of professionalism (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). Nevertheless, they did provide a solid insight into normative daily workplace talk.

As for the write-up phase, I did not transcribe the entire data. After discussing the interactional datasets with my supervisor and narrowing down the most relevant ones (to be presented in section 3.5.6.) I kept listening to the recordings repeatedly, marked the key interactions into the WavePad software and wrote comprehensive notes (see *Appendix 5*). When illustrative excerpts were identified, I wrote the transcripts in the source language(s) and translated them into English (rationale provided in section 3.5.3.). I then thematically organised the excerpts by using Excel sheets (*Appendix 7*), which helped me to manage the data for the analysis.

3.5.5. Other supplementary materials

In addition to the data sources described above, I also collected other available material. Information on the Internet played an important role especially when preparing for the first interviews (see also Goldstein & Reibolt, 2004). Tasty Co's publicly accessible Annual Reports proved to be particularly useful as many of the research questions were guided by the claimed statements in the reports in regard to employee well-being, diversity, equality, inclusion, development etc. They also provided means of tracking change and development (Bowen, 2009): how some of the practices and projects have been reported between two years period (e.g. company's 'diversity plan'). At a later data collection process I also gained access to Tasty Co's intranet where I was able to download and review their Language Policy and Language Guideline documents. In addition, I was granted access to their recruitment website, language training site, employee satisfaction survey results, and newsletters.

After skimming, reading and interpreting the materials I made a simple thematic analysis of the Annual Reviews (values and employee sections) and Language Policy document, which feeds in to my analysis. I did not go into a detailed document analysis because these materials mainly served to provide me with an indication of Tasty Co's organisational life, to contextualise other data sources, and to identify possible contradictions (Bowen, 2009) between corporate policies and workplace practices. I consider them to provide me with a strong descriptive basis upon which I built the thematic and interactional analyses.

My wish to film the workplace interactions was denied, but I received permission to take photos. For anonymity and confidentiality purposes I "blurred" all identifiable information. The photos depict the workspaces and written artefacts in which a special focus was paid on language choice (logos, posters, manuals, health and safety instructions etc.). The visual data is embedded in Chapter 5 where I address employees' work conditions and processes of exclusion.

3.5.6. Overview of the datasets and participants

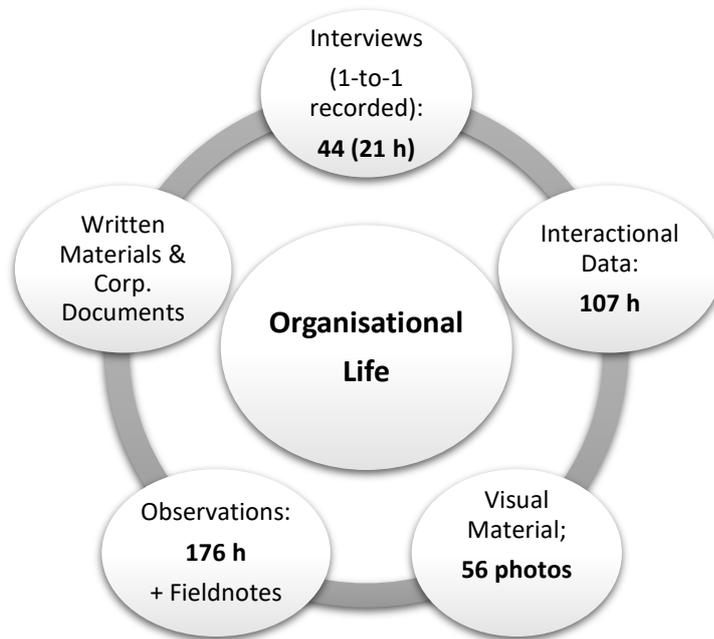


Figure 10: An overview of the corpus.

By the end of the data collection, I had 101 signed consent forms. *Figure 10* above presents the overall datasets and with this information I sought to explore and understand the following:

- 1.) Language policy as emergent from the internal policy documents, publicly available information such as Tasty Co’s Annual Reviews, articles and website.
- 2.) Language practice as emergent from the interviews.
- 3.) Language policy/practice through observations, artefacts, and notes.
- 4.) Language use and implications in workplace talk.

For the purposes of this thesis, I selected the following datasets for the analysis:

Chapter 4	Chapter 5	Chapter 6
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 44 interviews • 2 Annual Reviews • Language Policy document • Intranet <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Language training courses • Tasty Co’s website and recruitment page 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnographic analysis focusing on 8 kitchen workers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 8 interviews: 3 h 55 min - Observations: 39 h - Fieldnotes - Photos: 6 <p>I also recorded “walkie talkie” interactions from this research site. The overall analysis is informed by this but will not go into it per se.</p>	<p><i>Case Study 1:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recorded workplace interactions: 21 h • Observations: 40 h • Fieldnotes <p>Interactional analysis also informed with the interview data from the key participants. I will use a few illustrative quotes but these are not analysed in detail as the focus is on the interactional analysis.</p>

		<p><i>Case Study 2:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shadowing technique; interactional data: 7 h 30 min <p>Interactional analysis also informed by observational data from the workplace context (45 h 20 min) and interview data with the key participants as per above.</p>
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Table 3: Chosen datasets for the analysis

The next table provides a simple overview of the 44 interviewees.

Office employees at the HQs	11
Senior Managers	8
Other	3
Restaurant employees	33
Managerial positions	9
Other	24
Native Finnish speakers	22
Non-native Finnish speakers	22

Table 4: An overview of the interviewees.

I will not provide more detailed information about the participants' backgrounds because it goes against the positioning of this work, i.e. I do not want to place people into predetermined categories based on e.g. ethnicity. What is relevant for this project is the (local) language proficiency and work position.

3.6. Ethical considerations: Procedures and practices

As part of the procedural ethics, before starting the data collection I submitted an Application for Ethical Approval to Warwick University's Graduate Progress Committee. In the form, I explained the steps taken in obtaining the permission for data collection from the case study company, addressed how participants rights are respected and protected, how the data is managed, and, finally, what possible ethical dilemmas may arise in the research. The Application was approved without amendments, which meant that I was able to proceed forward with the backing of the University.

At the start the relevant information of the research was provided to my gatekeeper. In the first data collection stage, I was allowed to mention my gatekeepers name when sending an introductory email and invitation to an interview to the selected managers. Due to their high

positions, this was seen as the best way of getting their attention rather than arranging meetings with their assistants. Prior to the interviews I provided the Research Information Sheet (*Appendix 2*) and Consent Forms (*Appendix 3*) via email. When meeting my participants I asked if they had the possibility to read the documents to which they responded affirmatively. I also always had hard copies with me. Following the advice from the doctoral research methods course (ESRC DTC qualitative methods, 2016) I verbally explained to the participants their rights, stressed that they were free to withdraw from the research at any point without judgement, inquired if they had any questions about the process and finally I asked for their permission to proceed. The Consent Forms and Information Sheets were always left on the table but I requested the participants' signatures after the interviews. With this I tried to create a more informal and inclusive environment for the interviewees where they would not see me as a threat and be discouraged from participating in the research. To ensure their comprehension, afterwards I reiterated that their participation was voluntary and they did not need to agree to all terms presented in the forms. Since the forms were written in Finnish and English I did face some challenges; namely, three participants were not fluent in either language and asked me to clarify some of the terms used, and one was illiterate so I read out-loud the sections for him.

Prior to entering the kitchens, I contacted the restaurant managers first. As explained earlier these managers had volunteered to participate in the study in a meeting with my gatekeeper, and the visits for my fieldwork were scheduled months in advance. Hence, my phone calls were expected. When speaking with them I introduced myself, the research and confirmed whether the times of my visit were still suitable for them. I also asked the restaurant managers' opinions in terms of what to expect and if they had any advice for me. This seemed to act like a nice 'ice-breaker' resulting each time in some form of humorous comment (e.g. *"if you're up for a challenge in our loony bin, you'll be fine."* From fieldnotes, January 2018). When entering the research sites I followed the same pattern: on the first day of the fieldwork I spent approximately half an hour introducing myself to each employee individually. After this, the restaurant managers called employees for a meeting in which I presented the purpose of my stay and invited questions related to my research. Later when new employees arrived, I repeated the same issues. Finally, while undertaking the fieldwork I collected the signatures for the consent forms.

While I treated the data confidentially, as promised in the consent forms, anonymising the identity of the company, restaurants and participants proved to be partially challenging (see also Walford, 2005; Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Namely, many research participants talked to each other and knew the sites I had visited and where I was going next. In addition, I did not take into consideration in my research design how to explain my role to outsiders at the front-of-house. For example, one day I heard someone calling my name and as I looked up I saw an ex-colleague (customer at the restaurant) from a corporate context who was surprised to see me at the pizza station. I had to react quickly in those situations and provide a story for my role while at the same time concealing my research work which would de-anonymise the site in publications in the future.

Turning from the procedural ethics to the issues emerging during the fieldwork, I discuss next the positionality (Fine and Shulman, 2009) of the researcher and ‘ethically important moments’ (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). The ethnographers close involvement in the research process has an impact on the setting and data collected and I will discuss these in the next section.

3.6.1. Being in the field: “Smoothie Professor”, “Sick Fuck” and a “Spy”

Power relations, politics, hierarchical structures, negotiations of multiple positions and identities strongly influence the direction of the data collection process (Giampapa, 2011; Buscatto, 2008; Fine & Shulman, 2009). Hammersley (2007) argues that researchers should be prepared to engage in some unethical practices since it is the only way of getting the required information. Whereas I tried to be open and avoid deception, I found myself being concerned with the issues related to ‘exploitation’ (England, 1994) of the participants. In this section I will provide a critical reflection of these issues.

Being supported by the senior figure of the company allowed me to access the restaurants and to a degree gave me some authority. For example, all restaurant managers and team leaders closely collaborated with me, except for one who did not let the employees participate in the interviews during work hours and made me ‘earn’ my time with them. After working full-time for three days, I finally conducted my first interview at this site. However, the interview was interrupted by the restaurant manager who approached us and said to my interviewee: *“you’re getting paid to do real work”* and walked off. The interviewee then stood up, and whispered: *“this is the fucking shit we have to deal with, I’m sorry to disappoint you but I better go”* (from recorded interview data). Later when I returned to the kitchen I had two other employees come to me and apologise for the manager’s behaviour. This was not the kind of attention I was

hoping to get as I did not wish to cause problems for the employees. Afterwards, it seemed necessary to discuss the continuation of the research project with the manager: I walked to her office and reminded her of the primary reason for my visit, the corporate report I am expected to submit, and I reiterated the research practices should she wish me to carry on with the study. I believe this was the only occasion when I lost my (idealised) ‘calm researcher role’ and used my links to get more authority. Fine and Shulman (2009) note that sometimes ethnographers’ relations are ‘provisionally friendly’ with the participants – it is impossible to get along equally with everyone, especially at workplace contexts that are highly political and hierarchical (ibid). There are not many researchers, however, who would address this (ibid). Nevertheless, I continued the data collection with the manager’s approval, and felt that our relationship was partially repaired. For example, at the end of the fieldwork I received a farewell gift and an invitation back if I needed more data.

Indeed, being in the field entailed different relationships, evaluations, constant negotiation and repositioning of identities across different spaces and times. When listening to the audio-recordings of workplace interactions, in which I am present, I was genuinely surprised by my sounding, and behaving, differently across different research sites. This depended on the teams, level of interactions, work rhythms etc. For example, whereas at Green Leaf I would consider the daily topics of discussion to be rather neutral (family, news, tv programs etc.), Terrace Bar provided an environment of constant banter, teasing, exaggerated stories of heavy drinking, women etc. Despite this, I found it relatively easy to navigate through these spaces which gave me an opportunity to experience first-hand the dynamics of identity construction. Although occasionally this required taking some risks. For example the comment I provide in the following interaction could have had potentially negative consequences:

Example 2

Male1: so Doctor, you might be a bookworm but I bet you don’t even know what this is? [holds a potato in his hand]

Male2: your brain

Res: a:w that’s kind of you [Male2], I think it looks too big
<laughter>

Male2: you still talking about his brain? I can get some peanuts <laughs>

Male1: look a Doctor with a sense of humour, who would have thought <laughs> I see she’s already learned the house rules yeah good [because?] we don’t take things too seriously, we like to have a laugh

Like in the above interaction the employees tested me throughout the fieldwork; they observed me whilst I observed them (Labov, 1972). Being aware that professional kitchens are often characterised by hegemonic masculine ideals (Burrow, Smith & Yakinthou, 2015) and banter (Alexander, MacLaren, O’Gorman & Taheri, 2012) helped me to prepare for the fieldwork. For example, in addition to being nicknamed “the Doctor”, I was also called a “Smoothie Professor”, and in a less flattering way a “Sick Fuck.” All of these names signify my academic background, ironically, including the last one. Namely, when one employee said jokingly: “what kind of sick fuck is interested in our boring lives?” I replied: “a sick fuck based in social sciences” which resulted in employees’ laughter and the birth of my new nickname. This individual then jokingly claimed the exclusive right for the nickname and asked me to tell him if anyone else uses it, so he can “*deal with them*” whilst bumping his fists together. This illustrates how gender roles were present and in this example I was seen as someone who might need ‘protection’. In this regard, preserving the researcher identity with an identity of being a “nice young(ish) woman” opened up new situations where identities were performed and constructed in various ways.

When working with some of the migrant employees the discussions and questions were charged with a more political tone. Being an educated white female and spending the first hours with the restaurant managers, understandably, made them suspicious of me. However, my migrant background, research interests and volunteer work appeared to “legitimize” my credibility as a researcher seeking to focus on this group of employees specifically. Although after a while I started to problematize the politics of my identity myself: “who am I to speak on behalf of these people?” In this regard England (1994: 251) rationalises that reporting the findings is not about speaking for a specific community rather than studying “a world that is already interpreted by people who are living their lives in it and research would be an account of the “betweenness” of their world” and the researchers.

3.7. Analytical approaches

Having different datasets prescribes different ways of doing analysis. First, I will utilise (ethnographically-informed) thematic analysis, which provides an overview of Tasty Co’s language policies, linguistic landscape and language use. Then I will focus on specific research sites and analyse the recorded interactions by following the interactional sociolinguistics framework. In both approaches I incorporate discourse analysis. As Atkinson, Okada & Talmy (2011: 89) remark: “In many senses the two approaches [ethnography and discourse analysis]

are highly complementary: Each is strong where the other is weak”, and the authors argue that together they strengthen the effectiveness of sociocultural description and analysis. I will next explain the rationale for the chosen analytical approaches.

3.7.1 Ethnographically-informed thematic analysis

Admittedly, choosing the exact analytical tools for the interview data was not an easy choice without compromising the ethnographic nature of the research. Traditionally ethnographic studies tend to be highly descriptive whereas thematic analysis does not take into account in the coding and categorization processes the context in which the study took place. Hence, ethnographic analysis and thematic analysis are often classed as distinct (Holloway & Todres, 2003) although there has been a shift towards encouraging researchers to be context-sensitive and flexible in order to better engage with qualitative data (ibid). As O’Reilly (2009: 118) advises the sorting of ethnographic data can be based on “thematic or descriptive or both [...] there is no formula”. As other researchers also argue, thematic analysis can provide a strong foundation for description (Angouri, 2018; Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, I decided to combine these two analytical approaches (see also e.g. Goold, 2004) – ethnography and thematic analysis- which allowed me to explore the data from a number of perspectives. It also enabled me to evaluate my themes against the contextual information gained from the field. In the organization of data, I first followed loosely the processes of ethnographic analysis in order to engage with all datasets, and then I utilized thematic analysis for the interview transcripts. I will next explain what this entailed.

In the initial stages I familiarized myself with the data in the interviewees’ own words. In this regard, I find Spradley’s (1979: 93) approach to ethnographic analysis to be useful:

“We especially want to avoid imposing categories from the outside that *create* order and pattern rather than discover it. Ethnographic analysis is the search for parts of a culture and their relationship *as conceptualized by informants*⁷.”

The central idea is to allow the salient categories to emerge from the data. The patterns will start to take shape in the interchange between the researcher and the data, and this includes also reviewing observations and field notes. Spradley (1979; 1980) outlines several steps for locating the social situation and ending with writing the ethnography. His approach to analyzing ethnographic data is comprehensive and structured, but as Roulston (2010) notes

⁷ Emphasis in the original.

ethnographers may use it as a guide whilst leaving space to ‘play with the data’ (ibid: 161). For this project it meant that I was able to compile different datasets together and then specifically focus on the thematic analysis of the interview data.

In order to explore and identify broader themes from the interviewees’ work experiences, thematic analysis seemed like an appropriate choice. Braun and Clarke (2006:79) define it as ‘a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data’ through ‘a process of encoding qualitative information’ (Boyatzis, 1998: 4). The coding depends on whether the themes are data-driven or theory-driven and they may be focusing on specific features and/or broader concepts. Braun and Clarke (2012: 57) remark that “what is common, however, is not necessarily in and of itself meaningful or important”. TA allows flexibility for the analysis as the researchers may report “the obvious or semantic meanings in the data, or [...] interrogate latent meanings, the assumptions and ideas that lie behind what is explicitly stated” (ibid). The analysis may result in more abstract themes as will be shown in the upcoming chapters.

While the data was approached with particular questions and theories in mind, coding was kept open. I printed all transcripts and coded the data manually. Working on hard copies rather than using software (e.g. Nvivo or MAXQDA) in organising and managing the data was my preferred choice because it allowed the ethnographic features (e.g. contextual notes) to be seen in the coding process. Also, storing similar contents (e.g. internal language policy document, public statements of language requirements, and interviewees’ quotes of language policies) in the same folders was useful in understanding the broader picture of the studied phenomenon. In the coding process I used both Finnish and English. I will present a short sample of my coding and categorisation below which is taken from an interview with a senior manager, Laura, from D&C Services’ headquarters:

Data Item	Initial Codes	Categories
<p>Everyone needs to have quite good command of English for example in order to genuinely work together and to express their thoughts sufficiently enough and to participate in conversations well enough. I argue that we’re still <i>struggling</i> [<i>kipuillaan</i>’ → <i>are in pain</i>] on a level that – perhaps it’s a little bit blurred at [company’s main HQ] where they use more English at work- but we have a lot of white collar and higher level employees</p>	<p>Expectation; official lang. Impaired teamwork Inhibited self-expression Limited participation Struggle</p> <p>Blurred expectations Organisational differences – Tasty Co vs D&C</p>	<p><i>Official language (English) as a challenge</i></p>

like senior managers that can't master English well enough. Because of this the communication is not at the same level as using the mother tongue. (Interview translated from Finnish)	Organisation position; status; expectation Lang. competence; challenge Local language	<i>Language expectations linked to organisational position</i>
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Table 5: Sample of coding process. The original coding, however, was done manually in Finnish and English. Naturally many of the codes were later omitted from the analysis as the focus was narrowed.

Following the coding process and creation of categories, themes were created to represent participants' responses. A theme is "a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon" (Boyatzis, 1998: 161). Acknowledging that 'a simple thematic analysis does not allow the researcher to make claims about language use, or the fine-grained functionality of talk' (Braun & Clarke, 2006:97) my analysis is also heavily informed by discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics framework. These are explained next, starting with the former.

3.7.2. D(/d)iscourse at workplace

Discourse studies are often distinguished between micro and macro-level discourses in applying the term (see Alvesson & Kärreman, 2000, for a review from organisational studies). Macro level discourses are usually attributed to Foucault (1972), and in Foucaultian studies the use of language is often interpreted as 'an outcome of the dominant 'Discourses' or systems of thought that open up subject positions for people to occupy, through processes of 'normalization' and 'self-discipline'' (Whittle *et al.*, 2014:88). These capital "D" (Gee, 2014) Discourses refer to the ideologies and positions available within specific social structures (e.g. Clegg, 1989; Fairclough, 2001; Wodak, 2015). Here Discourse is determined by social relations:

"Language (discourse) is not just a matter of performing tasks, it is also a matter of expressing and constituting and reproducing social identities and social relations, including crucially relations of power." (Fairclough, 2001: 196)

Indeed, Gee (2014: 52) explains that key to Discourses is "recognition." For example, when considering "language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places" others can label a person (i.e. perceived identity) based on existing Discourses. They are socially accepted (or not) ways of using language, thinking, and interacting in the specific time, space and group of people, to which one may or may not identify as a member. This is

particularly relevant for this project, because (language) ideologies and migration Discourses have an impact on employees' power relationships, and work positions.

The “small d-discourse” analysts focus on the micro-level interactions in workplaces (e.g. Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Holmes, 2013; Stubbe et al., 2003; Bargiela-Chiappini & Harris, 1997). Here the emphasis is on the investigation of specific instances of language in use (Gee, 2014), e.g. what was said, how it was said, and what function the utterance is aiming to convey in a particular context and time. There is a common ground between the D/discourse analytical approaches in that both presume that participation in talk is constrained; e.g. who has the power to speak. However, the key difference is in the level of agency; namely, (small) discourse scholars analyse the choices speakers make in the form of performance instead of choices being imposed on them (Cameron, 2001).

This work takes a dualist position because the linguistic elements of social structure are seen as providing a useful analytical approach to understanding the relationship between local interactions and the dominant discourses. As I see them being closely intertwined, I will not differentiate the “capital D’s” from “small d-discourses”, this will be indicated in my writing; e.g. “migration discourse”. I will explain in the next section how they can be analytically ‘bridged’ in an interactional sociolinguistics framework when analyzing workplace talk (Chapter 6).

3.7.3. Interactional sociolinguistics

The analysis of the recorded workplace interactions draws heavily on the Interactional Sociolinguistic (henceforth IS) framework as it is seen to provide useful *theoretical* and *methodological* tools for identifying and analysing the way employees generate various meanings and, consequently, act upon them. It represents a discourse analytical approach that seeks to bridge the gap between a ‘bottom-up’ social constructivist account with ‘top-down’ theoretical approaches which privilege ‘macro-societal conditions’ in accounting for communicative practices (Gumperz, 1999: 453–453, from Stubbe et al., 2003). The focus is on the speech exchanges to study meaning, as IS seeks to illustrate how individuals:

”use talk to achieve their communicative goals in real-life situations, by concentrating on the meaning-making processes and the taken-for-granted, background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of interpretations.”
(Gumperz, 2001: 218)

Language is seen in IS as being constitutive of and constituting socio-cultural practices, thus, acknowledges that meaningful communication goes beyond grammatical competence (Gumperz, 1982; 2001; Jaspers, 2012; Bailey, 2008). IS's explanatory value is based on looking at how un/conscious (cultural) expectations and practices are influencing interactions and on the ways interactants reach communicative⁸ consensus or what are the possible barriers for reaching it. The *theoretical* contribution aims to bridge a gap between two approaches to communicative practices from a cultural diversity perspective; specifically, it is concerned in combining both (macro) societal conditions and (micro) interactive processes (Gumperz, 2001). It is similar to conversational analysis in terms of close line-by-line analysis of talk but differs from it by also including social and cultural aspects outside of that talk (Bailey, 2008).

When it comes to *methodology*, IS is ethnographically driven and the analysis is concentrating on *conversational inference* (Gumperz, 2001; Holmes and Stubbe, 2015) which means studying interpretive procedures; i.e. how interactants perceive and produce responses to the heard (and/or intended) messages. The cues influencing the construction of frames tend to be habitual and are rarely consciously recognised or talked about. The 'surface features' are realised in various linguistic repertoires: therefore, IS looks at different dialects, code switching practices, lexical choices, formulaic expressions, conversational sequencing strategies (openings/endings), various prosodic phenomena as well as non-vocal communication, e.g. visuals and gestures (ibid). For instance different language varieties and styles are among the principal means of (*perceived*) identification and assessment of social identity: where one comes from and 'who' s/he is (Gumperz, 1982). According to Bailey (2008) these inferential patterns and cues are obtained over time, and that intensive face-to-face interactions are done within particular cultural settings, usually as part of language socialisation. With socialisation and 'ideologized standards of appropriateness, articulateness, educateness and beauty, which assign all available resources to the user a higher/lower, better/worse place vis-à-vis the standards (Blommaert, 2007:137⁹)' comes expectations regarding the talk: e.g. how 'a manager' talks to a 'subordinate' and vice versa. Jaspers (2012) argues that this restricts our individual freedom in terms of equality as not all can use the same resources (see also Angouri, 2018). IS, then, would look at different inferential processes to provide evidence of how these differences come to exist and how they affect the workplace dynamics. Even though

⁸ This project adopts Gumperz' (1982) view of communication, which is seen as empirical evidence of achievements.

⁹ In Jaspers, 2014.

contextualisation cues are important in terms of making sense of the interactions, they also contribute to (unconscious) categorisations and misunderstandings.

For example, Gumperz (1982) argues that misunderstandings occur particularly if both interactants *believe* they understand each other's words, i.e. speak the same language, without realizing that perhaps the other person failed to understand due to either a language barrier or different background, e.g. humour tends to be (sub)culture specific. When misunderstandings appear, this is often seen in attitudes, e.g. someone being perceived to be rude, socially awkward, uncooperative etc. Thus, when speakers' interpretations do not match, it can be considered as a social faux pas which is based on misjudgement of the communicative event rather than acknowledging (sociocultural) linguistic misunderstanding (ibid). However, it is worth noting that perhaps Gumperz puts too much emphasis on the contextualisation cues as there is more to it than just "culture" (e.g. Sarangi, 1994). For instance, Mustajoki (2012) adds that (mis)communication is influenced also by relationships between the speakers, cognitive differences, emotional and physiological states among other factors. Therefore, I acknowledge that there is more to the expectation of 'understanding' than mere cultural and linguistic varieties – misunderstandings can occur even between good friends or relatives (ibid). Nevertheless, this project focuses on the observable interactions. Considering that my research involves a diverse work context where status and power differences between the speakers and groups are negotiated, an interactional sociolinguistic approach to data analysis seems like a rational choice. The next section addresses issues related to research credibility.

3.8. Credibility and research paradoxes

In their seminal article, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) remark that "the results of ethnographic research often are regarded as unreliable and lacking in validity and generalisability" (1982:32). Moreover, organisational ethnographers in particular are blamed for producing 'lies from the field' (Fine & Schulman, 2009) since the majority of existing research is accepted on faith. Perhaps for this reason positivistic research appears to be still considered as more scientific whereas credibility and evidence are often raised concerns with qualitative methods. LeCompte and Goetz (1982: 31) argue that "the value of scientific research is partially dependent on the ability of individual researchers to demonstrate the credibility of their findings". In this regard, the authors created a list of issues that the ethnographers should address for reliability, which I have followed by explaining: researcher's status position; method of data collection;

conditions; participant selection; analytical constructs and premises; fieldwork descriptions; and peer examination. As for the last point, due to confidentiality issues I could not share the original recordings or transcripts, but I have presented and received feedback on my data and analysis from my supervisor, peers and conference attendants. It became clear that multiple readings of the same data occur in any qualitative research (Stubbe et al., 2003 provide a useful example of studying the same interaction through five different discourse analytical lenses) but I do not see this as a problem as long as the researcher is aware of the multiple possibilities and stays sincere in Tracy's (2010) understanding of the term. Important to note here is that multiple interpretations are possible with what is normatively termed as quantitative data or any other dataset.

Further, on the principles that guide my inferencing from the data, sincerity relates to the research being marked with honesty and transparency, and in line with my epistemological positioning it does not suggest a reality or truth. According to Tracy (2010) sincerity is achieved through self-reflexivity and transparency, which refers to honesty about the research process. So "self-reflexivity and transparency are two valuable means by which to achieve sincerity in qualitative research" (ibid: 842). By explaining access to the case study company, my position(ing), decisions and procedures in the research process, and acknowledging opportunities and challenges faced, I tried to convey my belief in sincerity for the reader (within the word limits of this thesis). I do, however, acknowledge also "the pitfalls of infinite reflexivity" (Sarangi, 2007: 568).

Namely, the ethnographers' participation in the fieldwork is often discussed. Sarangi (2007) brings neatly together three different research paradoxes: observer's, participant's and analyst's. I will briefly explain these next. Initially Labov (1972) introduced the notion of observer's paradox, which means that the researcher's presence and field equipment can contaminate the collected data. Using Clarke's (2003) work as an example, Sarangi (2007) then addresses the participant's paradox which is concerned with the participants observing the observer with certain expectations. In my research, collaboration and building trust with employees were critical aspects in the research process, consequently, they also influenced the outcome. Finally, Sarangi (2007) brings to the fore the analyst's paradox, which is concerned with data interpretation. Specifically, researchers' rely on participants' insights as a means of legitimizing the analysis by drawing on their accounts. Therefore, analyses are based on 'reconstructed logic' (term from Cicourel, 1974, cited in Sarangi, 2007). Hence, our

interpretations cannot be taken for granted and are in continuum (ibid). In similar vein Agar (2006) points out that analysis is influenced by the ethnographers *own point of view*: “we keep looking for evidence that what we think is going on in fact is not” (:17), thus we cannot draw any definite conclusions. The position taken in this research follows this logic together with social constructionist epistemology (discussed in 2.3.3.) as both view ‘realities’ as being subjective and in constant change depending on the different situations and positions. If we accept that there is no absolute truth, the data cannot be contaminated as suggested by Labov. Instead, I have acknowledged my role as a factor which had an impact on the data collection and analysis.

3.9. Summary

This chapter aimed to critically and reflexively address the journey leading to the current study. Despite the pre-fieldwork doctoral training, I realised that being an insider/outsider, entering/exiting the field and doing non-/participatory research is not only a matter of research design as the researcher’s flexibility and adjustment to different (social) situations and interpersonal skills are equally, if not more, important. No single research book or other researchers’ experiences can equip and prepare a researcher well enough for the fieldwork.

In this chapter I explained the research tradition in which the current study is positioned, specifically the rationale for using an ethnographic approach. In addition, I introduced the research context, data collection methods and approaches to analysis. It was also important to discuss my positioning in the field in order to provide a ‘less flattering but more realistic’ (Fine & Shulman, 2009) account of what organisational ethnography entails. This gives an idea for the reader of my actions and participation in the field, which inevitably has an impact on both; the collected data and interpretation of it. As will be shown in the upcoming chapters, the chosen research design gave me an opportunity to engage with the research participants on a more personal level, and my participation in the daily work routines provided a deeper understanding of the workplace processes, various lived experiences and realities. Utilisation of different datasets, which complement each other, seeks to provide a more fine-grained and nuanced analysis.

Having laid out my theoretical thinking and data samples for the reader, I will next turn to the heart of this thesis; the analysis chapters.

Chapter 4: Corporate (Language) Ideologies

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings related to the analysis of the company's official language policies, expectations, and language practices. It seeks to address and explore RQ 1 (introduction, section 1.2.), which was the guiding question and starting point for this research. The chapter provides the background and foundation for the following two chapters which zoom in on work practices and employee positions. This, in turn, will then allow for a synthesis of the findings in Chapter 7 where I will bring the analysis chapters together and introduce a model that illustrates my conceptualisation of factors that may influence (migrant) employees' identity construction.

I start with providing a quote from a senior figure of the corporation, which gives a useful overview of the company's stated aim to inclusivity and diversity. It serves to set the scene for the upcoming chapters in terms of what the corporation strives for versus its practices:

I want us to look like the modern Finland; supporting diversity, supporting immigration, supporting difference that's how we need to look like and it comes from our set of values which should be encouraged more. They should be more visible at our restaurants, all our business operations, in our recruitment and I believe we should support this more so we could be an open workplace where people of different ages and sizes feel welcome [...] It um comes from me, it comes from [Tasty Co's] management, from our communication, our strategic alignments. (Karoliina)

Despite the powerful statements, out of which openness and support of diversity are of particular interest in this study, the data shows that these supposedly universal values take different meanings across the corporation. The map below illustrates the core themes covered in this chapter.



Figure 11: The broad themes introduced in Chapter 4.

This chapter introduces and presents an overview of Tasty Co’s language ecosystem; specifically focusing on the headquarters and restaurants. As illustrated above, the company sets a language ideal in which the office employees and restaurant workers have different language policies, i.e. a preference for English with regards to the former and Finnish with regards to the latter. However, the data reveals a more complex ‘reality’. Specifically, the used languages are negotiated between the employees at a local (micro) level. The co-existence of multiple language ideologies and the interplay between ‘local’ and ‘global’ has an impact on group formations at workplaces and inherent power im(bal)ance between different employees.

The first sections (4.2 and 4.3.) of the chapter draw on the corporate documents and interview data collected from the key decision-makers at the upper echelons of the corporate hierarchy. I will describe the language ideologies and practices at Tasty Co’s headquarters, which differ significantly from lower organisational levels. Moreover, these accounts serve to reveal management perceptions of organisational life and diversity agendas. As their decisions, e.g. in regards to implementing the “diversity plan” and language policies, directly influence employees across the organisation, it allows for a comparison of management views, and the actual lived experience and practices in the restaurants. The carefully chosen interview excerpts illustrate the core positions in the data.

The discussion then turns to the core focus of the research; the restaurant employees. I will introduce the role of language in non-Finnish speaking employees work trajectories. More

specifically, the sections that follow explain how the dominant language ideologies have an impact on the pre-and post-employment processes, and the ways it influences non-Finnish speaking employees' precarious positions in their workplaces. I will show how some of the practices are in conflict with the progressive agenda Tasty Co as a company is trying to push forward. Following this the migrant employees' perceptions of unequal treatment, and the categorisation of "foreigners" and "Finns" are discussed. I will present the main themes associated with the positioning of "us" and "them" in section 4.4.3.

In the light of this data, the findings challenge some of the existing language in the workplace research which associates the level of English proficiency with corporate elitism. Namely, whereas Tasty Co's white-collar employees get better access to linguistic resources, English is more frequently used in daily interactions at lower positions than at the supposedly English speaking HQ. I return to this claim later on.

I will start the analysis by introducing the company's language policy at the headquarters. The discussion draws on documents and quotes that illustrate the positions and trends in the data.

4.2. English at the HQ

English has been Tasty Co's official language since 2012, and in line with the existing IB literature (e.g. Piekkari et al., 2014; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Neeley, 2012; Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Van den Born & Peltokorpi, 2010; Marschan et al., 1997) Tasty Co's management supports the strategic view of the language policy. Specifically, the use of English for work purposes is seen to improve efficiency in terms of time and costs, increase internal job rotation (from subsidiaries), improve cross-border collaboration, and create a sense of a more international corporate culture. The discourse of English as being "the" business language is collectively echoed in all participants' responses. For example, the comments made by "Mervi" below are indicative of participant belief that adopting English was a necessity:

This world is changing and we're changing with it. That's how it has to go, otherwise we won't succeed and stay in business. (Mervi)

The enactment of this language ideology is manifested through Tasty Co's official language policy document, recruiting processes, and language training which are closely linked with organisational hierarchies and roles. Yet, language practices are influenced by localised and past language preferences as well as perceived diffidence. The summaries of these aspects are presented below, and I will briefly discuss them in the next two section.

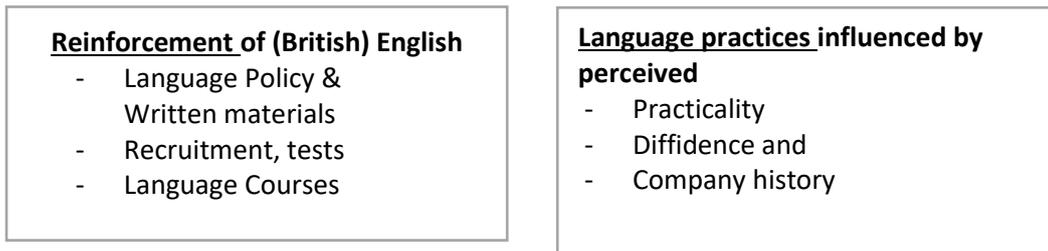


Figure 12: Introduction to themes for sections 4.2.1. and 4.2.2.

4.2.1. Reinforcement of English

Language policy and written materials

Tasty Co’s *Language Guideline document* states that all internal materials for and between white-collar employees should be in English. This includes memos, action logs, management level emails, strategy materials etc. Employees are specifically advised to use British English spelling and syntax, and are further asked to refer to the University of Oxford's Style Guide. The manager involved with the execution of the policy explained that this form of English was chosen: “because we have that kind of tradition. If we look back it's been British English” (Tuija). The preference for British English could be explained by geographical proximity (compared to other English speaking countries), and/or past business ties (see different ‘language paths’ by Piekkari *et al.*, 2014; forthcoming). Alternatively, British English could be seen simply as “a nicer accent”, as reported in Lønsmann’s (2014) study from a Danish MNC in which out of different “Englishes”, British English is placed at the top of the language hierarchy.

Either way, Oxford English in particular has been turned into a marketed commodity (Canagarajah, 2016) that portrays it as the ‘correct’ variety of English. Highlighting one language variety, however, goes beyond mere economic interests as it is an ideological and political construct; it contributes to categorisation of people and ascribes positive/negative evaluations upon them based on how ‘correctly’ they speak the ‘right’ language. Here we can also see how language ideologies are part of the ‘native-like/standard’ ideology (Kroskrity, 2004; Canagarajah, 2016; Philipsson, 2008). Such ideologies are constructed over time in specific socio-political contexts, but they are not static. Ranta (2010), for example, shows how there has been a generational shift from preferring British English to American English among Finnish youngsters due to media and popular culture.

The data shows that Oxford English is seen as a standard of English not readily attainable for the employees, and could indicate the top managements' detachment from their subordinates' language skills (Luo & Shenkar, 2006). Namely, non-natives' corporate language skills tend to be strongest among educated employees with higher organisational status (e.g. Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006; Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014). In this regard, Tasty Co's HR department has identified insufficient English language skills to be a problem. As a response, (1) new recruitment and (2) language training strategies have been utilised. These are discussed next.

Recruitment and language tests

The position of English is strengthened through recruitment strategies (Piekkari *et al.*, 2014; Neeley, 2012) by publishing the job advertisements in English. By so doing the company seeks to attract the needed language skills from the applicant pool and strengthen its language ideals. Tasty Co's *Language Policy Document* specifically states that when it comes to *new* white-collar employees, a good command of English is required. The language proficiency is tested in various ways; e.g. the applicants may be asked to provide earlier works in English, they may have to finish small tasks in the needed language, and the spoken skills are evaluated in the interview process by code-switching. In addition, language proficiency/ies are also sometimes assessed in the psychological tests conducted by an outsourced HR company. After the hiring process, however, Tasty Co does not arrange language "check-ups" (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Reeves & Wright, 1996), and the responsibility of "language management" is left to individuals and teams (Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014; Urciuoli, 2008), as illustrated in the next quote:

Everyone's responsible for their own [work]. Of course we will try to correct our mates if we notice that there's a typo but no one's really looking whether we're using the correct language. (Laura)

Nevertheless, the office employees in both Tasty Co and D&C Services are entitled to attend online English language training. Moreover, depending on the position, employees can sign up for language classes and/or have private lessons at the HQ during work hours. The next section focuses on the online language courses and explains the relationship between accessibility to linguistic resources and organisational status.

Language courses (and organisational hierarchies)

Tasty Co offers English language training for its white collar employees. Participation is based on Tasty Co's job grades, meaning that the higher the position, the more advanced English language courses are available. This is visually illustrated in the shape of a pyramid on the course website, which follows the organisational hierarchy; the executives and managing directors being at the top of the pyramid whereas administrators and restaurant staff are at the bottom. Such categorisation aligns with existing studies which suggest that the 'common' corporate language is the strongest among white collar 'transnational elites' (Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006) because they have the access to the relevant resources (also e.g. Fairclough, 2001; Bourdieu, 1992).

The course advertisement specifically states how it is 'imperative' for Tasty Co's staff members to have the appropriate language skills, and the target group is "all white collar employees". However, after scrolling down to the bottom of the pyramid, it appears that the "restaurant personnel in customer service" are also eligible for attending the intermediate level course. Interestingly, in spite of this, it is worth pointing out that the D&C employees who participated in the study did not take advantage of any language training. In this regard, the majority of D&C employees had limited awareness of Tasty Co's various training possibilities in general. Unequal access to linguistic resources can have detrimental consequences also at lower organisational levels. I will return to this later.

Despite the investment on language training opportunities, in line with the existing studies (e.g. Angouri, 2013; Janssen & Steyaert, 2014; Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007) official language policies cannot eliminate local language preferences. This is discussed next.

4.2.2. Language practices

As already established in workplace language research (e.g. Nickersson, 2005; Fredriksson *et al.*, 2006; Luring & Selmer, 2011; Angouri, 2013), discrepancies between the official language guidelines and the actual language practices are common. This was the case in my data, too, and a paradox is noted: the interviewees acknowledge the importance of English for business purposes, but at the same time they accept that local languages cannot and should not be ignored. As such, parallel use of languages (e.g. in code-switching between languages) is not uncommon and managers often use their own judgement in 'what language works best' in different circumstances (Angouri, 2013). I will next briefly present three core themes associated

with the resistance of the language policy; *practicality*, *diffidence* and *history* of the company. On *practicality*, there appeared to be an agreement that the localised language preferences bypass the official policies, be it Finnish, Swedish or other local language:

We don't live in silos, the company is not its own world. There is a need to understand that Sweden's national language is Swedish after all. (Tuija)

We jump from one language to another quite smoothly. It depends on the situation in question or on language need, so people change it quite quickly. (Mervi)

Even though all written materials should be in English, it is perceived to be an *impractical* requirement, especially between co-national employees who share the same (native) language. *Diffidence* as a theme emerged when the interviewees referred to their “Finglish” or “rally English” (=rallienglanti) – a term in Finnish which implies to the caricaturizing and stereotypical Finnish English accent (originating from the rally drivers' interviews that have become a national cultural reference drawn for humour). Indexically this points to (perceived) poor linguistic competence (Tergujeff, 2014; Kivistö, 2016). The self-awareness of sounding “Finglish” may result in a lack of confidence in using the language, e.g.:

our rally English leads to passive language use [...] because of shyness (Karoliina)

Although it is worth pointing out that despite this self-criticism, when it came to the overseas subsidiaries and non-Nordic employees, the narratives of Finn's English language competence changed drastically. For example, when contrasted with Baltic and Eastern European employees, Finns English competence is seen to be at a higher level. This is illustrated in following quotes: “*Baltics are okay and it [English] is slowly starting to come from the Russians too*” (Mervi) or “*our education is so good that everyone speaks it [English]. For them it's harder*” (Karoliina). Such comparisons of ‘theirs’ and ‘our’ English illustrates a shift in language ideologies and hierarchies where “rally English” is positioned higher than “Eastern European English”. Highlighting these specific countries is not surprising due to Tasty Co's factories and operations in them.

Nevertheless, taken that Tasty Co's language policy was changed in 2012, it can still be perceived as a relatively new change for long-term employees. Because of its *history*, Tasty Co is “bending the rules” when it comes to the existing/older staff and their use of English. Namely, the company has a low staff turnover, which means that the majority of their employees in

Finland are categorised as middle-aged and older. Therefore there seemed to be a consensus among the management that it can take years for the company to fully adopt English use.

Related to the history of the company are the perceptions of Swedish maintaining its strong position at the HQ because the owners of the company and the executive board members are still predominantly Swedish speaking. Swedish is described as an ‘elitist language’, which *may* reflect the top management’s language preference. Alternatively, this image can stem from Finland’s post-colonial history with Sweden (e.g. see Vaara *et al.* 2005; Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014) and association with Finnish-Swedes being an elitist minority group with high status and power (Liebkind *et al.*, 2008). One informant provided an example of an annual summer party arranged by and for the corporate elite. At this (‘informal’) event, the main language of communication tends to be Swedish. In that specific time and space, Swedish language is thus associated with social and symbolic capital which (temporarily) places it right at the top of the language hierarchy. Due to its high status, especially when networking and building relationships with (most of) the executive managers, non-Swedish speaking employees might feel in disadvantageous positions. However, it is worth bearing in mind that officially Finland *is* a bilingual country and the perceived “unfairness” of Swedish language use is not that unambiguous. Namely, the heated debates around Finnish-Swedish privilege (see Saarela & Finnas, 2003) and language ideologies (Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014) are ongoing and “while the state is officially bilingual, functional multilingualism is far from being balanced” (*ibid*: 4).

So far the chapter has shown how English language policy and its implementation is linked with neoliberal trends and Tasty Co’s aspirations of being a more international company. This was not associated only with overseas operations but also in attracting non-Finnish employees. All of the interviewees unquestionably recognise English as “the” business language but at the same time localised language preferences have remained. As this chapter zooms in on the restaurant world, I will show how language ideologies change at lower organisational levels, and contribute to power relations. Before that, I present management views on diversity which is useful for opening a critical discussion on progressive agendas that the corporation is attempting/claiming to push forward.

4.3. Corporate views on diversity

The analysis of the interview data with the upper echelons shows for the most part positive connotations of having a diverse workforce. In the following 2 sections I will discuss Tasty Co's (lack of) diversity planning and show how non-Finnish employees are stereotypically positioned as better workers than local employees. With this the aim is to provide an understanding of how migrant labour is seen by the decision makers, and then later show the contradictions between these claims and work practices.

Diversity Plan

The management collectively emphasised the importance of providing equal work and training opportunities to all employees, which is also echoed across Tasty Co's brand materials. Even though the increase of migrant employment is seen to be inevitable, the interview data revealed that the company lacks concrete diversity management plans. This was in contrast to what was publicly stated in the available documents. Specifically, the document analysis of two Tasty Co's Annual Reports reveals that the first one declared the company's intentions of starting to work on the '*diversity plan*', and a year later a positive result of '*increased awareness of diversity*' is reported. Yet, what exactly is meant by the '*diversity plan*' and '*increased awareness*' remains unclear. The document analysis fed into the interview design; specifically, drawing on this information I asked the managers to tell me more about the diversity plan without receiving a clear answer, e.g.: "...it's still in its infancy", (Oona); "...we're developing it", (Mervi); "I'm not that familiar with the diversity plan" (Laura); "...um I think it's something about employing long-term unemployed people" (Karoliina); "I haven't heard of it" (Tuuli). In fact, only the head of Human Resources was able to tell me more about the diversity initiative.

In this regard, Piller (2016: 19) raises an important point, specifically that: "[it] is easy to confuse the celebration of diversity with a progressive agenda". Diversity policies that are openly announced have an impact on how well a company is seen to be doing in regards to its 'inclusiveness', giving it a competitive advantage (ibid). From a critical perspective, Noon (2007) argues that the diversity agenda is always politically charged in three ways, as 1.) it is about maximizing individual potential; 2.) it usually evolves around group differences, which generates a discourse that denies value of social justice arguments; and finally, 3.) diversity discourse is primarily aimed at managers, not ordinary employees. To give an example, Noon adds that the absence of ethnic minorities in decision-making processes compounds a problem

of more diverse thinking; recognising diversity is one thing, providing equal opportunities is another.

My aim is not to criticise the intentions of progressive agendas. However, highlighting the “diversity plan” and presenting favourable results at Tasty Co’s report raises questions of the “hidden” agendas. Namely, in the final stages of the data collection process it emerged that according to the *full* “Diversity Awareness” report (available for HR only), Tasty Co was labelled by an independent company specialising in corporate responsibility, as a ‘colour blind’ company. Here the ‘colour-blindness’ does not mean that the company sees everyone in the same colour, in contrast, according to the report instead of appreciating a variety of shades and colours, Tasty Co has a narrow ‘colour-blind’ perspective in terms of categorising people as ‘either’ ‘or’. In other words, the colour metaphor and the results indicate how the company is rather reserved when it comes to hiring people from diverse backgrounds if they do not look or fit to the existing Finnish ‘norms’. To link this back to Noon’s (2007) point of diversity discourse involving people in powerful positions, this data was obtained from the HR department and selected managers only, despite being framed in the Tasty Co’s Annual Reviews as having an organisational level impact with an ‘increased awareness of diversity’.

Turning the discussion to language policies, instead of acknowledging linguistic pluralism, the hegemony of English (e.g. Philipsson, 2008; Canagarajah, 2016) as the future work language in the restaurant sector is accepted by all managers except for one account which recognizes the importance of other languages:

It is really important to ensure at all levels that people have an opportunity to use their own language. There might be people who don’t know English, they can’t express themselves in English. It can be any of the forty languages. It could be for example Vietnamese. So they need to be able to say and bring their concerns in a way that we can respond. (Mervi)

These minority views are not yet embedded in the policies or practices of multilingual- and cultural restaurants. Apart from (limited) health and safety materials in English that use symbols and photos, no further corporate level steps have been taken at the time of the fieldwork to encourage minority employees’ inclusion.

Managers' constructions of the migrant employees

In analysing the data, generous praising of the migrant employees dominated the interviews. Framing them stereotypically as “*hard workers*” with the “*right attitudes*”, particularly when compared to the local employees. By so doing the managers contribute to the processes of commodifying the migrant workforce – i.e. they are seen as more valuable for the corporation. For example, the rhetoric of ‘the good [migrant] worker’ (MacKenzie and Forde, 2009) is not new in the existing literature and functions often as a rationale for hiring migrants (Roberts & Campbell, 2006) for the minimum wage positions which are rejected by local employees (Harrison & Lloyd, 2013). Indeed, according to Harrison and Lloyd’s (2013) study drawing on such stereotypes and moral claims in which migrants are “better” than “locals” in physical jobs justifies the latter group’s privileged positions.

In this research, when it comes to seeing migrant employees as *hard workers* (e.g. “never late”, “efficient”, doing the “most demanding jobs”) and having the *right attitudes* (associated with being “positive”, “grateful”, “collective”, “helpful”, “uncomplaining” etc.) descriptions of physical attributes and subjective evaluations of their attitudes emerged consistently in the data. For example:

[our] experience is that they are, of course I can’t generalise because people are different, but on average they are more customer service oriented. Showing a happy smile and speaking to the customers comes more naturally from them than Finns. (Laura)

[nationality] are small but can handle it [...] as you’ve seen kitchens are tough environments, [it] takes strength, somehow they manage really well. (Tuuli)

To link the management views of diversity, migrant employees and corporate level decision-making, I would like next to focus on Tasty Co’s “Employment Experiment Programme” (pseudonymised) as it kept occurring in the data. Providing context: in collaboration with a third party organisation Tasty Co took part in an experiment that provided work opportunities for long-term unemployed people who are at risk of being excluded from society. The programme consists of job induction (e.g. for factory line workers, service staff, kitchen helpers etc.) and a several month, unpaid, probationary period. After the probation, the ‘successful’ employees are offered part-time or full-time positions. These employees had various backgrounds, but interestingly, the managers highlighted specifically migrant-background employees for their commitment and good attitude as exemplified in the following quote:

[Finns] are forced but migrants accept without complaints so I'm glad we're taking part in it again [=in the programme] [...] and I know we have people like migrants who are doctors that they're like in completely wrong jobs but in order for them to integrate and to learn the language they have to start somewhere. I especially *salute*¹⁰ them. (Karoliina)

Here we can see how the idea of integration follows the dominant migration discourse (section 1.1.) in which language and work opportunities are closely linked together, and any kind of kitchen work is seen to provide a learning environment into the Finnish culture and language. The analysis shows that the rationale for such logic is based on the same thinking raised in the above quote: “*they have to start somewhere*” which supposedly should follow some sort of progression. This, however, is not that simple as will be shown later.

In addition to being described as “*hard workers*” with the “*right attitudes*”, migrants are reported to “*enrich the work community*”. The cultural enrichment involves descriptions of knowledge exchange and learning from other cultures and cuisines. It is seen to increase cultural awareness, but also aspects of cultural commodification are raised, e.g.:

we haven't utilised our in-house knowledge with our foreign staff yet and I see a lot of potential there because people don't want to eat some pea soup on Thursdays¹¹ anymore [...] made like these Middle Eastern treats that our staff loved, and I wondered why can't we offer similar dishes to our diners? Like um more variety, new taste sensations. It's something we should improve. (Tuuli)

When it comes to culture and food, some migrant employees appear to be seen as more valuable than others because of their national backgrounds. For example one manager mentioned specifically how highlighting having an Italian chef during the “Italian food week” is perceived to bring more authenticity to the restaurant, therefore, value. Cultural enrichment hence represents learning from other cultures but is not entirely separate, at least in managers' accounts, from commodification of culture and people. Hence, the commodification of migrant restaurant employees can be seen as having two layers; 1.) they are ‘good workers’ with the ‘right attitudes’, and 2.) their ethnic (i.e. “cultural”) backgrounds may add extra selling value due to affiliated stereotypes (Koskela, 2014). However, like languages, different ethnicities and foods do not carry the same value. For example, during the fieldwork I cannot

¹⁰ Originally in Finnish: ‘nostaa hattua’ (‘take the hat off’), which signals respect.

¹¹ Traditionally Thursdays are known in Finland as the “pea soup days” (=hernekeittopäivä in Finnish).

recall anyone highlighting various African cuisines. Languages reflect social hierarchies and the same applies to food in my context.

Being informed by the above, I looked at how this is manifested in the kitchens and it seems that living up to such stereotypes can be difficult as they impose higher work expectations, regardless of occupational backgrounds. The chapter now turns from the HQs to the restaurant world and its employees.

4.4. Migrant employment in restaurants

There is a certain inclination in public discourse that links migrants' lower success rate in gaining jobs to their limited Finnish proficiency (Ahmad, 2015; Forsander, 2002; Lahti & Valo, 2013; Suni, 2017; Statistics Finland, 2014; Ministry of Employment and the Economy, 2012; see also section 1.1.). Yet, the Finnish restaurant sector is becoming increasingly dependent on migrant, multilingual, workforce. In the following sections I will discuss how the co-existence of two main language ideologies, Finnish and English, contribute to the workforce division. Before that, it is necessary to place this into a wider context in terms of the current labour situation. More specifically, the loss of interest in the restaurant industry in general is seen to be problematic, which is collectively echoed in all interviews with the Finnish employees and restaurant managers. Finns are perceived to see low-level kitchen jobs as being beneath them, for example:

I've been here for [years] and we've held 15 recruitments and not a single Finn has applied for these [=dishwasher/kitchen helper] kind of positions. (Kalle)

they [=Finns] rather get benefits than do this. It is hard work; it's moist and din and you're lifting all the time so it's not an easy job. (Tanja)

Employers perceptions of Finns being lazy(ier) than migrants in manual work has also been reported in Ollus and Jokinen's study (2013). Such juxtaposition of "us" and "them" may set unreasonably high work expectations for migrant employees, which will be discussed in greater detail in section 4.4.3. In addition to the physicality of the work, low-wages seem to limit the candidate pool. This raises some controversies in terms of further dividing the workforce, not only in the restaurant sector in general, but also *within* the restaurant teams between migrant and domestic labour:

they don't pay them [=migrants] anything, it's cheap workforce, and they're like assistants and some even chefs. (Pekka)

you won't get much above 1700 Euros so we have to use students and foreigners who can't find jobs elsewhere due to the language barrier. (Kalle)

Indeed, drawing on the “language barrier” gives an impression that these people have no other options but to work in the lowest kitchen positions. In Chapter 5 I will show how workers limited language proficiency can be beneficial for employers. Rather than channeling migrant employees towards having long-term career progression plans, it appears to be more profitable to keep them at the bottom of the kitchen hierarchy, and language is framed as a reason for this (section 5.4.1.).

Moving to migrants' access to work, according to the interview data, the most common route into full-time employment – apart from a few exceptions- is by starting off as an extra employee. This is also in accordance with the existing statistical reports (Nieminen *et al.*, 2014, for Statistics Finland) of migrant employment. In order to gain a better understanding of this transitioning, the next section describes the move from temporary to permanent employment, and the role of language in this process.

4.4.1. Pre-employment language requirements

From leased to permanent employment

Tasty Co relies heavily on leased employees, referred to as “extras”. Due to irregular working hours and no specific work requirements for lower kitchen positions, extras often consist of migrants whose employability for better or more permanent positions is often restricted because of Finnish language limitations. The figure below visualises the relationships between the staffing agencies, extra employees and restaurants.

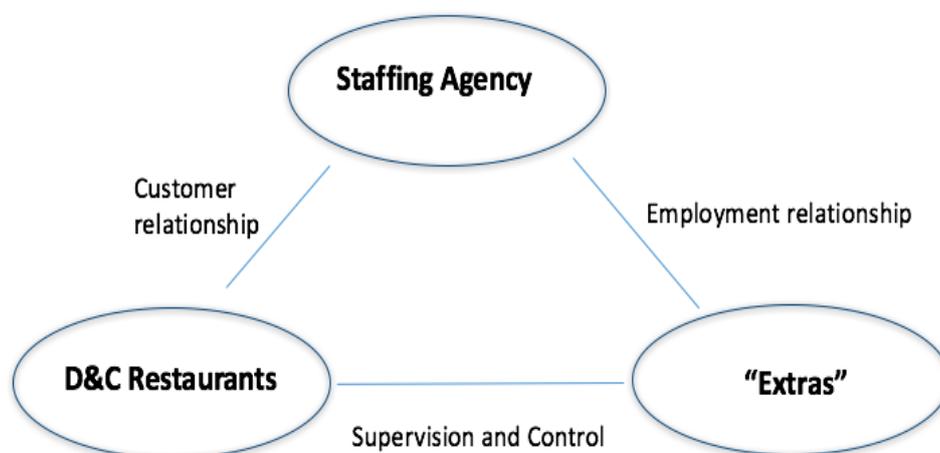


Figure 13: Employee leasing at D&Cs (adjusted from Friberg & Eldrig, 2013: 147).

As illustrated in the *Figure 13*, D&C managers and full-time employees constantly evaluate extra employees. For instance, it is not uncommon for a restaurant manager to ask the permanent staff members about extra employees' work performances which means that their utility is constantly the subject of appraisal. Moreover, although operating under the same company, the analysis of the interview data shows that D&C managers have slight differences in expectations and treatment of these employees. To provide an example of this, in one restaurant those who do not follow the dress code lose their work shifts:

I refuse to give them workwear because they'll be gone with the extras. I've sent people home many times if they're not wearing the right clothes and I don't want them back so I guess that makes me a terrible person (Tanja)

To put things into context, before the above quote the manager mentioned that if someone wears a t-shirt with a competitors' logo, she perceives it to be disrespectful. She also provided an example of many migrant dishwasher extras coming to work without wearing socks, which goes against the company's health and safety regulations. This, however, is not necessarily a matter of "wrong attitude" or "lack of commitment" rather than a possible communication break-down between an extra, staffing agency and D&Cs wishes. Such confusion could stem from the fact that extra employees must be available to work at several restaurant chains in the same time frame. Consider the below excerpt taken from an interview with an extra employee:

[...] accept what I can. They [=staffing agency] call me and I say yes before knowing where <laughs> [...] here things work quite smoothly like logistics because it's a big company and now I know what's expected from me because I've been doing shifts here before but I've been in places where food has ran out like imagine the chaos so I like coming back here but sometimes it's like gambling you don't know (Domen)

This example shows how different work practices in different locations may differ and how previous experience feeds into the work expectations, i.e. "*I know what's expected from me because I've been here before*". Returning to the clothes example, perhaps due to this reason other restaurant managers were not as strict as "Tanja" when it came to work wear. This is just one example illustrating how extra employees' requirement of flexibility necessitates both bodies and minds to adjust to the constantly changing work environments, driven by neoliberal conditions (e.g. Duchene & Heller, 2012, Allan & McElhinny, 2017).

Moreover, due to limited induction times and the busy nature of kitchen work, extras need to figure out the best "fitting in" strategies and work practices by themselves as quickly as possible at different locations. Those who do follow the rules and are perceived to "fit in" are likely to

be invited back as illustrated in the following quote: “*you hold onto the good ones with fingers and teeth*” (Heikki). Language plays a pivotal role in this. Namely, considering how language has an impact on people’s evaluations of each other (Rakic *et al.*, 2011; Hodge & Kress, 1993) and socialisation with colleagues (e.g. Strömmer, 2016), migrant employees with limited language proficiency are by default in less favourable positions compared to the domestic ones (Piller, 2016). Nevertheless, their communicative and work efforts can be “rewarded” if the permanent staff perceive that they have the “*right attitude*” (section 4.3.). This means that even though leasing work is often described as temporary, committed extras *can* work regularly in the same places, sometimes even for years, if the managers perceive them as the right fit for the job.

However, despite gaining this work experience, the transition from Staffing Agency’s payroll to D&C Services does not occur as smoothly as one would assume. More specifically, when it comes to permanent employment, language is suddenly highlighted as a crucial means of selection to the workplace. For example:

I was working for a renting company that’s why my application went through. I was working here for a long time and asked them [=D&C Restaurant managers] for a job permanently because it was coming to a year and I saw that they needed permanent employees. I asked them but they didn’t take me seriously, they said I needed to speak Finnish fluently so I said okay no problem [...] so I left but they called me later because they had no one to interview and they knew this guy manages so when I came the boss was already with the contract and everything. (Bale)

The position above involved manual and routine work at a minimum communication context (to be explained in greater detail in Chapter 5). In this regard Roberts (2013:83) notes that: “for most routine and relatively low paid jobs, the linguistic demands of the job interview are greater than those of the job itself”. The initial rejection described in the quote above and need to wait for a work offer can be seen as an illustration of power in which the candidate in question and other non-native speakers are reminded of their shortcomings, i.e. lack of Finnish fluency, instilling in them a feeling of gratitude towards their employer. Indeed, following an interview question on accessing the workplace, this was a recurrent theme in migrant’s accounts that described how they were given job opportunities “in spite of their language deficiencies”.

Even though introduced in this section, (claimed) language “deficiency” is not highlighted and limited to extra employees only. Equally those who follow the more traditional route into full-time employment (i.e. applying for jobs straight from Tasty Co rather than starting as extra

employees) may face similar barriers. In the next section I will explain the importance of local networks when applying for jobs.

Utilisation of local networks

D&Cs online job advertisements and application forms (accessed in winter 2019) for kitchen positions are available in Finnish language only as opposed to the white collar positions which are written in English. This imposes restrictions for those who are otherwise competent for the job but cannot apply due to the language. Furthermore, Finnish fluency is listed in the job advertisements as a prerequisite even for the lowest minimum communication positions. Therefore, local networks and guidance from host country nationals are crucial for those who do not comprehend the Finnish language well enough. The following excerpt provides a useful example of this:

Bale: it was so difficult to get even a cleaning job. Even for cleaning here they ask you: “Do you speak Finnish?” [...] I understood a little bit of Finnish and saw [job advertisement] at mol.fi and a girlfriend of my friend who is Finnish helped me. She helped me to fill the form because it was in Finnish and I met the boss here, we sat here and he asked me do you understand this and how did you manage to fill this [=form] and I just told him what I did

Res: oh you told him? Did you talk to him in English?

Bale: yes in English, I told him my Finnish is so bad. He asked how much do you understand, I said very little and he was like okay we wanted somebody who can speak Finnish and it's the dishes but I'll give you one week trial and we'll see. Then he put me there and saw: “no I can't let this guy go” <laughter>

In this instance the job applicant managed to overcome the initial application stage with the help of his Finnish friend, and was given the opportunity to meet the recruiters face-to-face in the job interview. However, sometimes work experience and basic knowledge of the required language is not enough for the employers because they can still use language as a tool for exclusion (Piller, 2016, McCall, 2003), as epitomized in the following quote:

the supervisors had [?] attitudes so I was involved in the recruitment interview. I knew that there could be well not a language barrier because I've spoken to him [=interviewee] and his Finnish is relatively good because he has lived here for 8 years but the attitude of those two, the executive chef and restaurant manager, they had decided in advance that he can't be our chef because his Finnish is bad and he's not this and that you know. I said: hey seriously we should first give this guy a chance. In the meanwhile he was working at our other restaurant for two days and proved to be an excellent chef [...] he will now start working for us. (Tuuli)

What is noteworthy here is that the above interviewee is not normally involved in staff recruitment processes but in this instance she felt that a highly qualified job candidate was not given a fair opportunity due to his Greek background, which was framed as a “language barrier”. Here the candidate is supported by a senior figure of the company who is in position of power and thus can challenge her subordinates; i.e. without “Tuuli” the two recruiters would have had the decision-making power, and in this *possible* scenario the candidate would not necessarily have stood a chance to prove his professionalism. This is to show that hiring processes can be political and are based on subjective evaluations of the candidate (Kirilova & Angouri, 2018; Kerekes, 2017; Roberts & Campbell, 2006) or “*gut feeling*” as described by another manager. It is a highly subjective process in which recruiters’ backgrounds and past experiences influence who gets invited to the interview and what is seen as the “appropriate” (interactional) behaviour within the boundaries of a specific work context (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Gunnarsson, 2009). If a job candidate differs from the “norm”, linguistic penalty (Roberts, 2013) may follow. Moreover, at times the recruitment decisions and language requirements reflect restaurant managers’ *personal* preferences, not necessarily the idealised values set by Tasty Co’s management which seeks to embrace equality and openness.

It is worth pointing out that recruitment decisions are *also* associated with managers’ professional confidence in supervising their staff in a non-native language, i.e. English. This aspect seems to be overlooked in existing studies on gatekeeping encounters. As will be discussed in the forthcoming section, and already briefly addressed in the section with the white collar employees, some Finnish employees, especially in restaurants, do not speak English sufficiently enough to be able to communicate with their non-Finnish speaking colleagues. This is to recognize that recruitment decisions are multi-layered and complex. It is not necessarily only a matter of Finnish employers’ ethnic prejudice and inequality as suggested by some scholars (e.g. Koivunen et al., 2015).

4.4.2. Post-employment language requirements

Despite the stated Finnish language demands described in the previous sections when entering the workplace, kitchens remain multilingual after the hiring decision. For example, language clusters (Tange and Luring, 2009) and mixing of languages (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010) were observed in all research sites. Still, as will be shown, Finnish holds a privileged position and English comes as a strong follower, particularly as a lingua franca language between

employees with different language backgrounds. As such, it can be said that language use is rather flexible in the kitchens, although limited command in Finnish does have negative consequences on migrant employees' career aspirations (to be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). The next two sections describe how the dominance of English can make it harder to learn Finnish, and the consequences it has on migrant employees. The main facets associated with this are summarised in the figure below.

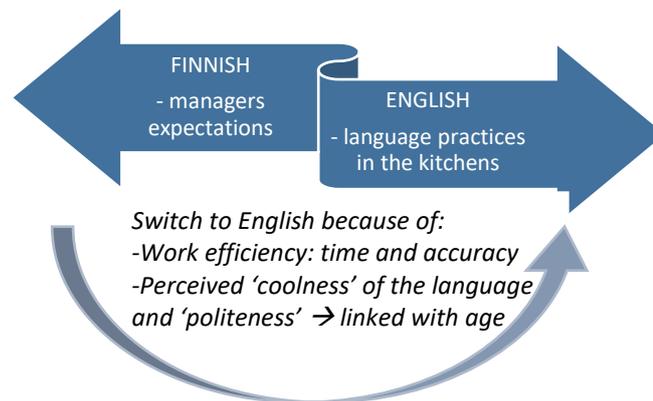


Figure 14: Contradicting messages: stated language expectations vs reality.

As illustrated above, contradictions emerged between language expectations and practices. I will elaborate on this next.

Finnish employees' use of English

Even though D&C Services official work language should be Finnish according to the policy documents, the data shows that English is preferred in the kitchens when communicating with migrant employees who have limited Finnish skills. This section covers three key facets emerging from the interviews which are closely associated with the use of English; *age*, *accuracy* and *efficiency*. The latter two are linked with the work practices whereas the former one is linked with the more general (generational) attitudes and perceived challenges towards “Englishization”. Indeed, especially long-term, more mature Finnish employees wished their native language to remain as the main work language. Keeping up with the changing linguistic demands can create tensions between employees, as exemplified in the following excerpt:

Heikki: when we applied for jobs English wasn't required [...] now it's unavoidable. At least I can stutter something, some can't and then we find ourselves *backed into the corner*¹² [...] when our older soldiers, so to speak, started to leave I said

¹² From a Finnish figure of speech: 'umpikuja'. The word translates as 'cul-de-sac' or 'dead-end street'.

jokingly already years ago that in the future we'll be speaking only in English so perhaps it's better to start learning it <laughs>

Res: mhmm can you think of any tools [Tasty Co] could provide for employees so things would like um run smoother?

Heikki: well I think that the language issue language skills for older people could be something because we have older cooks who don't speak English at all and then we get these bets where they're like: "let's see for how long that fella will survive" because no one's speaking to him and it's tough in this job. So I guess maybe we need a small attitude change or something.

Interestingly, throughout the data older employees are often contrasted with young ones, for example:

Good luck stopping our youngsters from using English, I think they're forgetting Finnish <laughter> [...] can't possibly demand our older employees [=to use English], and this is still Finland after all. I want my mum to be served in her native language, you know, it's different. (Mika)

I'd say that staff that are 50 years and over have issues with the language but then all the young staff are like: "hey cool!" They're good in speaking English, it's the coolest thing, you're cool. So there's a big gap like after 50s it's a bit hard and for some staff that come from the old Soviet countries that are over 40 they cannot speak English at all, absolutely not. (Rudo)

The last quote captures three factors that influence English language use; (1) the age gap, (2) different attitudes towards English – "coolness", for example, refers to English as a youth language (e.g. Leppänen, 2007), and (3) employees backgrounds. However, it is not only people coming from other countries, as suggested above, that might be facing challenges with English. Equally people moving from small Finnish(-Swedish) towns may find it difficult to use English as they have not been exposed to it as much as in the areas surrounding the capital city. It is important for the reader to keep this in mind when the discussion turns to migrant employees' experiences and workplace in/exclusion, as *some* of their Finnish colleagues are simply incapable of communicating with them in English beyond basic words and phrases.

Despite this, the majority of Finnish staff in this study tended to use English due to its perceived *efficiency* in getting the job done. In analysing the data, efficiency is closely linked with *time* and *accuracy*. Namely, the hectic nature of the kitchen work sets certain time constraints; using Finnish with non-native speakers is perceived to be too time-consuming, and English is preferred as a way of minimising possible misunderstandings. Like many others "Stella" with her colleague, for example, deliberately does not follow the "Finnish only" rule set by the Restaurant Manager because of the following reason:

They keep saying that we should speak to the boys in Finnish but then it comes down to them not understanding. It takes at least twice as much time if I start explaining something in Finnish so we discovered with [name] that it's quicker and easier to speak in English rather than us constantly repeating ourselves in Finnish and them being like: "what's going on?" We simply can't afford [it]. (Stella)

In addition to *time*, *accuracy* is used as a rationale for choosing English, as misunderstandings and mistakes cost money and time, especially in restaurants where food is cooked in large quantities at once (see also section 6.2.1.). In summary, the majority of Finnish employees tend to use English or mix Finnish and English for efficiency reasons. The next section presents migrant employees' perspectives.

The prevalence of English

Migrant employees' accounts in my dataset describe collectively how their initial social networks tend(ed) to consist of co-nationals, other non-local people or Finnish partners with whom the main language of communication is either English or their native language. Once the relationships are established in one language, the shift to using the host-language can be difficult (Ryan, 2011). Moreover, the increase of English-taught programmes in Finland (from primary schools to vocational training and university level degrees) from which migrants may graduate, creates a paradox: on the one hand, accessing education in English is seen to provide more equal opportunities. On the other hand, when applying for jobs most employers require Finnish language fluency. This restricts many from accessing jobs that might be more fitting to their education. For example, in the data collection process I met business school graduates, sociologists, a graphic designer, a chemist, a surgical nurse and so forth, who had received their education in Finland, thus their degrees are paid by the government, but are being de-skilled by working in the lowest kitchen positions (OECD, 2018). The following quote summarises the challenge faced by these people:

we have same degrees [=from the same Finnish university], applied for the same jobs, she [=Finnish wife] got invited to several interviews and is now working for [name] with refugees and I'm still here. Seven years later and I'm still here [...] Language it's a big barrier making me want to move but I have a family [...] hard to learn because they [=colleagues] always speak to me in English (Selim)

Indeed, all migrant-background interviewees find the frequent use of English to be the main reason for slowing down or stopping them from learning Finnish. For example this was

directly referred to by the employees who expressed their frustration at colleagues not engaging in Finnish:

I don't speak good Finnish because you know so many people in Finland they speak English. (Kevin)

[...] start talking in Finnish and I'm like good but after a while they switch to English, [don't?] know why. I think they're being nice but it's not helpful and language courses they don't help because outside of classroom foreigners speak English and you forget. (Enzo)

One thing I find problematic is that they think it's polite when they see a foreign looking person to speak in English and I don't like that. When they address me in English it shows that I'm a foreigner [...] I have double nationality and it has annoyed me many times. (Tara)

Even though speaking English to a non-native speaker can be well-intentioned, it is perceived in my data as indexing difference. Specifically, it shows that these people are categorised as the "Others" on the basis of their looks and/or language proficiency.

In light of this data, the idea of migrants not putting enough effort into their "integration" by learning Finnish, as suggested by the dominant discourses, is a very problematic and shallow statement. Yet, the reiteration of such discourses at workplaces may construct inadequacy (Canagarajah, 2016; Sliwa and Johansson, 2014), which is compensated with hard(er) work output. This will be discussed next.

4.4.3. Keeping the job: 'Us' versus 'Them'

In the interview data and off-record conversations the migrant employees kept raising their perceptions of unequal workplace treatment in regards to, for example, distributed workloads. Particularly, the categorisation and juxtaposition of "us" and "them" appears to hold explanatory value for perceived wrongdoings, e.g. Finns being seen as less hardworking and more privileged who can get away with smaller work outputs (similar perceptions found e.g. in Lugosi *et al.*'s study, 2016). The main perceived challenges are summarised below (non-Finnish speaking employees' workplace participation to be discussed in the next section).

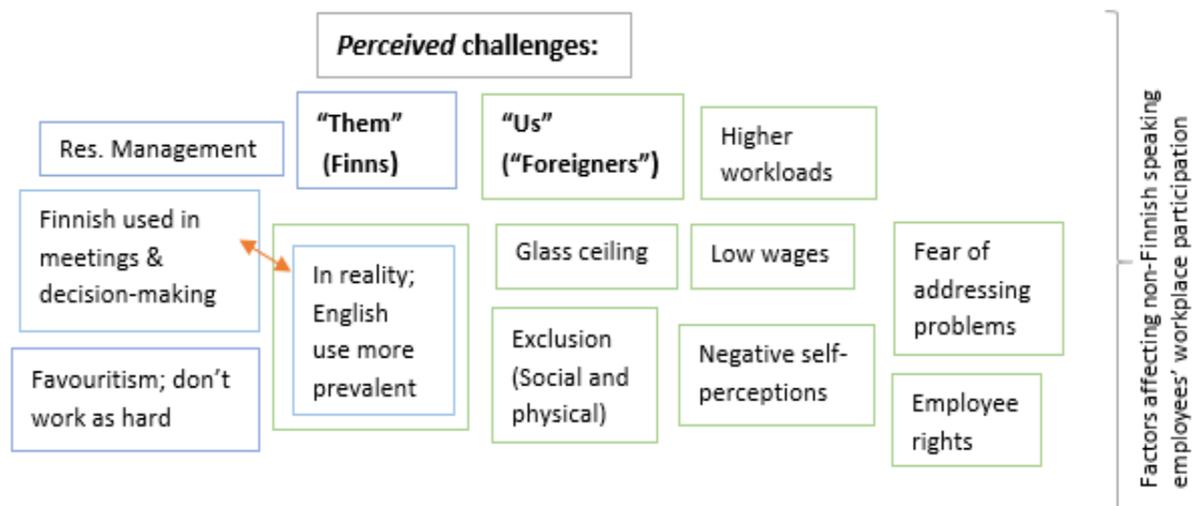


Figure 15: Map of migrant employees perceived challenges. Green boxes affiliated with migrant employees and blue ones with Finnish.

Despite using different labels such as ‘foreigner’, ‘(im)migrant’ or ‘refugee’, two main group categories were drawn upon; “the Finns” and “the foreigners”, and most of the migrants in this study would position themselves with the latter group. “We”, i.e. “the foreigners”, are described as one homogenous group, regardless of various backgrounds and spoken languages. Similar findings are reported in Canagarajah’s (2016) study. Canagarajah argues that the constructions of such groups in which migrants offer help and solidarity to each other shows their agency “to cope with unfriendly work conditions and policies” (ibid:30). He labels these groups as “safe houses¹³” which are contrasted with host nationals. In a similar vein, in this research migrant employees tended to form their own ‘multicultural in-groups’ in which the main language of communication is English. The next quotes provide examples of the positioning of “us” and “them”:

they’re maahanmuuttaja [=immigrants] like me so they understand me, we help each other. (Mali)

we have to work harder and we don’t take sick leaves. (Ibou)

foreigners as you can see we do as much as we can, some people don’t have to do anything. (Duc)

I feel sometimes that I’m being used by people. If it’s busy they always just say: “oh [Akene] hoitaa” [=takes care of it] and I never say no but that’s my problem, we don’t know how to say no but sometimes too much is too much and I don’t wanna have a burnout. (Akene)

¹³ The original term is adjusted from Mary Louise Pratt’s (1991) work, and refers to a group of migrants from various backgrounds that are supporting each other.

The common determinant here and across the data with the migrant employees is the perceived ‘unfairness’ of workloads when contrasted with Finnish employees. Further juxtapositioning of ‘them’ and ‘us’ is related to sick leave and labour rights. As mentioned earlier, migrant employees are described by the restaurant managers as committed employees who rarely take days off. The data show this could be due to some employees’ lack of knowledge of their rights as exemplified in the following excerpt:

One of the things that’s a challenge for foreigners and uneducated people is to do with the accounts and law you know. They should be more open, have more meetings but it’s minimal. We need to understand why we’re paid like this. Sometimes you can’t even understand if I take sairasloma [=sick leave] how does it work. Sometimes they’re like “okay you took so many days so you’re not being paid for these days”, those are complicated things. (Beno)

Despite such perceptions, however, it is worth pointing out that Tasty Co still operates within legal frameworks when it comes to the minimum wages, holiday pay, and working conditions, especially when compared to small restaurant entrepreneurs who are more often characterised by hidden economic transactions and illegal activities (e.g. see Wahlbeck, 2007, study on migrants’ kebab shops, or Teittinen’s, 2019, report on work conditions at Nepalese restaurants in Finland). In my data, even if employees’ requests have been turned down with regards to preferable work shifts or holiday times, the employees would still hold high opinions about Tasty Co as an employer. As a matter of fact, nearly all of the participants perceived D&C restaurants to be better workplaces than the competing catering companies.

However, the publicly stated and reiterated corporate policies and values that emphasise the well-being of employees (e.g. in the Annual Reviews and employee newsletters) are dependent on local practices; i.e. how the restaurant managers treat their staff. This raised contradictions in terms of being satisfied with the company, but not with the local practices. I will provide a more concrete example of this in Chapter 5. The next section turns the discussion to the implications of not speaking the local language.

4.4.4. ‘Presence’ vs ‘participation’

The findings from analyzing the data from the meeting contexts suggest that even if non-Finnish employees are present, their participation could be described as being passive (concrete example and more in-depth discussion to be provided in section 5.3.3.). For instance, a few times they “*appear[ed] to be more focused on their mobile phones than what [the managers] have to say*” (field notes) despite the no phones at work rule. It shows that even

though they are physically present, their presence is not acknowledged by their Finnish speaking colleagues. Indeed, migrant workers were never observed being reprimanded for such behaviour. To reinforce this interpretation, the migrant employees described feeling that their opinions do not matter, as exemplified in the following quote:

I don't know what they talk about <laughs> no idea so what can I say? um I just sit, drink and go back to work. (Mali)

The use of Finnish only is justified by the restaurant managers with the D&Cs language policy and integration discourse. When identifying the language limitations of some members of staff, all managers shifted the responsibility of knowledge sharing to the (informal) linguistic gatekeepers as illustrated in the following quote:

I have the emotional translator [name] next to me. He can translate things in a way they understand. The dude speaks French, Spanish, English, Finnish, Arabic so there are not many with whom he couldn't have a chat one way or another. <laughter> (Heikki)

The assigned gatekeeper is perceived here to be a better communicator on the basis of his language resources. In addition, the 'emotional translator' suggests a stronger appeal to "them", i.e. the international employees, which further divides the workforce into "them" and "us". Such views, however, are based on the assumption that the gatekeepers have sufficient Finnish language skills to access and forward the relevant information, which is not always the case. Namely, the linguistic gatekeepers are often migrant employees themselves and in my small sample these individuals had limited Finnish skills which meant that the translations were occasionally vulnerable to misinterpretations. For example, Chapter 6 (case study 1) provides excerpts from workplace interactions that show how one international cook keeps forwarding false information to other migrant employees due to his limited Finnish (and misuse of power).

The implications of misunderstandings, however, can have potentially severe consequences. In this section I will discuss one more excerpt that further illustrates this by drawing on an example from health and safety regulations. In order to better understand the excerpt, it is useful to provide contextual information: 'Finlicious' had a team meeting on safety regulations in which the employees were told how to accept food deliveries and store the boxes before sorting and moving the products to the fridges/freezers. They can be extremely heavy. Thus there is a limit regarding how many boxes can be piled on top of each other. During the meeting, the restaurant manager emphasised how the team had not been following D&Cs

regulations in this regard, and how it was necessary to change this practice. She emphasised it was a matter of safety because if a milk box, for example, falls on someone, in the worst case scenario, it could hospitalise an employee (fieldnotes). The following interview excerpt, however, reveals a misunderstanding of the “milk example” due to the gatekeepers’ misinterpretation:

Res: mhmm and do you think people understood the safety instructions?

Duc: um I think all of the Finnish people understand but I don’t know about the others we have a foreign cook and as you can see he understands Finnish yeah on Wednesday now that you mentioned something about safety I thought it was something about value like milk [expiry?]

Res: yeah no it was about the safety regulations

Duc: oh I don’t um because later when I asked [name] like what was it about he just said to me it’s about best before dates

Confusing expiry dates with specific safety instructions is a significant misconstruction of information. Lack of inclusion and confirmation of comprehension by the restaurant managers (e.g. by simply asking if anyone has any questions or whether everything is clear at the end of the meeting) in safety matters is surprising considering that Tasty Co’s corporate management openly strives for zero work accidents and emphasizes the importance of work safety. In practice though, the local restaurant managers do not communicate these messages to non-Finnish speaking employees. Furthermore, whereas the corporate management repeatedly mentioned during the interviews the importance of using symbols and photos (in posters, manuals, guidebooks) as an attempt of inclusion, some restaurants did not have these materials on display – against the corporate rules. One possible reading of my data is that the management relies on the employees themselves to cascade information. This is a problematic practice but also raises a range of opportunities for those with language skills to occupy positions of power (e.g. Bourdieu, 1991; Mahili, 2014; Goldstein, 1997; Kraft, forthcoming). I will discuss this further in Chapter 6 (also in Humonen & Angouri, forthcoming).

To conclude, even though some of the migrant employees are present their participation can be characterized as being passive. In this section I highlighted the lack of knowledge in the local language as one reason, but in the next chapter I will illustrate how at one restaurant migrant voices get systematically silenced, which suggests that passive participation goes beyond language barriers.

4.5. Summary and concluding remarks

In the light of this research context existing studies have shown that there is a significant difference for migrants employed in a supportive work community or in one that rejects them, with the former enhancing migrants level of interactions and language learning (Suni, 2017; Piller, 2016; Strömmer, 2016; Canagarajah, 2016). By mainly focusing on the interview data this chapter illustrated the ways in which migrant employees are ‘Othered’ at their workplaces. I see this being indexed through group formations and positions employees take. In the next chapter I go deeper into this matter and illustrate the processes of exclusion by zooming in on one research setting.

This chapter provided an overview of Tasty Co’s language policies and perceived language use. According to the findings, English is accepted unquestionably by the management as ‘the’ business language and language of the future. The corporate access to this language resource, however, is limited to office employees only. More specifically, Tasty Co provides language training possibilities on the basis of job grades: high organisational status means higher language expectations and better language support. However, as Angouri (2018; also 2013) explains, the language policy documents give a frame but the interpretation and implementation of these policies are dependent on the reality of the context. As it stands, despite English being the official corporate language, Finnish is still the most commonly used language at the headquarters with occasional use of Swedish. Interestingly, in some of the kitchens the language policy and practices are reversed. Namely, at D&Cs restaurants Finnish is the official language but many migrant employees and their colleagues use mainly English at work (alongside their native languages and/or Finnish). This is summarised in the simplified figure below.



Figure 16: Language expectations and preferences.

As for the prevalence of English in the restaurants, it is perceived in migrants' accounts to be problematic: it eases the communication between non-native speakers, but on the other hand it also makes it harder to start using Finnish as required by the restaurant managers. This imposes a dilemma in the sense that neoliberal accountability entails a logic that individuals themselves have to take responsibility for their language investment (Flubacher *et al.*, 2018; Urcioui, 2008) and realise different options in their career trajectories. However, this logic ignores the social structures that may set certain restrictions into this process. In this regard, the next chapter centres on one specific restaurant, 'Meet'n'Eat', and further elaborates how processes of exclusion are manifested in work practices and how it may set certain restrictions to non-Finnish speakers' agency. More specifically, the analysis centres on exploring how spatial segregation and use of Finnish contributes to the division of workforce, and how this may be possibly beneficial for businesses.

Chapter 5: Silenced Voices and Workspaces

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter I provided an overview of Tasty Co/D&C Services language policies and practices, and presented employee perceptions of these. This chapter zooms in on one restaurant and critically discusses the challenges faced by over-qualified migrant employees working at ‘Meet’n’Eat’ restaurant as dishwashers. ‘Over-qualified’ in this context means that in addition to having higher degrees from other fields they have also obtained cooking certificates and have a track record of work experience from the kitchens. Yet, they are, for years, at the lowest kitchen positions.

The reason for focusing specifically on dishwashers stems from my observations; namely, except for one Finnish employee all dishwashing positions were filled with migrant workers in *all* research sites. Even though they are part of the kitchen teams, they are not visible or hearable in the data, which is partially explained by acknowledging their more secluded workspaces in comparison to the rest of the staff. Nevertheless, at ‘Meet’n’Eat’ I had the opportunity to spend more time with these employees by working by their side for a week, which provided a new perspective into what their jobs entail. In this regard, I believe it is useful to take into account their daily work tasks and spatial constraints in the analysis because spatial division of labour, i.e. Finns and migrants working in different spaces, may negatively alter migrants’ experiences of interactions at work and beyond (Urry, 2012; Lugosi et al, 2016).

As explained in the methodology section, the voices of migrant employees are absent in most workplace interactions (apart from the data presented in the upcoming chapter) regardless of their kitchen positions, hence, silence emerged as a recurrent theme in its own right. Silence is relevant for this project because it can be considered to be important in defining workplace discourse, as it represents the absence of the ‘Other’ and reinforces unequal power relationships (Ward & Winstanley, 2003; Simpson & Lewis, 2005). Adapting Ward and Winstanley’s (2003) term of *absent presence* seems particularly useful here; drawing on Derrida’s concept of deconstruction and the ways in which ‘truth is ordered’, it implies that workplace discourses and practices determine and constitute identities, however, minority groups might get trapped in the discursive structures by being ‘Othered’ and silenced. Through everyday exclusionary acts and interactions, legitimization of the ‘Other’ becomes naturalised (Van Laer & Janssens, 2011).

Indeed, in line with Harrison and Lloyd's (2013) research it appears that in the categorisation of "local" and "migrant" employees, the former groups' "privilege is quietly constructed" (:299) whilst inequality is naturalized for the latter one (ibid). Maintaining such status quo, I will argue, is beneficial for the employers (see also MacKenzie & Forde, 2009), and language is framed as a "legitimate way" to further marginalise migrant workers by keeping them at the lowest kitchen positions.

This chapter explains the systematic process of silencing with an attempt to elucidate the reasons why some migrant employees' voices continue to go unnoticed. Three main intertwined reasons are identified and introduced; isolation (physical and social), fear of losing the job, and gradual internalization of an inferior status in the local hierarchy ("who am I to say anything?"). I will elaborate further on these points in the upcoming sections.

The aim of this chapter is not to demonise the case study company but to provide a glimpse into the realities of *some* migrants, which are influenced by the *local* managers' practices and emergent social environment. Upon visiting several Tasty Co's restaurants Meet'n'Eat was on the more extreme side in terms of employee categorisation.

Structure of the chapter

First, I will introduce the research context and main participants. Then, I will show how minimum communication work contexts can be both physically and mentally challenging for employees due to isolation. In order to better understand this, descriptions of work routines, spaces and artefacts are provided. Following this, I argue that managers benefit from migrant employees' (explicit) workplace exclusion and limited Finnish language skills. Even if the migrant employees are present in the meetings, or other daily routines, they are being excluded by the dominant group. Finally, I will seek to explain why some employees might struggle to get more voice and visibility. To discuss the above mentioned issues I will be drawing on recorded data, field notes, and photos.

5.2. Context and participants

The data presented in this chapter is collected from one restaurant; "Meet'n'Eat". The establishment has a competitive reputation as it has won awards for excellence and has received special recognition in its field (= corporate lunch provider and catering for business events). It is able to cater for more than a thousand diners daily which gives an indication of the scale of

its operations. In addition to this flagship establishment, the Restaurant Manager is also in charge of three other kitchens and cafes, and it is not uncommon for her to “recycle” the employees by sending them to different locations depending on the need.

Meet’n’Eat’s kitchen usually consists of 11 employees, however, this chapter concentrates on migrant employees and their managers only. The table below provides an introduction of the main participants.

Pseudo name	Position
Beno	Dishwasher, kitchen porter
Akram	Dishwasher, kitchen porter
Bale	Dishwasher, kitchen porter, chef's assistant
Kevin	(Dishwasher), chef's assistant, grill cook
Enzo	Chef de Partie
Tanja	Restaurant Manager
Toni	Group Chef
Kalle	Duty Manager

Table 6: Main research participants at Meet’n’Eat.

Meet’n’Eat has three permanent dishwashers and assistants who have worked in the same positions for years, one of whom has 10 years of experience in the same role. The migrant employees in question are highly educated with corresponding work experience¹⁴. For example, one was working as a graphic designer and art teacher for years. However, like many migrants moving from developing countries, my participants could not find jobs in their own fields (OECD, 2018; Haapakorpi, 2007). What is particularly noteworthy here is that whereas the qualifications from less developed countries are not always recognized in Western countries, two of my participants have degrees from Finnish universities (taught in English). Nevertheless, they all share the same story in which they initially accepted the lowest paid kitchen positions temporarily in order to *survive* (Piller, 2016). After not finding work from their own professional field of training e.g. graphic design, they started to pursue better kitchen positions over the years and have finished cookery schools. As will be shown, this, however, has not yet improved their positions in the kitchen hierarchy. In addition to the main research participants introduced above, Meet’n’Eat is an interesting research context because of its language environment. I will explain this next.

¹⁴ I cannot provide more detailed biographical information due to confidentiality reasons.

Meet'n'Eat's linguistic environment

Meet'n'Eat operates within the premises of a global multinational corporation (simply referred to here as MNC) which uses English as the official business language. As such, the linguistic environment is predominantly English which can be seen in the artefacts across the campus buildings, and when entering the site the receptionists, for example, greet everyone in English. Accordingly, Meet'n'Eat has adapted this 'global' language demand (Neeley, 2012) to its front-of-house (FoH) meaning that all of their brand materials in public spaces are in English (logos, signs, food labels, menus and so forth.). Considering that the vast majority of their customers are expatriates and international visitors, the waiting staff are expected to serve them in English. The same expectations apply to extra employees:

Excerpt 1

I'd rather have someone who can speak English than a Finn who doesn't know English because 85 percent of our clients are foreigners and our Finnish clients know the system anyway. For our foreign guests for them I rather have someone who can handle it in English and I can influence that, I can express my wish. (Tanja)

In addition to visible artefacts and customer service at the front of house, one of the prerequisites for the collaboration between D&C Services and the MNC is the requirement to use English in all their correspondence like in emails, invoicing, contracts, food orders, meetings etc. even between Finnish employees. Therefore the restaurant managers are expected to have sufficient language skills in order to deal with business operations. The figure below illustrates the different language environments in which the kitchen operates.

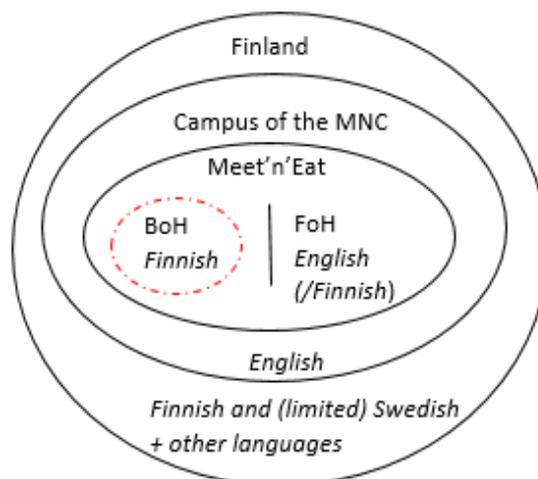


Figure 17: Different spaces and language expectations.

Indeed, the analysis of the interview data shows that the “international environment” was a particularly appealing factor to all Meet’n’Eat employees. However, while the FoH employees and managers navigate and adjust to Finnish/English¹⁵ language needs, as we can see from above, the kitchen constructs its own closed circle which is dominated by Finnish language requirements. In fact, kitchen employees are forbidden from speaking English at work. This, however, does not work in practice. Namely, whatever limited (mostly task-oriented) interactions migrant employees may have, are usually communicated in English *if* the managers are not present. To get an idea of the environment in which they work the next section describes how spaces and pace of work limits migrant employees’ interactions and socialisation.

5.3. Work in a minimum communication context

5.3.1. Physical setting

In order to understand what a minimum communication work context entails and how it influences employees (lack of) interactions with each other, a description of their daily work routines and workspaces is useful. Lugosi *et al.*, (2016), for example, argue that spatial segregation and spatial division of labour emerges through everyday organizational practices. Thus, this section describes how the main participants are *physically secluded* from the rest of the restaurant staff. More specifically, Beno, Akram, Bale and Kevin’s work routines can be divided into three main parts: first, they are in the “KP corner” (kitchen porter), then, they move to dishwashing rooms, and before finishing the day they clean both BoH and FoH. I will next explain and show how these spaces set certain challenges in terms of socialization and ‘fitting in’ to the rest of the team. These terms refer to the socialization in the discourse of a particular (dominant) group and positioning within that group.

The official work shift of kitchen employees starts at 7am, although some reported arriving earlier in order to be able to finish all work tasks prior to serving time (11 am). The “KP” corner, where the main migrant participants work, is located near the Executive Chef’s office and is secluded from the rest of the kitchen. See the photo below.

¹⁵ None of the employees used Swedish, Finland’s second official language. They reported of preferring English instead.



Photo 2: Kitchen porter's corner.

The employees in the KP corner are together but have limited possibilities to interact with the rest of kitchen staff or even with each other. This is on account of KP's having extremely fast work rhythm as they are expected to peel and chop thousands of vegetables and fruits in the morning while assisting the chefs with cleaning and keeping the kitchen tidy. For example in the recorded data from the KP Corner the longest silence lasts for 22 minutes without them saying anything to each other despite working side by side. The pressure to finish all of the work tasks can be detected in their communication style which is purely task-oriented. To provide an example¹⁶ from the KP Corner, the most common talk consisted of:

- Warnings: e.g. *"watch out, behind"*, *"careful"*
- Requests: e.g. *"help me, it's heavy"*, *"hey man, annatko ton?"* (=pass me that)
- Advice/directives: e.g. *"put more"*, *"decorate it but not too much"*, *"you can't use that"*, *"you gotta hold it like this"*

And simple structures as in the below:

- Questions and answers: e.g. (1) Q: *"is it good to use these?"*, A: *"yes, jos ei hajoo"* (=if won't break); (2) Q: *"where's soup salaatti? Erm salad that's served with the soup?"*, A: *"here, come"*, (3) Q: *"this yours?"*; A: *"no maybe [name]'s"* etc.

¹⁶ From the recorded interactions (3h 42 min). However, I will not go into detail of this data due to space reasons.

Through all my datasets, it quickly became clear that the employees tended to speak to each other mainly in English. After this, once the food is ready to be served at around 11 am, the second part of their work days involves dishwashing and cleaning. Beno, Akram, Kevin and Bale start by collecting kitchen equipment from the chefs and line cooks, then they move to new workspaces. Specifically, Akram and Bale relocate from the KP Corner to the main dishwashing room (*Photo 4, below*) where they stay until Meet'n'Eat stops serving lunch at approximately 2 pm. On some days they would also have “extras” (i.e. leased employees) to help them with the dishes, and Kevin would occasionally offer to assist, if he had spare time from the grill station where he is working during lunch time. When it comes to the process of dishwashing work, as depicted in *Photo 3*, the dishes are transferred from the customers’ ‘dish return point’ on a conveyer belt straight to the dishwashing room. After this, the employees responsible of the dishes have to quickly separate the trays, cutlery, plates and glasses into baskets before lifting them in a basket transport machine. See the photos below (3 to 5) which illustrate the entire process.



Photo 3: Dishes return point and the conveyer belt transferring the dishes straight to the dishwashing room which can be seen on the left hand side.



Photo 4: The dishes arrive on the upper belt through the hatch into the dishwashing room. Tray trolleys (in the middle) and side tables are used to sort out the dishes before placing them on racks and moved on the lower belt which transfers the dishes to the basket transport dishwashing machine (see picture 5 below).



Photo 5: The basket transport dishwashing machine on the left side. From here the baskets are unloaded and dishes are sorted and piled on the tray trolleys (on the right). Once this is done, the clean dishes are transferred back to the FoH.

The dishwashing room is mainly for the clients' trays and dishes. There is also an additional workstation for heavy duty washing where Beno is working. He is responsible for collecting and cleaning cookery equipment that either does not fit or is too dirty for the aforementioned machines. Hence, his work involves manual washing either in the sink or by using a water hose for the biggest items. For heavy pans and big serving trays he uses a special washing

machine. *Photo 6* below shows an image of his workstation. The piles of serving trays on the right side of the photo provide a useful illustration of the quantities involved with this position.



Photo 6: Workstation for heavy duty washing. The sink is located on the left side, and the washing machine for big cooking equipment can be found next to it.

The photos were taken *after* everything was cleaned. With hundreds of trays and the kitchen being in full operation the dishwashing stations look significantly different. The dishwashers' work routines can be characterized with task repetitions, which can be challenging as exemplified in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 2

Kevin: I was doing the dishes for quite a while it's really difficult you know I think because of that I am now somehow more [*settled?* = in the current position] it's difficult because there's so much work to do there and I don't know how to put it but sometimes I thought that I'm losing my mind because I couldn't think straight you don't think there you just take the dish and do it and that was it

Res: mhmm yeah hard

Kevin: it's physical and noisy yeah

Indeed these spaces are damp, hot and loud. In fact, due to high noise levels employees are encouraged to wear ear protection. I have circled one pair in *Photo 4* (on the right side, page 116). This means that whatever limited interactions they had in the "KP Corner" is non-existent in the dishwashing rooms, hence I am referring to these spaces as 'minimum communication work contexts'. Working in such an environment is physically demanding and exhausting but

repetition and seclusion can also take its toll on employees' wellbeing as illustrated in Kevin's account where he thought he was "*losing [his] mind*". This is also echoed in my own field notes: "*burnt elbow, skin peeling off, can't raise my arms, turn my neck or bend over. Lifting racks + scoliosis = bad combo, I'm starting to feel it in my nerves, all over my body. Try to get to the FoH tomorrow. Don't offend [names]*" (translated from Finnish. Field notes, January 2018). The permanent employees, however, do not have the same privilege of choosing their work tasks.

Thus far, the aim was to show how migrant employees at Meet'n'Eat are physically secluded from the rest of the team. The next section discusses how artefacts, more specifically written materials, contribute to further division of 'us' and 'them'.

5.3.2. Written materials

When it comes to Tasty Co and Meet'n'Eat's written materials and access to information, apart from one general safety poster which is required to be on display (omitted due to anonymity), everything else is in Finnish only. Indeed the notice board (see *Photo 7*) has several important papers and manuals in regard to fire safety, hygiene protocols and emergency contacts. In addition, the walls are decorated with the "Best Restaurant" recognition award and has other less trivial information such wellness initiatives and an employee poll of the next social 'team building' event. From inclusion point of view it is relevant to point out that none of the migrant employees confirmed their attendance or wishes on the poll. The only note that is written in English was found directly above the toilet, see *Photo 8*.



Photo 7: Notice board. All written materials in Finnish only.



Photo 8: Note in the toilet.

The choice of language in the note is an interesting one and open to various interpretations. The advice to “*lift up the upper lid before taking shit*” to “*keep the toilet clean*” could suggest that some of the (non-Finnish speaking?) staff do not know how to use toilets. Despite the use of “please” three times and the picture of a smiling toilet, the humorousness of the note can evoke mixed feelings, and calls into question why out of all written materials, this one was in English.

The process of ‘fitting in’, i.e. being ‘one of us’, is indexed through affiliation with a group but, as Angouri (2018) points out, group access is not equally shared between different employees, which reflects relations of power (Urry, 2012). In this example the ‘difference’ and/or ‘similarity’ appears to be mobilized through the use of photos and language choice. The toilet note can be also interpreted as an (c)overt way of addressing cultural differences – i.e. instructing ‘Others’. In this regard, critical discourse scholars Krzyzanowski and Wodak (2008) remark that “discourses of belonging manifest processes of identifying as desired members of a community or as its unwanted aliens” (:101). The migrant employees’ absence from the upcoming team building event, for example, can be seen as one sign (out of many) which mirrors their alienation from the more powerful ‘in-group’. The following sections further explain how the dichotomy of ‘us’ and ‘them’ is closely linked with language, and this again contributes to more explicit form of workplace exclusion.

5.3.3. (Explicit) exclusion

I argue that workplace exclusion is indexed through a combination of material space and the use of the local language. Here I will demonstrate this by looking into the spaces as social boundaries. With this I seek to illustrate the social (power) distance between the groups and positions employees take, which can be highly political. As per earlier discussions (section 5.2.) in this specific work context managers are expected to be proficient English speakers (see introduction; Meet’n’Eat’s linguistic environment), so language should not be an obstacle for communication and inclusion.

Meet’n’Eat Restaurant Manager, Tanja, has set a strict “Finnish only” language policy and demands that all of her staff members follow it. However, this does not work in practice as on the floor level English is the preferred *lingua franca* among the migrant employees and with Finnish co-workers. My data shows that even when the migrant workers attempt to start interactions in Finnish, they often receive the responses in English. As addressed in the previous chapter, according to the Finnish employees this language choice is affiliated with efficiency

in terms of time and accuracy, but it is also about the process of maintaining group boundaries. Returning to Tanja’s account, two major contradictions are identified in relation to migrant employees language use: on the one hand, she is saying they cannot be promoted due to their limited Finnish language skills, and on the other hand she gives an impression and assumes that they can comprehend the language well enough to follow the meetings held in Finnish:

Excerpt 3

we’ll be having the meetings in Finnish unless otherwise instructed. I always assign the boys to sit together and then there’s someone who speaks Finnish and can translate. (Tanja)

As a consequence, the Finnish speaking employees would sit at their own table and hold meetings in Finnish, whilst the non-Finnish employees would be sat at a separate table which from the start leads to exclusion. The managers emphasized that these morning meetings involve discussing operational content but they are also about “*sitting down for breakfast together*” (Toni) and having more informal employee chat. This, however, involved the same employees dominating the talk and creates even deeper structures of exclusion both at professional and social levels.

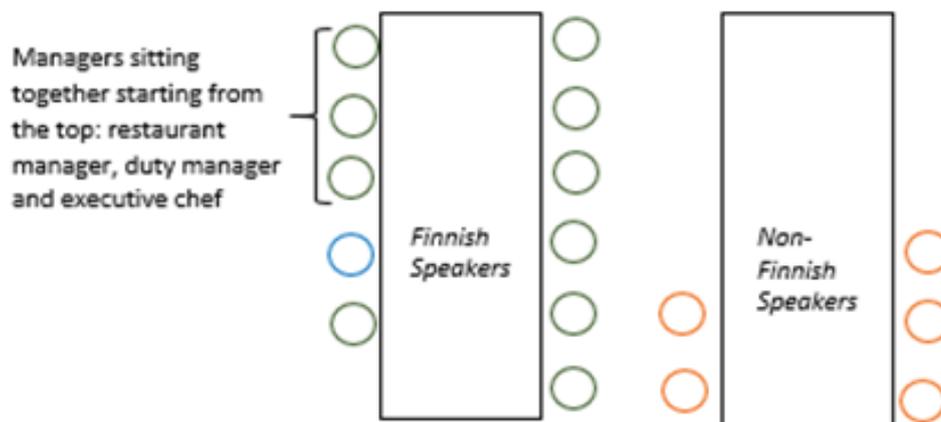


Figure 18: The division of employees at Meet’n’Eat on the first day of fieldwork¹⁷.

What makes this particularly interesting is the fact that the Restaurant Manager, Duty Manager and Executive Chef would sit furthest from the migrant employees and do not acknowledge their presence, which can be associated with a form of workplace exclusion. As we can see from the illustration above, most of the Finnish employees are facing the managers, and this sort of closer proximity and possibility for eye contact is known to be important for

¹⁷ Blue circle = researcher’s position on the first day of fieldwork.

social connection (Urry, 2012). Even with face-to-face contact, building relationships requires substantial amount of time and effort, and can be considered as a form of ‘work’ on its own (ibid). Having an opportunity to develop working relationships with managers, however, could enable employees to enhance their social capital, and thus, position in the workplace as shown, for example, in Lonsmann and Kraft (2018) and Lugosi *et al.*’s (2016) recent studies. Here, however, the migrant employees’ access to this social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) is restricted on the grounds of difference, i.e. not being fluent Finnish speakers. It could be argued then that language ideologies go beyond “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds” (Kroskrity, 2004: 498) as they are also instrumental in structuring social behaviour depending on the power relations and dominant ideologies (Seargant, 2009).

Seating arrangements, thus, are highly political in terms of associations with the in/out-groups, and, consequently, power relationships. The following vignette from the first day of fieldwork shows the division of employees and the researcher’s concern in building a rapport with the migrant workers because of the spatial segregation:

Excerpt 4

... [I] messed up by following [names] and sitting with them. I’ll be hanging out this week with [name] and his workmates from the KP corner but they sat at their own table, would’ve waited if I knew. They came late and left early while [name] was still talking about the sales targets, which felt odd [...] the whole table episode with the whites and non-whites, Finnish and English speaking, sitting separately was surprising. And of course, my main research participants (hopefully!) were absent and missed me introducing my work. (Field notes, January 2018, edited and translated from Finnish into English).

As a further illustration, on the first day of my fieldwork, five migrant employees came late to the daily morning meeting, stood up in the middle of the meeting and left, whilst ten of their Finnish speaking colleagues continued talking. This same pattern occurred every day during my presence in the field. Such behaviour can arguably signal different treatment of employees and “Otherness”. Moreover, the Finnish employees’ table was referred by the migrant employees as the “royalties” table. Indeed, I was later the subject of jocular teasing for having “the honour of sitting with the royalties” (field notes)¹⁸. Such comments further illustrate the

¹⁸ I perceive the comment in this context to show a high level of trust rather than purposeful ‘teasing’ and positioning me, the researcher, with the ‘royalties’.

social distance between the two groups. Perhaps migrant employees' physical absence from the team meetings could be explained with the processes of 'Otherisation', i.e. positioning them as outsiders, or/and by the sheer volume of work and limited time in the mornings. Being informed by the context indicates a combination of both factors.

When being asked about the meetings, the migrant employees reported feeling that their "*participation doesn't influence anything*" (Bale). Here it appears that the employees are confined by the discursive structures in which the 'Otherisation' may have a negative impact on their workplace participation. Whether this is due to "language limitations" and/or some level of internalisation of inferiority discourse is hard to tell. In the six meetings that I attended, the managers used English on only one occasion when asking if the migrant employees would be affected by the upcoming bus drivers' strike. This seems to me to indicate that when there is a need for 'bodies', i.e. manual labour, migrant workers are addressed in English but when it comes to other aspects of work such as participation in decision-making, accessing the information, socializing and so forth, the efforts of including them in the teams appears to be minimal.

Moreover, indicative of the distance between the groups is also the use of humour and different norms. Specifically, upon recording for two days employees' radio interactions¹⁹ (i.e. Walkie Talkies for professionals) none of the migrant workers participated in this communication, not even those who spoke some Finnish. Instead of communicating via radio with their colleagues at the front-of-house, they would walk to that location and see for themselves whether there was a need for food fill-ups, for example. Hence, migrant employees appeared to prefer physically checking rather than engaging with their colleagues over the radio, which would have saved them time. When being asked later why they are not wearing the radio headsets it came down to 1.) language, and 2.) different understandings of humour. Namely, their Finnish colleagues' continuous inside jokes, often involving sex, are perceived to be unprofessional. The joking includes the same core in-group members (managers and long-term Finnish employees) who also dominate the meetings and spend time together outside of work. Hence the content as well as media channels reinforce boundaries between groups.

So far I have demonstrated how language and workspaces are instrumental to the processes of exclusion, which consequently contribute to the division of labour. In this particular context

¹⁹ Data not included here for reasons of space and focus of the study.

Finnish employees are in higher positions than non-Finnish ones. Meet'n'Eat's migrant employees on the other hand are on the periphery both physically (KP corner, dishwashing stations) and socially. In the next section, I argue that language is used as a mechanism to silence their voices, and discuss how this can be beneficial for the employers.

5.4. Linguistic penalty embodied: Positioning of “the dishwashing boys”

Due to experiencing a shortage of labour in restaurants (Rinta-Jouppi, 2018), D&C Services corporate management decided to establish their own cooking schools in order to train more qualified cooks and chefs. Employees can express their interest in this and the Restaurant Managers can then sign them for the cooking programme. However, it appears that the restaurants' own individual performances may surpass the overall corporate interests. Namely, each restaurant operates independently and the Restaurant Managers might act against D&Cs interests for the sake of minimizing the costs. In other words, even though operating under the same company, the restaurants are competing against each other. Underperformance and failure to meet the corporate sales targets results in restaurants being shut down.

My analysis suggests that trained cooks are kept at the lowest kitchen positions through the processes of (language) exclusion that limits their workplace participation and hence by extension access to power centres and by extension opportunities for promotion. This could be associated with keeping the costs down as will be further elaborated in the next section.

5.4.1. Keeping the “dishwashing boys” at the lowest positions

To enhance employee commitment, (migrant) workers are given incentives such as promises of career advancement and various training opportunities. However, despite learning the kitchen vocabulary in Finnish, graduating from culinary schools and gaining relevant work experience, none of the migrant participants in this study have been promoted for years. According to the managers, this is due to “language barriers”. Alternatively, the analysis of the data suggests that there are also other possible reasons; specifically, it appears to be financially and efficiency-wise convenient for the restaurants to have trained in-house cooks when they are needed. For example, the following quote demonstrates the strategic use of existing skills already found in the restaurant:

Excerpt 5

I try to put them [=extras] to places where I can get something out of them. Our dishwashing boys have passed the Cookery Schools so we give them more challenging tasks and put the extras to the dishes because you just need to survive the battle against the conveyer belt <laughter> (Toni)

Referring to these employees as the “dishwashing boys” can be identified as a power imbalance signifier in which they are positioned below their equal colleagues, i.e. other cooks. Moreover, these “boys” are men in their late 30s and early 40s with more in-house work experience than majority of their colleagues and managers (apart from Tanja). As we can see from the quote above when needed “the dishwashing boys” limited Finnish is not seen as an obstacle in finishing the cooking tasks. Moreover, not only are they trusted cooks at Meet’n’Eat but they can also be sent to other restaurants which are supervised by the same Restaurant Manager. Despite such continuous demonstration of professionalism, these employees are not considered for permanent cook/chef positions due to the *claimed* language limitations.

In this regard, McCall (2003) suggests that a linguistically divided labour market “becomes a convenient tool for discriminating against other language groups in an apparently ‘legitimate’ way (249)” because the usefulness of language is hard to deny in the neoliberal labour market (Urciouli, 2008). Piller (2016: 86) adds that “linguistic discrimination is among the last legal forms of discrimination left to Western employers”. Migrant workers, thus, end up in the secondary labour market, regardless of their skills or education (Roberts, 2010; Ollus, 2016). I am not claiming that the relationship between language and career progression is a narrow, one-to-one linear equation, I acknowledge that there are deeper underlying issues that go beyond the scope of this research and its analytical interpretation. Nevertheless, the interview data with the managers demonstrates that limited Finnish proficiency *is* used as a rationale for migrant employees not progressing in the kitchen hierarchy. None of the managers justified their hiring/promotion decisions by e.g. referring to these employees’ lack of performance, in contrast, they emphasised the versatility and ability of migrant workers.

Traditionally, acquiring new knowledge and skills is (usually) recognised as beneficial for career progression (Holman *et al.*, 2003; Gee & Lankshear, 1995). However, in this context the rhetoric of ‘development’ is problematic as the migrant research participants have not experienced material rewards or career advancement. I argue that the restaurant’s profit comes at the expense of “the dishwashing boys” being professionally over-educated (i.e. graduated cooks) and underpaid in their current positions. More specifically, as established earlier, D&C

restaurants rely heavily on Staffing Agencies and extra employees. From a financial and productivity point of view, it is convenient for the restaurant to rotate their overqualified dishwashers according to the restaurant's needs. In the case of substituting a permanent chef, the migrant employees can fill in for them. This means that Meet'n'Eat can order extra employees for the lowest kitchen positions whilst saving money and making strategic use of in-house knowledge by moving the 'dishwashers' to higher positions. In other words, 1.) leasing extra dishwashers is cheaper than leasing chefs, and 2.) Meet'n'Eat can use the existing qualified cooks who are familiar with the work procedures without paying them full chef's salaries. Naturally, this also saves time.

Moreover, in addition to being expected to replace absent staff members, these employees are occasionally required to do the work of two people as explained in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 6

Res: for how long you were doing it [=dishwashing]?

Kevin: [sigh] quite a while five years yeah five years

Res: how did you erm move to the kitchen side?

Kevin: sometimes when somebody was sick they wouldn't hire replacements so there was a pressure to do a double work at times it wasn't good no

Work overload was also observed during the fieldwork when, for example, Enzo had to do in one day the work equivalent to that of three employees. In fact, the restaurant was understaffed during the fieldwork and the managers would hire at least one new 'extra' every day.

The simplified illustration below demonstrates how the migrant research participants are kept at the "bottom" of the kitchen hierarchy, except when they are being rotated to other positions according to the restaurant needs. Kevin is the only one who has managed to transfer from the dishwashing room to the grill station, although, he is the only cook (out of six) who is being sent to back to the dishes when needed.

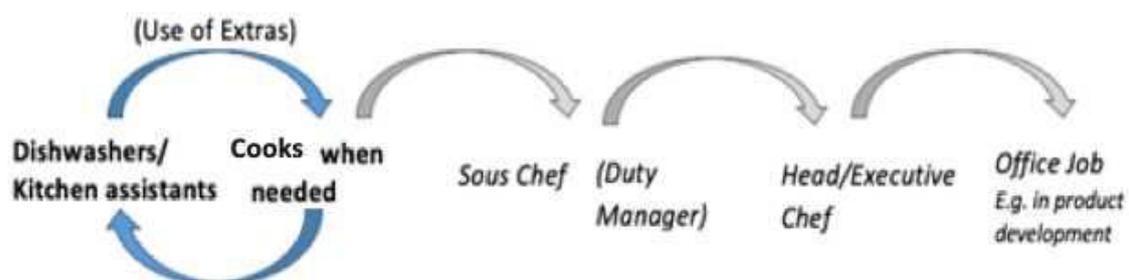


Figure 19: Blue arrows illustrate the rotation of migrant employees at Meet'n'Eat. The grey arrows represent an example of the more traditional career path from back of house to office positions.

Next I will illustrate how the stigma migrant employees carry due to their limited language skills and workplace exclusion (both physical and social) creates a negative spiral of self-attributed evaluations (Sliwa and Johansson, 2014) that may lead to the acceptance of their lower positions and provides a window into issues of accountability and agency.

5.4.2. Acceptance of unfavourable work positions

Lack of economic and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986) in host countries may undermine migrant employees' sense of themselves as being educated and qualified (Ryan, 2011). Their social positions are complicated by language expectations (section 4.4.1. and 4.4.2.), current work positions and personal motivation (ibid). In this study, it appears that over time they might get trapped in the 'inferiority discourse' due to two competing language ideologies. More specifically, in the dominant language ideology, Finnish, difference is often seen as deficiency (see also Canagarajah, 2016; Garrido and Codo, 2014), whereas by following the other prevailing language ideology, English, there is an association with a lack of willingness to 'integration'. Their *inferiority complex* (Piller, 2016) appears to be reinforced with undesirable work conditions and managers who remind them of their insufficient (language) skills. This can lead to the loss of hope in learning the language:

Excerpt 7

This job doesn't require language so I lost hope [...] I could be a chef somewhere. Now I've been doing for ten years the same job, it's a good number of years. If I would speak the language I could have done better. (Beno)

The employees who evaluated their Finnish skills as low attached negative attributes to themselves. Not learning the host language holds a stigma of laziness or failure to take responsibility (Piller, 2016; Ahmad, 2015). In this regard, the participants described feeling embarrassment, frustration and insecurity. Language, hence, creates "superiority-inferiority relationships between the people belonging or not belonging to the group that shares the language" (Vaara et al., 2005: 602). Indeed, language comparisons with native speakers' may lead to a negative spiral of evaluations and self-attributed lower degree status at workplaces (Sliwa and Johansson, 2014). For example, limited language skills seem to have an impact on migrant employees' (lack of) belief of their professional competence. Bale, for instance, is a trained cook and despite stepping in for the main chefs when needed, he seemed to have accepted his dishwashing/kitchen porter position due to his limited language proficiency:

Excerpt 8

it was harder when I came back for the second time because I was already a chef but I was given the same tasks [...] I could be a better self because now I am in no position to express myself but if I would have the language you know maybe I could be something else, I could be a chef. (Bale)

The quote illustrates a position in the data shared also by his colleagues. Firstly, the interviewee contrasts what he could have been if he spoke Finnish to what he is now. However, in point of fact: he *is* a trained and experienced chef. In this respect, it appears that the participants have internalised the integration-through-language discourse and accepted their less desirable work roles. Secondly, mentioning that “*I am in no position to express myself*” alludes to issues that go beyond mere language limitations. Namely, Bale’s Finnish is at the level where his managers are expecting him to translate information from Finnish into English to other migrant employees. How much of the spoken language he can comprehend and whose responsibility it is to assess/support his language skills is another issue, but during the fieldwork he did use Finnish on a daily basis with the managers. Hence, being in a position where he feels he cannot express himself suggests his voice is being silenced, which leads to the next point.

It appears that migrant employees in this context silently accept unfavourable work positions due to the fear of losing the job. The following excerpt provides a good representation of this:

Excerpt 9

Res: mm you mentioned [a few days earlier] your theory about this place and its current employees, would you mind telling me a little bit more?

Enzo: yeah well [Bale] and [Beno] we’ve been here for over four years and we haven’t caused them much problems, it’s better for them.

Res: what do you mean by causing problems?

Enzo: well problems can occur like if someone doesn’t come to work or is late or needs to be told what to do, we never say no.

Res: mm and why do you never say no? Wouldn’t it be better to say no sometimes?

Enzo: well I think um I need to show I can do my job, no one needs to order me because I do my best. I don’t drink coffee for 15 minutes or stand and speak to other employees. I don’t know [but?] it helps like my ex workmates are not around anymore, we are.

This is one of many examples where migrant employees are expected to abide by the *unwritten* work rules if they want to keep their jobs. Short breaks, lack of socialisation, getting less favourable holiday times and acceptance of unreasonably high

workloads are a daily reality for these employees. The idea of “we [=migrants] never say no” to work and managers’ high expectations are repeated in one way or another throughout different accounts and research sites (see also 4.4.3.). Here “not causing problems” implies acceptance of less favourable positions or they might lose their jobs. As Enzo puts it: “my ex workmates are not around anymore, we are.” In this respect, Ollus (2016) notes that this embodies a paradox: some might be unhappy about their work but do not feel comfortable to complain about the salary or work conditions.

5.5. Final remarks and summary

This chapter aimed to contribute to our understanding of migrant employees’ work trajectories and the role of language in minimum communication work contexts. Including descriptions of the work tasks, pace of work and spaces in the analysis enabled me to explore how those features shape the level of interactions and ‘fitting in’ processes. By zooming into one restaurant, Meet’n’Eat, allowed for a more detailed analysis and new evidence on how different workspaces influence both physical and social exclusion, which in this specific work context, I argued, can be detrimental for migrant employees but beneficial for the employers. Namely, this contributes to the maintenance of the status quo of the workforce. I showed how language can act as a tool for sustaining relations of inequality between migrant and Finnish employees. This is summarised in the figure below.



Figure 20: Migrant employees facing a glass ceiling at Meet’n’Eat in the course of their careers despite learning Finnish and finishing culinary schools.

Indeed, McCall (2003) suggests that hiring employees with various linguistic backgrounds for minimal language work positions is beneficial for employers due to migrants’ inability to share their perceptions of injustice or demands for better work conditions (see also Harrison & Lloyd, 2013; MacKenzie & Forde, 2009). The participants in this study confirmed having similar

perceptions and stated that they were afraid to speak up as exemplified in Excerpts 6, 8 and 9. Yet, “once trapped, the exit from dead-end jobs can be often very hard to find” (Ahmad, 2015: 967). This chapter discussed why and how *some* migrants might get “trapped”. Over time it appears that their positions are (re)produced and reinforced through the spatial, task and labour divisions, which perpetuates power (im)balance between the workforce.

In addition, I have demonstrated that silencing is im/explicitly constructed by the discourses that surrounds it in terms of “who has the right to speak.” When it comes to agency and accountability of employees, three main interrelated issues are identified and presented in the simplified figure below that seek to explain why they might stay silent:

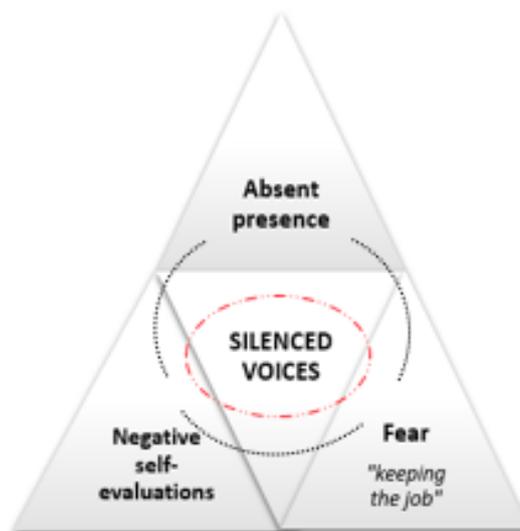


Figure 21: Factors contributing to the processes of silencing.

To unpack the figure, *fear* refers to the possibility of losing a job and finding a new one. As was illustrated in excerpt 9, having a coffee break, for example, could trigger a threat in which employees might be worrying for the continuation of their employment. *Absent presence* in this context means social isolation which is an outcome of processes of exclusion. Finally, gradually as the time passes, this may lead into negative-self evaluations (or not) and constructions of professional identity. All of these three aspects are overlapping.

Even though Tasty Co as a company states that it embraces diversity, inclusion and equality, the implementation of these corporate values (discussed in 4.3.) is dependent on the local practices and is open to interpretation. In this regard Angouri (2018: 45) notes that diversity discourse takes meaning in the context in which it emerges; employees may have different understandings of diversity agendas: “what is legal and what is morally ‘right’ or ‘wrong’”.

At the same time, the theoretical position of the thesis is not that migrant employees are passive victims. I believe that structure and agency are co-created and explored the reasons why in this specific context some might find it hard to get their voices heard and gain more visibility (Simpson and Lewis, 2005). The next chapter presents two significantly different scenarios by showing how, if given the opportunity, migrant employees can take (some) control of their career development.

Chapter 6: Interactional Analysis

6.1. Introduction

Whereas Chapter 4 focused on organisational level language policies and Chapter 5 provided a critical discussion of workplace exclusion, this chapter zooms into the micro-level workplace interactions. It explores how linguistic resources are mobilised when negotiating positions of power and work responsibilities. I will not focus on any specific linguistic features, however, floor management is seen to be relevant here as it is influenced by sociocultural norms and institutional roles (Jenks, 2007), and is useful in showing the enactment and resistance of power (Angouri, 2018). Tannen (2012: 153), for example, argues that understanding the nature of floors is important particularly in intercultural encounters due to interlocutors various backgrounds. Under this I will address interactional phenomena such as humour, information sharing, interruptions and control acts in relation to how they contribute to turn taking and floor management. I am focusing on what is ‘marked’ (Angouri, 2018) in my context and provide justification for my readings through the excerpts.

The chapter seeks to explore and answer RQ2 and its SQs (section 1.2.). I deliberately chose the Case Studies from two very different research setting; namely, Case Study 1 concentrates on the kitchen context and chefs, whereas Case Study 2 presents insights into the management perspective with the front-of-house staff. Both work environments are multilingual and the main research participants are non-native Finnish speakers. Unlike previous chapters, here we will see alternative perspectives in the form of partial ‘success stories’. More precisely, these cases involve participants who have been rewarded for their ‘language investment’ in terms of career progression. I will show how these individuals strategically utilise their language resources and how their participation in gatekeeping is political, i.e. here language operates materially in that it gives an opportunity for these individuals to improve their own positions compared to those who have limited language resources. Despite them being able to access different centres of power, this does not remove aspects of ‘Otherisation’ as neither belongs to the ‘core’ in-group.

Furthermore, the chapter problematizes the notions of ‘white collar’ and ‘blue collar’ employees as fixed categories by demonstrating these concepts as fluid and complex. More specifically, I will show how official titles are not stable as there are multiple co-existing hierarchies depending on the context.

The chapter presents first the “Case Study 1” which is followed by “Case Study 2”. Case Study 1 shows how the use of Finnish and English languages give one junior employee legitimacy when enacting a senior role beyond his official title. In contrast, Case Study 2 illustrates how the research participant has to negotiate his legitimate position as a manager due to his limited Finnish skills. In order to place the interactions in context, both settings and participants will be thoroughly introduced before moving to the excerpts, starting with Case Study 1.

6.2. Case study 1: The kitchen context and main research participant(s)

The first case study concentrates on interactional data obtained from “Finlicious”. This restaurant is centrally located in one of the biggest business districts in Helsinki, and the customers are mostly (expatriate) employees from various companies in the immediate area. Finlicious is a considerably sized restaurant serving buffet style lunches on average to 700 diners per day in addition to providing catering services for corporate events.

During the fieldwork, the kitchen staff consisted of 11 employees; 9 of whom were responsible for food preparation and 2 for dishwashing. Depending on the need, front-of-house had 6 to 8 employees. FoH and BoH employees have different work times, specific managers and responsibilities, hence they can be described as two separate teams with a common goal, i.e. serving food. Despite this division of employees and spaces, the kitchen staff constantly move within the kitchen as well as between the FoH and BoH. As I will be referring back to these workspaces in the analysis, visualisation of the layouts is provided below.

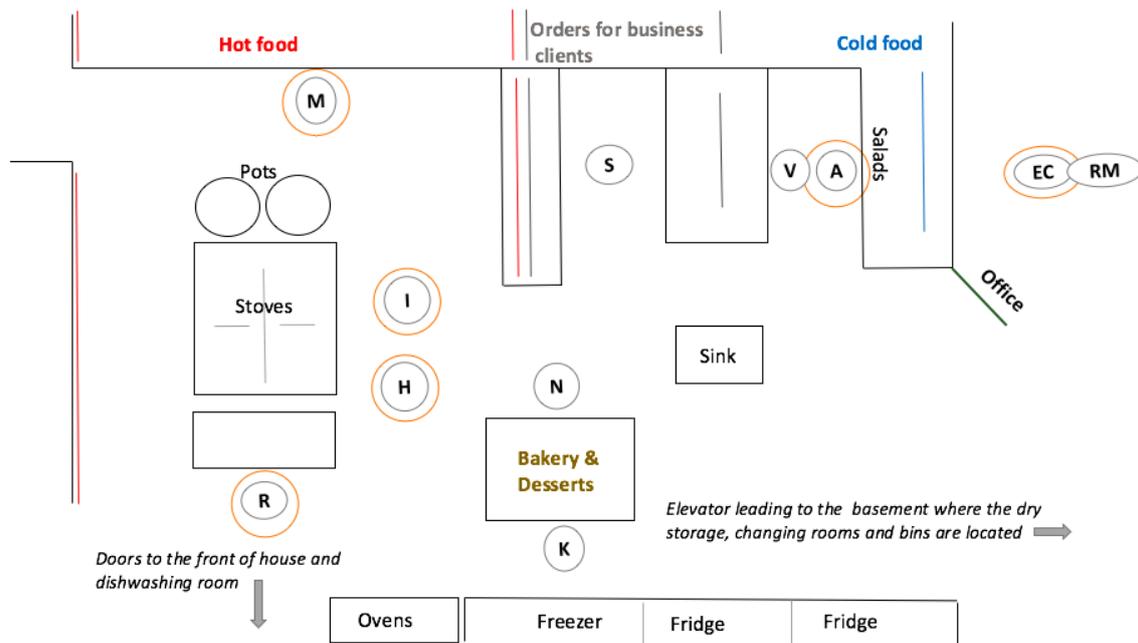


Figure 22: Back of House (BoH) Layout. The main participants in the interactional excerpts are circled in orange (see also Table 7). The kitchen is divided into four sections: hot food, cold food, bakery/desserts, and catering services. The entrance to the office is through the kitchen where the Executive Chef and Restaurant Manager can be found (most of the time).

The letters and workstations stand for: H = Heikki; I=Ibou; R= Ryan; M=Mali; N=Nina; S=Sini; V=Vilma; A= Akene; and EC= Executive Chef Pekka (stays mostly in the office with the Restaurant Manager, RM), and K= Kristina (the researcher): due to my position I had a straight view over the kitchen.

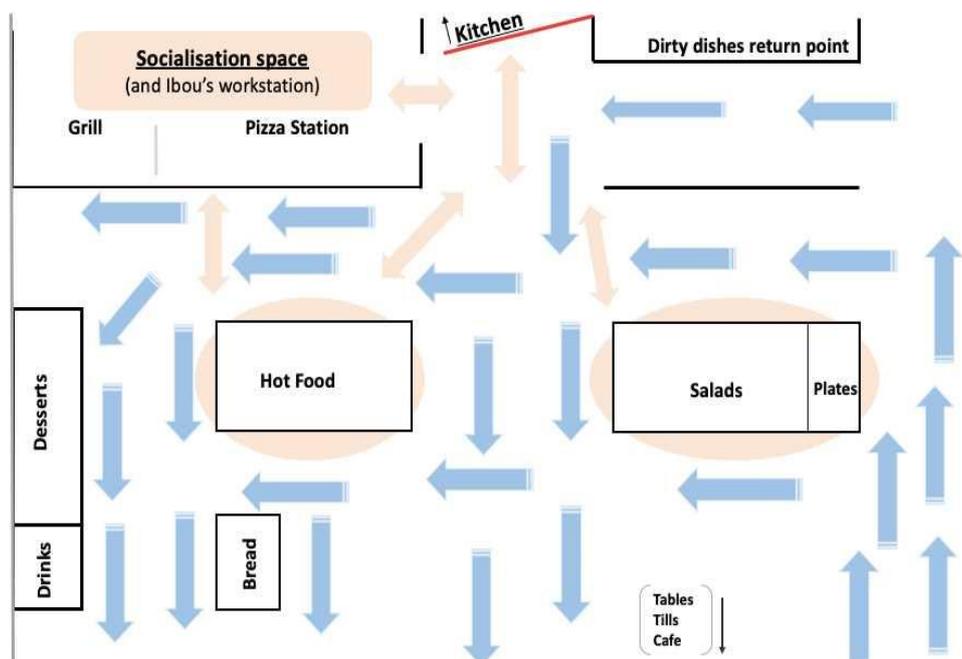


Figure 23: Front of House (FoH) Layout. This space is fully accessible for the diners, apart from the kitchen door. The blue arrows illustrate the typical customer flow during lunch hours. The beige colour represents the most visited spaces by the kitchen employees. The waiting staff usually gets smaller items like bread baskets, desserts etc.

After working together with the line cooks, it appeared that one employee in particular, Ibou, was in an influential position because he tended to bridge the language gap between different employees (and customers) and his workstation had a central location. This is explained next.

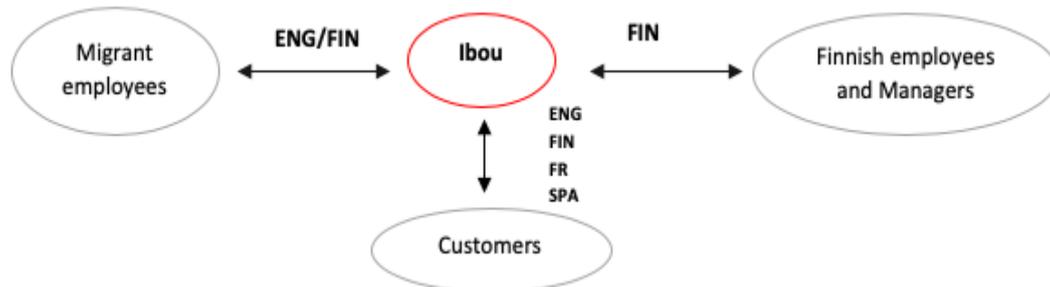


Figure 24: Ibou’s language resources with the main research participants. His native language is excluded from the illustration as he is not using it at work.

As shown above, Ibou speaks five²⁰ languages (mostly translating between Finnish and English, occasionally using French) which allows him to engage and respond to different language needs. He is also easily approachable by customers and employees due to his physical location. In the mornings (approx. 7 am to 11 am) he works at the BoH where his workstation is right in the middle of the kitchen next to Heikki, the Head Chef (see *Figure 22*). During lunch times (approx. 11 am-14 pm) he is responsible for the grill station from where he can see the entire FoH (*Figure 23*). Due to his workstation’s central location, all staff members constantly pass him as they go/leave the kitchen and many use his workspace for socialising and/or resting.

If we look at the layouts on previous page, there are limited opportunities to talk privately in the kitchen due to its open space and managers’ presence whereas at the FoH employees are surrounded by the customers. Ibou’s grill station, thus, is the only space separating employees from diners which explains why most of the small talk happens behind this counter. Therefore, after the first days of observations it became clear that Ibou is physically and language-wise approachable for both FoH and BoH employees as well as customers.

With this in mind I implemented a data collection strategy that sought to take advantage of Ibou’s central location and level of interactions. After building rapport with Ibou, I approached him about carrying the recorder and microphone. Even though it was made clear that he can withdraw from the study at any point and can switch off the recorder, it resulted in him carrying the device for three full workdays.

²⁰ His native language not included in the illustration as he is not using it at work.

Prior to moving to the excerpts, I will introduce the main employees appearing in the interactions. A short profile of these individuals is presented in the table below.

Pseudonym	Position and work experience from D&C restaurants ²¹	Main responsibilities
Pekka	Executive/Group Chef • 25 years	Special orders; business clients; inventory, food orders and other administrative tasks. Spends most of the time in the office.
Heikki	Kitchen Duty Manager & Head Chef • +10 years	Managing the kitchen staff; going through the daily menus and ensuring the food “goes out” smoothly; food supplies
Ryan	“Extra” Sous Chef • 8 years	Warm dishes; ovens (e.g. does not make the oven-baked desserts but is responsible of warming them)
Akene	Pantry chef • 2 years	Cold buffet dishes
Ibou	Trainee Sauté Chef & Grill Cook • Approx. 2 years (on-off at various D&C locations) *	Warm dishes; sauces; grill station; helps with the inventory
Mali	Trainee Cook • 3 months + 3 months. *	Assists with the warm dishes; buffet fill-ups

**Both, Ibou and Mali, are at the final stages of their culinary degrees. After finishing the internships, Heikki sends his evaluation to their teachers and they need to pass the final theory exams before being rewarded with the professional cookery certificates. They study at different institutions in Helsinki; Ibou attends a Finnish taught programme and Mali an English one.*

Table 7: Part of the kitchen staff at Finlicious, i.e. those mentioned in the excerpts.

As we can see from the table, Ibou’s official role during the fieldwork was a trainee cook, however, the data shows a far more complex picture in terms of his claimed and projected positioning. More specifically, he enacts a senior role to other migrant employees²² on the basis of his language skills which is accepted by his managers. This is Ibou’s second traineeship at this location and he appears to be a valued team member, despite his limited work experience. For example, on my first day of fieldwork Ibou came back from a month long holiday. The employees reported the kitchen being ‘chaotic’ during his absence. On the day, he also brought some delicacies from his home country and gathered employees together (in Finnish) for tasting. It can be said that he is highly ‘visible’, as opposed to the employees in chapter 5. However, it should be noted that the Restaurant Manager of Finlicious has volunteered to take part in different pilots and traineeship programmes that seek to provide work opportunities for people who might find it challenging to find employment otherwise. In addition Heikki, the Head Chef and Duty Manager, reported in the interview that he enjoys mentoring new cooks,

²¹ Total years from various D&C restaurants, not Finlicious only. Due to confidentiality, I cannot provide more detailed information about the participants.

²² Not all presented here due to space limits.

however due to his level of English his ability to instruct English speakers is limited. Nevertheless, we can see that the set-up varies significantly from Meet'n'Eat in terms of professional support.

When it comes to Ibou's interpersonal relationships with others, the migrant employees tended to orient towards each other in this location. In the morning briefings everyone sat together but non-Finnish employees tended to socialise more with each other. This was also observable during lunch breaks when they would often sit together whereas the Finnish kitchen staff ate at separate tables with the waiting staff. The migrant employees mixed both Finnish and English in their interactions with each other. At the time of the fieldwork Finlicious had two trainees that were supposed to be mentored by Heikki. However, Heikki appeared to trust in Ibou's ability of finishing the work tasks independently. In addition, I did not observe him guiding Mali, the second trainee. Instead, Ibou was instructing her and acted as the linguistic gatekeeper and intermediary between the two. Unlike Ibou, Mali is doing her cooking degree in English and has limited knowledge of Finnish, whereas Heikki's English is restricted. During the fieldwork period, Finlicious's Sous Chef was on sick leave and was replaced by Ryan, an experienced extra Chef. Ryan is a native English speaker who, according to his account, has not learned Finnish as people want to speak to him in English. Due to this, he tended to turn to Ibou quite a lot during the first couple of days. The kitchen also has two other permanent non-native speaking employees; Akene at the salad workstation and Duc in the dishes (dishes usually had two employees – Duc and extras that were changing on a daily basis). Akene and Duc work rather independently but during the breaks they socialise with Ibou. In addition, as some of the Finnish staff members - both FoH and BoH - use Ibou's grill station for resting and small talk, he had some interactions with the local employees.

In order to illustrate how language resources contribute to power im/balance between employees, the following sections are divided into four parts. First, I will provide examples of how limited Finnish language skills influence kitchen operations. Then I will discuss the power distance between Finnish and migrant employees, which strengthens a gatekeeper's, i.e. Ibou's, position. The third section concentrates on Ibou's role enactment as a senior figure and co-leader of the migrant staff. Finally, I will show how this position is at times resisted by the employees. Together the excerpts demonstrate the existence of multiple hierarchies which go beyond the official organisational titles.

6.2.1. Language and kitchen operations

As explained in section 4.4.4., all studied multilingual research sites had an informal gatekeeper disseminating information between Finnish and non-Finnish speaking employees. What this means is that migrant employees who do not speak Finnish sufficiently enough turn to the gatekeepers for help, who were in this study migrant employees themselves.

The first excerpt provides an example of how migrant employees orient to each other for help with Finnish words. This was a commonly observed and recorded pattern in which migrants try to figure out amongst themselves²³ the meanings of different Finnish words, or how to write and spell them. Sometimes this results in laughter and joking, other times in frustration, e.g. if one is expected to know the terminology. The second excerpt shows how a lack of knowledge in the Finnish language can be costly, as it slows down the kitchen processes. The main focus here is on the *consequences* of language limitations.

Excerpt 1: Language learning on the job

Context: Before taking the food from the kitchen to be served at the FoH, Mali notices that the ingredients are not stated on the food labels. These are extremely important artefacts due to diners' possible allergies and food restrictions. The following interaction starts when Ibou approaches Mali and she takes the initiative on the matter:

	Spoken Data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	I: Mali if you want when you have time	
2.	M: [give	
3.	me a minute (.) I have here <Mali points at	
4.	the empty food labels>	
5.	I: o:h my: go:d!	
6.	M: I know (.) give me a minute	
7.	I: okay hyvä (.) se on tosi tärkeä homma (.)	<i>good (.) it's very important job</i>
8.	kiitos kiitos (...)	<i>thank you thank you</i>
9.	kirjota tähä basilika suola pippuri <Mali starts writing>	<i>write here basil salt pepper</i>
10.	joo um bas um tossa teriyaki	<i>yes um bas um there's teriyaki</i>
11.	te:ri:ya::ki	
12.	M: um te::	
13.	I: [ri:ya:ki <both start laughing>	
14.	M: te:ri:i:	
15.	I: [ya:	

²³ With the exception of one migrant participant in Case Study 2 who is in a managerial position and is surrounded by Finnish colleagues. This to be discussed later.

16. **M:** [ki
17. **R:** teriyaki
18. **I:** joo (.) kastike (.) laita tonne kastike (.) *yes (.) sauce (.) write there sauce*
19. sitte päivämäärä (.) day of today *then the date*
20. **M:** kas-ti:ke: and today? *sauce <slowly spelled in Finnish>*
21. **I:** yeah today is the eight
22. **M:** ninth!
23. **I:** o:h right (.) sorry <laughs>
24. um and this one tom((a))atti *tomato*
25. **M:** to:ma:
26. **I:** [(t)ti
27. **M:** a (.) how many a [=letters]?
28. **I:** u:m um yksi (.) ja laita kaksi t:tä (.) joo (.) *one [=misspelled in Finnish] and put two t's (.) yes*
29. **M:** woohoo!
30. **I:** <laughs> ok öljy *oil*
31. **M:** like this? [=writes letter ö]
32. **I:** yeah
33. **M:** like that? [=writes l]
34. **I:** yeah
35. **M:** like that? [=writes j]
36. **I:** yeah
37. **M:** like um mitä? *what?*
38. **I:** öljy *oil*
39. **M:** like?
40. **I:** y [=letter] like u
41. **M:** o?
42. **I:** niinku näin <writes it himself> *like this*
43. **M:** a::
44. **I:** sit suola (.) pippuri (.) and *then salt (.) pepper (.) and*
45. **M:** [suola? *[salt?*
46. **I:** joo (...) sit pippuri (.) mustapippuri *yes (...) then pepper (.) black pepper*
47. **M:** mu:s-ta *black [=spells slowly in Finnish]*
48. **I:** [pippuri *[pepper*
49. **M:** pi: <starts laughing>
50. **I:** [ppuri
51. **M:** pu?
52. **I:** joo (.) ja ri (.) very good *yes (.) and ri*
<Mali hands the marker to Ibou and he finishes the list of ingredients>

Here we can see how Mali asks for “a minute” in order to start a new work task. She cannot seem to find the correct word to describe the empty food labels, and instead uses body gestures to signal her intentions of writing the ingredients herself, i.e. by pointing at the labels and holding a marker. Despite taking the initiative the excerpt illustrates how she relies on Ibou’s help. Even though both are trainee cooks, Ibou has an advantage because of his language skills and longer in-house experience (see the profiles in *Table 7*). This can be seen in him taking the lead by thanking Mali (lines 7 and 8) for remembering this task, and then advising her what

ingredients to write and how. Even though the two are behind the schedule, he helps Mali to write seven words until finishing the rest of the ingredient list himself. As can be seen from the excerpt, teaching new words and writing them for the first time can be quite time-consuming and requires repetition. In line 44, for example, Ibou lists two basic ingredients (salt and pepper) and is about add the third one until Mali interrupts him and asks to go back to the first one (salt). Perhaps she was aware of the time limitation, which is why she willingly passed the responsibility to Ibou by handing the marker to him after line 52.

The excerpt can be read as an illustration of how migrant employees *do* want to learn the Finnish language should they be given the right environment and support, or “safe houses” as Canagarajah (2016) terms it. This, however does not always happen. Being informed by the context, I knew that Mali had set herself a goal to learn one new Finnish word each day as did her colleagues. Achievement of personal goals, however, is dependent on the support of the environment. Migrants often face hostile or exclusionary practices at work (Kirilova & Angouri, 2017; Baxter & Wallace, 2009). Note the following incident from my fieldnotes (with added commentary to facilitate the reading) which provides further context for *Excerpt 1*: on day 4 Mali is on duty in the kitchen and is asked by her Finnish co-workers to read out loud a sticker on a serving cart saying: “edustuskäyttöön” (‘for representation purpose’ in English). It is a phonetically complex word and it takes Mali several attempts through comments that come under the pretext of help but actually add pressure by her co-workers. After successfully pronouncing the word, her colleagues applaud and smile at her. This could have been perceived as a sign of support until the following comment: “[...] *she can read but it’s another issue whether she has any clue what she’s reading*”, which results in the Finnish employees laughing. This happens in Mali’s presence who smiles and immediately leaves the space. I note ‘to follow up’. When I asked about the incident those present and making the comment above, it was justified as Mali’s wish of wanting to learn Finnish. Considering that they did not explain the meaning of the word, this “teaching” appeared to serve as entertainment for the Finnish employees’ rather than Mali’s learning needs.

Nevertheless, in the above presented excerpt Mali appears to enjoy the support from Ibou which can be detected in her exclamation of joy and overt expression in line 29 (“*wohoo!*”), and excited interjection in line 43 (“*aaa*”) after learning how to write a new word. Here we can also see how this is a reciprocal process; namely, Ibou enables this by instructing her letter by letter

(e.g. between lines 31-42), providing positive feedback (lines 7 and 52) and responding with laughter to her expressions (e.g. in lines 23 and 30).

However, when non-native speakers are expected to coordinate these type of work responsibilities amongst themselves, it can occasionally result in mistakes. For example, in the above excerpt “tomato” was misspelled in Finnish. Even though some diners may spot the mistake, this is still a relatively minor issue compared to misinformation about the health and safety instructions addressed in *section 4.4.4*. Kitchen managers delegating managerial responsibilities to gatekeepers on the basis of their (perceived) language skills rather than experience can be problematic, as will be addressed in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 2: Time loss and productivity

Context: Ryan, an experienced Chef covering for a permanent Sous Chef, asks Ibou’s advice for a recipe. Hierarchically Ryan is in a higher position, however, having limited Finnish understanding and working in a new kitchen environment sets certain limitations on his role as a Sous Chef. The data shows that he approaches Ibou more frequently than his superiors, even though Ibou is a trainee. Language appears to play a crucial role in this decision as he can speak to Ibou in English. This, however, delays the kitchen processes as shown in the next excerpt.

	Spoken Data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	R: sipuli and valkosipuli?	<i>onion and garlic?</i>
2.	I: joo	<i>yeah</i>
3.	R: pakaste and fresh?	<i>frozen</i>
4.	I: yeah it's like u:m pakaste sipuli	<i>frozen onion</i>
5.	R: pakaste sipuli or pakaste valkosipuli?	<i>frozen onion or frozen garlic?</i>
6.	I: yes	
7.	R: and then I brrrr? [=makes a sound of a blender]	
8.	I: [brrr yes <both walk to the freezer>	
9.	you can look in the small fridge (.) there	
10.	should be sipuli (8sec)	<i>onion</i>
11.	down look down (.) you find?	
12.	R: valkosipuli [unclear?]	<i>garlic</i>
13.	I: then we can check the big fridge (45 seconds later:)	
14.	you didn't find?	
15.	R: no there are no frozen ones here <Ibou walks to the big freezer to help Ryan>	
16.	I: put this one here (.) if we can't find one	
17.	we use fresh (.) Ryan! <laughs> here (.)	
18.	usually when I see the box I recognize it <they take the box down and open it>	

19. **R:** usually it's in a brown box
 20. **I:** um sometimes (.) I think it should
 21. be this one
 (42 seconds later)
 22. you know what?
 23. **R:** what?
 24. **I:** we take the fresh one and cut it so small
 25. then you put it in the oven for about
 26. two three minutes
 27. **R:** okay
 28. **I:** then it's going to be very good and
 29. in front of Mali where I always cut
 30. there's an open [unclear?]
 <Ryan follows Ibou's instructions. Ibou approaches Heikki 1 min 4 sec later:>
 31. hänellä loppu (.) siel ei niinku oo *he ran out of (.) there are no like*
 32. pakastesipulia vaan siel on tuoresipulia *frozen onions but there are fresh ones*
 33. **H:** joo-o mihinkä? *ye:ah for what?*
 33. **I:** tohon <points at the dish> paahtaa *that <points at the dish> roast*
 34. pikkusen *a little bit*
 35. **H:** a:: ei siihe mitään sipulia tartteta *a:: it doesn't need any onions*

Here we can see a task-oriented interaction where the speakers spent nearly 6 minutes searching for unnecessary ingredient. It also illustrates how experienced kitchen employees (i.e. see Ryan's profile in *Table 7*) may turn to gatekeepers due to language issues rather than asking for help from the local managers. From an efficiency point of view this means that the kitchen lost 12 minutes of labour time on an issue that took 11 seconds to solve with the Head Chef (lines 31-35). This in itself may not sound like a significant matter, however, when similar patterns begin to accumulate throughout the day it slows down the kitchen operations. For example, on this particular day the kitchen team was behind schedule which resulted in negative customer feedback. Consequently, the FoH staff had to deal with the complaints which again caused tensions between the kitchen employees and waiting staff.

Even though the construction of in-groups based on migrant status provides support (Canagarajah, 2016), it may also further divide these employees from their host-country colleagues (Lising & Piller, 2014). Ryan, for example, admitted not learning Finnish because at least one of his colleagues always speaks English sufficiently enough. This, however, means that he makes himself dependent on English speakers, i.e. Ibou in this context. Moreover, in this interaction Ryan does not question Ibou's advice despite being more experienced with longer in-house knowledge from D&C restaurants. For instance, in line 19 Ryan draws on his earlier knowledge ("*usually it's in a brown box*"), which is undermined by Ibou in the next line

(“*um sometimes*”). In this instance Ryan is right, and Ibou decides to give alternative instructions after failing to find the frozen onions. Giving instructions assumes specific significance because of the uptake of responsibility (Sarangi & Clarke, 2002). By following Ibou’s instructions Ryan may hide behind language to avoid certain work responsibilities (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing, 2014; Lauring & Klitmoller, 2015). For example, the recordings shows that on two occasions he shifted the blame away from himself when mistakes occurred.

Because Ibou’s superiors (Head Chef and Executive Chef) believe him to be proficient English and Finnish speaker, they trust him to translate and guide other migrant employees due to their own English language limitations. For this reason, even though being a trainee, Ibou is *legitimised* to claim more senior position by his supervisors within the limits of him instructing international employees only. However, the data shows that Ibou is sometimes struggling with both Finnish and English, hence occasional misunderstandings are inevitable. In this excerpt, as a native English speaker Ryan’s use of Finnish words and the “brrr” sound in line 7 (“*and then I brrrr?*”) suggests that he is doubtful that Ibou will understand his English without a communicative aid, i.e. the added sound mimicking a blender. Moreover, Ibou, for example, confuses fridge with freezer in lines 9 and 13 but in this interaction Ryan understood the meaning. On another occasion, Ibou asked Ryan to prepare turkey when he meant chicken, which could have been a costly mistake without the Head Chef’s early intervention. What this shows is that competence is superficially projected by technical ability in the language (e.g. Ibou has not passed yet either the houses’ or culinary school’s assessments). It is Ibou’s *perception of language competence* that got him in a position of power which highlights the ideological assessments of language abilities.

The chosen excerpts presented two out of many examples where migrant employees try to be proactive and take agency of their work but by so doing they may also slow down the overall kitchen processes, especially if they are not sure about the work procedures. The perceived power distance from their Finnish colleagues appears to bring migrant employees closer together whilst avoiding the local ones. This is discussed next.

6.2.2. Power (and linguistic) distance with the Finnish managers

A wide array of studies have shown how language contributes to the formation of groups at workplaces, which can lead to the sociolinguistic exclusion of one (or more) group (e.g. Lönsmann, 2014; Tange & Lauring, 2009). In the following two excerpts I will seek to explain first, how language and different communicative styles may influence the power distance

between Finnish and non-Finnish speaking employees by focusing on the Executive Chef. Here I will show a Finnish employee's perspective to provide a more balanced view of language use. The second excerpt, demonstrates the consequences of the perceived power distance; specifically, how it allows the gatekeeper, Ibou, to use his power on other migrant employees in order to maintain his own authority.

Excerpt 3: Managers absence

Context: The kitchen staff is slightly behind schedule which causes tensions at the BoH. Ryan and Ibou have finished the preparations with the first dish and Ibou starts giving instructions on the next task until the following interaction occurs between him, Ryan and Pekka.

1. I: let's put like fish in the oven
2. R: okay (.) where's that u:m the head chef?
3. I: what do you want?
4. R: oh um it's just
5. P: [everything sorted?
6. R: y:eah
7. P: great!

Ryan asks for the superior Chef (Heikki) prior to acting on Ibou's directive in line 2. His articulation and intonation of prolonged "um" signals hesitation whether he should carry on with his question. Ibou's rather abrupt counter question in the next line ("*what do you want?*") seems to surprise Ryan, which can be interpreted from his use of interjection ("oh") followed by another hesitation marker ("um") and mitigating device ("just") that can be all perceived as indicators of Ryan's hesitancy in confronting Ibou with his concern. The Executive Chef, Pekka, overhears Ryan's request and intervenes. Rather than letting Ryan to finish his sentence, Pekka interrupts him and issues a form of question that can be described as interrogative in that the only answer options are either 'yes' or 'no'. Ryan's answer ("*y:eah*") with the long opening glide conveys a nuance which can be read as a sign of only partial agreement or hesitation. Namely, the unexpected question may have put him under pressure to give the "right" (yes) or "less right" (no) answer. In this regard, Holmes and Chiles (2010) argue that questions can be used as control devices in the workplaces. Pekka's intervention and question can be interpreted as enactment of power and authority as he influences the direction of talk (ibid). This is reinforced in his response to Ryan ("*great!*"), which suggests that Ryan provided the expected "correct" answer.

I focus here on the Executive Chef to provide an alternative interpretation, and perspective. While this interaction and many other interactions in which his participation in English tends to be short (mainly giving directives) may portray Pekka's management style in an authoritarian light, it is worth pointing out that this is his first kitchen with English speaking staff. He has decades of work experience from a Finnish-Swedish populated town where his colleagues were mainly Swedish speaking, which is also Pekka's native language. As a relatively new employee at Finlicious, Pekka reported²⁴ feeling that his position as an Executive Chef is threatened due to his self-assessed "bad English". Indeed, he evaluates his English proficiency to be at the level where he feels being capable of giving simple orders but admitted deliberately avoiding longer conversations with non-Finnish speakers. Hence, in contrast to the earlier suggested interpretation it could be argued that with his limited involvement Pekka is still trying prove his place by performing the role of an Executive Chef and engage with the English speaking employees, even if the level of communication stays 'thin' (Tange & Lauring, 2009). Highlighting this seems relevant because Pekka is not the only one with such perception. Nevertheless, Ryan did not get the chance to speak to the Head Chef nor finish his sentence. Such 'thin interactions' with local employees may strengthen gatekeepers' positions as non-Finnish speakers prefer to turn to them for help and support. This is illustrated in the next example.

Excerpt 4: Avoiding "them"

Context: Mali is preparing a dish but is missing an ingredient, and approaches Ibou on the matter.

	Spoken Data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	M: where is kermaviili?	<i>sour cream</i>
2.	I: u:m ask Heikki I think	
3.	M: [o:h here here here	
4.	I: I think you can do that u:m let me see <reads	
5.	the recipe out loud:> ruohosipuli basilika	<i>chives basil</i>
6.	chip chip <makes a chopping sound>	
7.	it's really good really good if you have lime (.) <tastes the soup>	
8.	hei ihan oikeesti suola (.) suola ja	<i>hey seriously salt (.) salt and</i>
9.	M: [mutta hän sanoo <u>a:h!</u>	<i>[but he [=Heikki] says <u>a:h!</u></i>
10.	I: toi kyl ihan <u>oikeesti</u> tarvii <Ibou takes the vegetable stock powder from the shelf and is about to add it into the soup>	<i>it <u>really</u> needs it</i>

²⁴ Interview data

11. **M:** but if you put it they won't like it (.) if you put
12. this one [=the stock] it won't melt you know?
13. **I:** really?
14. **M:** yeah like a thick texture
15. **I:** this one? <points at the powder>
16. **M:** um but (.) but what he (Heikki) thinks?
17. **I:** I can I can let you know
18. **M:** I cannot do it (.) <whispers> ask after you (?)
<Ibou shouts across the kitchen:>
19. **I:** onks tähä ollenkaa kasvislientä? *is there a vegetable stock for this?*
20. **H:** häh? *huh?*
21. **I:** se ei maistu niinku um kasvikselle *it doesn't taste of like um vegetables*
22. **H:** ei se oikeen niin (.) tai sit maustat vielä *not really yeah (.) or you can season it*
23. suolalla *more with salt*
24. **I:** joo okei se maistuu vähän niinku juures *yeah okay it tastes a bit of root*
25. niinku *vegetables like*
26. **H:** [niin maistuu juures mut sit taas sielä on *[yeah tastes of roots but it has*
27. hentoja makuja (.) siellä on porkkanaa, *delicate flavours (.) it has carrots,*
28. palsternakkaa ja sit se mantelimaito (.) *parsnip and that almond milk*
29. se ei voi olla semmonen *it can't be like*
30. **I:** [joo niin semmonen maukas *[yeah like tasty*
31. **H:** niin (.) normisuola vaan kohilleen ja sitte *yes (.) with the right amount of salt and*
32. siihe niinku (.) toki jos vielä tuntuu et se tarvii *then like (.) surely if it still feels that it's*
33. viel kasvisliemen niin voi sinne *missing the veg stock you can add it a*
34. vähän laittaa *little bit*
35. **I:** joo se voi maistuu vähän paremmalle *yeah it can make it taste a bit better*
36. **H:** mut sitä ei kannata laittaa kokonaan sillee *but it's better not to put it straight from*
37. suoraan pussista *the bag*
38. **I:** joo *yeah*
39. **H:** koska sit se jää semmoseks kokkareiseks *because then it will stay lumpy*
40. **I:** mm kokkareiseks *uhum lumpy*
41. **H:** sen voi sekottaa pieneen määrään *it can be mixed with a small amount of*
42. vettä ja laittaa sit sinne *water and then added in*
43. **I:** okei (.) Mali kuule <laughs and walks to *okay (.) Mali listen*
44. Mali> he said you put a little bit of water first
45. and then after that you throw it in
46. not so much a little bit (.) o:h too much
<laughs>
47. yeah good work (.) a little bit of water (.) not
48. so much (.) yeah it's very good (.) leave it
<Mali starts stirring the soup without saying anything>

Recipes are important artefacts in the kitchen context and controlling the exact ingredients and preparation procedure indexes expertise as well as power in decision making. In this excerpt when Mali asks for a missing ingredient from Ibou – that she immediately finds herself in line 3– Ibou stays next to her and takes control of the preparation. More specifically, he starts reading the recipe out loud, provides a recommendation (line 7) and then switches from English language to Finnish to issue a directive (lines 8 and 10) in regards to adding more salt.

Mali, however, does not accept Ibou's advice unquestionably and contrasts his advice with that of the Head Chef's possible reaction. Mali's expressive reply in line 9 ("*but he says aaah!*") implies Heikki's disapproval of adding more salt. Ibou then switches to Finnish and uses an intensifier: "it really needs it" which contributes to making his statement stronger. He then acts upon it by starting to search for the vegetable stock himself. Again, Mali questions him by making an assumption that "*they* won't like it" (line 11) which is followed by her telling Ibou that the product he chose is not appropriate on account of its texture (lines 11, 12 and 14). She then reiterates her concern in terms of getting Heikki's approval but the hesitation pause in line 16, whispering and asking Ibou to approach Heikki on her behalf (line 18) reflects her diffidence in interacting with the Head Chef.

This part of the excerpt raised the following points of interest: Mali's referral to "them" not liking the food. In these work contexts in particular food constitutes a cultural artefact, which plays a significant role in daily work life. For example, Finnish food is described to be simple and bland by many non-local employees, which can lead to different understandings in regards to e.g. seasoning as shown in this excerpt. Like the stereotypical comparisons of different nationalities, various cuisines and food serve the same purpose where "ours" versus "theirs" are juxtaposed. The perceptions of the cultural 'Other' whether drawing on ethnicity or food like in this context are foregrounded in narratives of difference. Marra *et al.*, (2014) in a few linguistic studies on food have shown that food plays an important part for ethnic and cultural distinctiveness, and hence can provide a useful lens for understanding different groups at workplaces. Here, Mali's "*them*" and "*they* won't like it", thus, could refer to the Finnish employees and diners finding the soup too salty. Categories of "us" and "them" also index a team identity which contributes to workplace in/exclusion depending on the membership belonging. The Head Chef, Heikki, being categorised as "one of them".

In addition, Otherisation of Heikki could refer to the "boss" and hierarchical remoteness of migrant employees. Particularly asking Ibou to approach Heikki carries meaning and in this context it shows the perceived power distance re-enacted through the ways in which the message is signalled; whispering. Language also contributes to (perceived) power distance as Mali's Finnish is at a beginners' level while Heikki rarely uses English. Hence, her dependency on Ibou when it comes to information sharing and translations (Suni, 2017). This example provides a good representation of many other migrant employees' working lives in which they

prefer to approach one of “us” rather than one of “them”. This again may leave them in disadvantageous positions as will be illustrated in the second half of the excerpt.

Continuing the reading of the excerpt, in line 19 Ibou asks Heikki about an ingredient by shouting across the kitchen. Whereas this is quite common way of interacting in the kitchens (e.g. Fine, 1996), Ibou does not usually do it – nor other non-Finnish employees. Nevertheless, as he moves closer to the Head Chef his demeanour changes and he shows more deference to his supervisor. For example, in lines 21 and 24 he is lowering his voice, uses a hesitation marker (“*um*”) and softeners (“*like*”, “*a bit*”) prior to criticising the lack of flavour. After this, he gives affirmative answers by agreeing with the Head Chef, repeating what he is saying and is trying to guess what Heikki says next by finishing or interrupting his sentences (lines 30 and 40). On one hand it could be said that by so doing he is trying to prove his expertise (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999) to his superior. On the other hand, perhaps by verbally repeating the words he could be trying to learn and get accustomed with the right kitchen terminology.

From line 43 onwards Ibou’s assertiveness returns when he goes back to Mali’s workstation which can be seen in him giving directives again (“*throw it in*”, “*not so much*”, “*leave it*”) as well as compliments (“*good work*”, “*it’s very good*”). The explicit statements of approval and instructions signifies Ibou’s move to take on a supervisor’s role and hence his power over Mali (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015). This is, at least partly, successful as indexed by Mali finishing the work tasks as well as the pattern of Mali returning to Ibou across the dataset.

This interaction is particularly interesting because in the first half of the excerpt Mali is taking agency and demonstrates her professional expertise. She stops Ibou in line 11 from making a critical mistake that would have ruined the dish, i.e. turned it lumpy. She then asks Ibou to confirm this with Heikki because she does not want to approach him herself. Later, even though she was correct, which was confirmed by Heikki (line 39), Ibou does not give any acknowledgement to her on the matter. This could potentially negatively impact Mali’s confidence and decision-making, and reinforces her reliance on Ibou.

The excerpt captures the situated negotiation of Ibou’s authority; specifically, gatekeeping puts Ibou in the position where he can decide what information to share and what to discard. Indeed, studies from corporate contexts have shown that gatekeeping (Charles, 2006; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan-Piekkari *et al.*, 1999a) can function as a resource for ‘boundary spanning’ (Barner-Rasmussen *et al.*, 2014) in that it gives control beyond official title. Here, this is seen

in Ibou ignoring his superior's advice of adding salt, instead he follows his initial plan of using the stock powder. This is one of many recorded interactions that illustrate how Ibou can bypass the Executive and Head Chefs' instructions and be (informally) in control. Apart from situated and interpersonal factors always relevant in the reading of interaction, his linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1992) allow him to access different centres of power and to re-enact boundaries locally. I illustrate this further below.

6.2.3. Explicit seniority role enactment

Ibou's access to the kitchen's linguistic ecosystem is part of him doing his professional role and claiming power in this context. I have already shown how Ibou is *positioned by others* either as equal and/or senior to his peers. The following excerpt illustrates how Ibou *self-positions* himself by explicitly showing his power.

Excerpt 5: Reprimanding Mali

Context: Ibou is working in the FoH at the grill (see *Figure 23*) when he sees that some of the dishes on the buffet tables are running out. It is Mali's responsibility to bring in the warm food from the BoH to FoH. About 20 minutes before the following interaction, Ibou had asked Mali to make sure she always has two boxes of food ready to be served in order to avoid empty food trays. This excerpt shows the interaction taking place when Ibou approaches Mali on the matter and takes control of the situation.

Spoken data	English translations of Finnish utterances
1. I: what do you have for the next one? ota vihannekset	<i>take the vegetables</i>
2. M: yes (.) don't make me work yet <laughs> take it easy <both start laughing>	
3. I: but it's finished	
4. M: I will I will	
5. I: se jäähtyy (.) se on kylmä	<i>it's cooling down (.) it's cold</i>
<Ibou walks to the kitchen and asks Ryan:>	
6. I: do you have the	
7. R: [what?	
8. I: munakoiso?	<i>aubergine?</i>
9. R: there's two	
10. I: where?	
11. R: in the middle oven	
12. I: is it burning?	
13. R: <u>yes</u>	
14. I: and the fish is ready?	
15. R: yes	

- <Ibou starts taking the food out of the oven>
16. **I:** because she (.) she [=Mali] didn't have it
17. **R:** I told her (.) I told her it was there
<Mali walks to the kitchen and starts helping Ibou with the food trays>
18. **I:** Mali don't touch
<Mali and Ibou bring the food on a serving cart to the FoH and start placing them on the buffet tables>
19. **I:** you see Mali (.) the reason I tell you it must look good
20. **M:** [joo [yeah
21. **I:** and be hot (.) take it [=hot storage tray]
22. **M:** help me
23. **I:** go ahead (.) like this
<Ibou walks back to the grill station>

The excerpt starts with Ibou walking to Mali and opening the floor by asking what she is planning to serve next but instead of waiting for her reply, he switches from English to Finnish and uses an imperative (“*take the vegetables*”) to tell her specifically what to do. Issuing such commands is linked with the speaker having authority of the other person (Vine, 2004; Locher, 2004). Mali agrees to act upon Ibou’s order but also expresses her tiredness (“*don’t make me work yet*”) and then asks him to “*take it easy*” (line 2). Even though Ibou responds with a laugh, he makes a point that more food needs to be brought in and reiterates this point two more times. Despite the fact that Mali says twice that she will do it Ibou tells her how the food that they are serving is getting cold and, instead of waiting for Mali’s reaction, immediately starts walking to the kitchen to get the fill-ups himself. With this act he claims authority in which he positions himself above Mali, i.e. by taking control of her work responsibility. Use of indirect directives (“*it’s finished*”) is associated with task management and Ibou here ‘does’ a team manager behaviour.

In the kitchen, Ibou and Ryan’s exchanges are short and focused on task completion (lines 6 to 15). In line 16 Ibou says that he is taking the food out because Mali did not have it. As a response, Ryan raises his voice (“*I told her, I told her it was there*”, line 17) which may index a perceived threat issued by Ibou. Namely, it is Ryan’s responsibility to ensure that the warm buffet foods are ready on time and then Mali’s job is to move them from BoH to FoH. Considering that workplaces are high-stakes settings, it is not uncommon for professionals to look ‘elsewhere’ and to attribute blame to others to justify their own positions (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). This is what seems to be happening here. At the same time, Mali walks to the kitchen and starts helping Ibou with neither saying anything to each other. Being silent is one form of enacting power and control (Pinder & Harlos, 2001). For example, according to

Bruneau (1973)²⁵ silence is one of the most powerful punishments imposed on subordinates. As we can see in this interaction Mali and Ibou have minimal exchanges, which can be interpreted as a sign of frustration. Firstly, Mali did not immediately react to Ibou's instructions, which may lead to Ibou taking control and ignoring Mali - as a punishment perhaps. Her silence, in turn, could be due to the perceived unfair treatment (Pinder & Harlos, 2001). This sequence is interrupted by Ibou's instruction: "*Mali don't touch*" (line 18), and they both continue working without talking to each other.

Following this, Ibou and Mali leave the kitchen and walk to the buffet table where Ibou expresses his disapproval towards Mali in an authoritative way. First, he refers to her twice: "*you see Mali*" (line 19). He then continues distancing himself from her and provides a rationale ("the reason *I* tell *you*, it *must* look good and be hot") of why it is important to keep the food coming from the kitchen. The use of the modal verb, "must", indicates certainty and obligation. To conclude, he uses yet another imperative ("*take it*"). However, as the food trays are too heavy for her to lift, Mali asks for Ibou's help (line 22). He shows her how to do it and then walks back to his workstation. After this, Mali does not return to the grill station where she would normally monitor the food flows, which can be a sign of her possibly avoiding Ibou after the incident.

Here we can see how the enactment of authority is constituted in various forms; in interactions, silence (as punishment) and also physical actions. Next I will present excerpts that question Ibou's position.

6.2.4. Resistance of power

Even though Ibou is in a position where he can intervene and give advice to his colleagues, the next excerpts provide examples of how power is not a commodity that can be controlled or possessed (Locher, 2004) but is, instead, (re)negotiable, dynamic, (re)produced and confirmed by interactants (ibid; Angouri, 2018; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Clegg, 1989). More specifically, the first two excerpts show how humorous comments are used as a strategy to soften criticism, whereas the last one provides an example of straight confrontation. These examples illustrate how Ibou's authority in this context is closely associated with language use and situated negotiations.

²⁵ In Pinder and Harlos, 2001

Excerpt 6: Rejection of Ibou's claims through sarcasm

Context: Kitchens have clear rules in regards to tidiness and equipment placement due to safety reasons. Mali, however, had misplaced an item, which has been removed and put back to its correct place. Prior to the interaction below, she had asked Ibou about the missing item. After telling her where to find it, Ibou stays in the kitchen and starts talking to Ryan.

1. I: she [=Mali] looked surprised
2. R: huh?
3. I: she put this [=tray] here <points at it> and now it's not there <laughs>
4. R: oh (.) did you say it to her?
5. I: yeah but I'm tired to say it you know what I mean?
6. I'm tired to say it (.) every time I feel there is something
7. R: huh?
8. I: I think all the time I say something
9. R: yeah
10. I: I don't want to get in trouble (.) usually see I'm not doing this <laughs>
11. R: um I don't think so (.) you have to
12. I: usually I'm not good in saying like do this do this! <laughs>
13. R: just tell her (.) you don't have to be angry
14. I: yeah maybe (.) there's no reason to be
15. P: joo-o like yesterday [in a sarcastic tone] <all start laughing>
<Pekka and Ryan start imitating Ibou:>
16. hurry hurry!
17. R: we need to have this now! <Pekka and Ryan laughing, Ibou walks off>

In this excerpt, Ibou claims a non-authoritarian identity of a supportive team member but this identity claim does not get support from his colleagues. Specifically, Ibou provides an account of his attempts to speak with Mali while at the same time signalling team identity to Ryan. For example, the tag question “*you know what I mean?*” (line 5) has a well-known function of initiating alignment by opening the interactional floor, and Ibou also uses the marker to allow Ryan to provide an opinion on the matter. Ryan, however, seems to either ignore the cue or fails to hear him, hence Ibou continues talking in line 6, which finally leads to a short “*yeah*” answer (line 9). Despite Ibou's probing, Ryan offers minimal involvement in the interaction.

The reference to trouble in line 10 is ambiguous one. It may refer to getting in trouble in terms of always instructing Mali. This account, however, is offered by someone who has been granted informal legitimatisation by management with the remit of supervising non-Finnish employees. Therefore, “trouble” in this context is more likely to mean not finishing the job tasks and getting possibly into trouble because of it, which again assumes a position beyond Ibou's job

description. This reading of “trouble” would provide justification for why he “has to” be in control.

In line 11, after a hesitation particle (“*um*”), Ryan finally gives an affirmative answer which leads to Ibou explaining how he is not used to telling people what to do (line 12). This indexes another attempt to build common ground with Ryan. Ryan, however, does not respond or join Ibou in laughter, rather, he advises Ibou to talk to Mali instead of being angry (line 13) to which Ibou appears to agree with. Then, in line 15, Pekka, the Executive Chef, steps into the conversation and starts it with a Finnish expression: “*joo-o*”. *Joo* on its own means *yes* in English but the prolongation/break between the o-letters and rising intonation at the end of the word changes it. Namely, “*joo-o*” could be freely translated as “*yeah right*”. Hence, even though “yes/yeah” usually signals agreement, in this context the word means the opposite. This is further emphasised by the sarcasm in: “*like yesterday*” followed by laughter. After this, Pekka starts imitating Ibou and says in a demanding voice: “*hurry, hurry!*”, which is followed by Ryan’s imitation: “*we need to have this now!*”. Humour can be used as a strategy to soften disagreement or to mitigate the effects of criticism (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Marra, 2013). In this interaction Heikki and Ryan challenge Ibou and the uptake shows that they are successful as he does not join the laughter. It might be difficult for Ibou to challenge the ironic assertions about himself due to the hierarchical status differences, hence he leaves the conversation by walking away. In the next excerpt, however, Ibou does not accept a critical comment provided by a more equal colleague as lightly. This illustrates how various positions are constantly negotiated in situ and how speaker’s relationships have an impact on the direction of interaction.

Excerpt 7: Restoring relationship after criticism

Context: The following interaction takes place after a busy lunchtime during which the FoH was referred to as the “war zone”. I was speaking with Mali at the grill station when Ibou and Akene approached us and Ibou opened the interaction by reflecting on the day.

	Spoken data	English translation of Finnish utterances
	<Ibou says to the researcher:>	
1.	I: I think we’re under too much stress (.)	
2.	when you’re stressed it’s easy to get tired	
3.	A: <u>you</u> get mad <Mali and Akene laugh>	
4.	I: I’m not mad (.) you’re mad	
5.	A: no I’m always smiling	
6.	I: well you can smile and still be mad	
7.	A: yeah inside but you can’t see it <Mali and Akene laugh>	

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--|---|
| 8. | I: | okei sä peität ni mä en nää
<Akene looks at the researcher and says:> | <i>okay you hide it so I can't see</i> |
| 9. | A: | se on ihan totta kyllä (.) ei ehdi tekee
mitää samaan aikaan | <i>it's true though (.) there's no time to do
anything at the same time</i> |
| 10. | | | |
| 11. | I: | [samaan aikaan niin | <i>[at the same time yeah</i> |
| 12. | Res: | m-hmm | |
| 13. | I: | Akene jos haluat mene syömään | <i>Akene if you want then go eat</i> |

This is another excerpt where an employee, Akene, is using a humorous comment to challenge Ibou. However, unlike with the previous excerpt in which Ibou did not question his superiors joking, this interaction takes a different form. More specifically, Ibou is trying to raise his concern about the stress and tiredness the employees are under at Finlicious when Akene adds in line 3 that Ibou also gets “*mad*”. As an adjective it could indicate an extreme form of anger and unreasonable behaviour, however, the laughter at the end suggests that this was supposed to be a jocular comment. In this example we can see how humour can function as a critical discourse device (Holmes, 2000) where one can express ‘socially risky’ opinion (Winick, 1976²⁶) to challenge someone. Mali responded positively to Akene’s comment but Ibou dis-affiliates himself from her claim by rejecting it in line 4. In the next three lines we can see how the two are quibbling. When Akene makes another comment in line 7 that results in laughter, Ibou code-switches into Finnish. This is in line with the previous excerpts in which the use of Finnish language appears to give Ibou more legitimacy of enacting seniority role. Here we can see how the Finnish language ideology contributes to Ibou claiming his position of power among the non-Finnish speaking employees. Consequently, Akene then follows Ibou and continues the conversation in Finnish (line 9) that they left off in line 2. With “*it’s true though*” (line 9) she aligns and displays agreement with Ibou’s earlier statement, which can be seen as a discourse strategy aiming to rebuild and restore their relationship.

It could be said that this was a successful move as Ibou rewards Akene by letting her to have a lunch. Alternatively, Ibou giving permission for a break could be interpreted as him showing his power by sending her off (after being laughed at). However, on the basis of my observational data and experience of the context, I lean towards the first interpretation. Usually the line cooks are expected to clean the FoH workstations together before having a break but knowing Akene was tired Ibou lets her to get away from this physical task, and finishes it himself.

²⁶ Cited in Holmes, 2000

Here we can see how managing and maintaining good collegial relationships often requires subtle ways of handling interactions. Those working with Ibou have learned that his code-switching often carries a meaning of him being serious. This can be seen in Akene's response to this, i.e. she stops joking and gives an agreeable answer. In contrast to the previous excerpt in which the interactants were hierarchically above Ibou, he does not (verbally) object to their sarcastic claims about himself. In the excerpt provided here we can see different dynamics between the employees even though they are supposed to be equal, Ibou appears to be in control.

The next and final excerpt provides an example of straight confrontation with Ryan. It shows how crossing physical spaces and hierarchical boundaries is not accepted without a level of resistance. Throughout the week Ibou kept intervening with Ryan's work tasks, and in the last days Ryan started to increasingly question Ibou's performed authority.

Excerpt 8: Straight confrontation

Context: Ibou starts tidying up the kitchen by moving Ryan's gastronomic pans when the following interaction starts:

1. R: what you're doing there Ibou?
2. I: uh?
3. R: <repeats slowly:> what are you doing?
4. I: I try to help you because
5. R: [well tell me what you're doing because sometimes you
6. do things and you don't tell me and then I have no idea what's happened
7. I: come (.) look I tell you (.) I don't wanna stress about it you know like um now I
8. everything I (.) I have been thinking (.) I cook that (?) I cook meat so maybe you can
9. just do this [=clean]
10. R: yes okay (.) just (.) just let me know
11. I: yeah no problem (.) sometimes I'm very active but tell you nothing (.) like
12. I'm not good to stand up for myself so I always work on some things
13. R: just let me know what you're doing
14. I: <Ibou laughs> yeah

This interaction occurred on Ryan's last day as an Extra Sous Chef (i.e. second in command) at Finlicious. In analysing the interactional data, it became clear that the tension between the two had built up over the week, which can be seen in Ryan explicitly expressing his frustration with Ibou on the final day several times. This excerpt presents one example of this and the inferences drawn are also in line with my observations and fieldnotes.

The interaction starts with Ryan wondering why Ibou is at his (Ryan's) workstation. Usually kitchens run based on a strict hierarchy in which designated workstations carry symbolic significance as they represent areas that show what kind of food is prepared and by whom (title). Ibou, however, keeps crossing these boundaries, which would have been unacceptable in many other kitchens. This appears to cause tensions between the two cooks. Specifically, after Ibou fails to hear Ryan's initial question (lines 1 and 2), he repeats the question in an exaggeratedly slow way with a raised tone (line 3), which in this context signals frustration. To further support this interpretation, Ryan does not accept or acknowledge Ibou's response in line 4 and interrupts him in the middle of his utterance. He then rebukes Ibou for taking actions without communicating with him first (line 6). As a response, Ibou becomes more defensive between lines 7 to 9; the reinforcing devices in turn initial position following by short pauses ("*come (.) look I tell you*" (.)) reinforce the rhetorical effect of the utterance and I read them as adding to the impression of Ibou being responsible of "*everything*". Ibou finishes his turn with an implication that Ryan's work contribution is not adequate ("*so maybe you can just do this*"). *So* is a useful device for controlling interactional agendas (Angouri, 2018) and Ibou makes good use here.

This results in Ryan acknowledging Ibou's perceptions ("*yes okay*") but he still reiterates his earlier point. In fact, he repeats his wish for better communication four times during this short interaction (line 5: "*tell me what you're doing*", line 6: "*you don't tell me*", line 10: "*let me know*", and in line 13: "*just let me know*"). Finally, this results in Ibou appearing to accept Ryan's comment and reflecting on it (line 11), which is followed by providing a rationale for his behaviour: "*I'm not good to stand up for myself so I always work on some things*" (line 12). With this he appears to backtrack from his earlier turn by explaining his position. This, in addition to the preceding turns (lines 8, 9 and 11) projects his understanding of his role at Finlicious. Namely, in this (and other) excerpt he claims being responsible of doing "*everything*" and "*always working*". And not being able to "*stand up for himself*" suggests that there might be negative consequences if the kitchen does not operate smoothly.

Considering employees' competition for work hours and fulltime positions, kitchens could be described as battlegrounds between migrant cooks and sites in which power (im)balances are reproduced, and language plays a pivotal role in this. For example, Canagarajah (2016) reports from academic context how language becomes a means for competition among colleagues and how fellow migrants might discriminate against each due to language. At Finlicious, Ibou's

managers have deliberately agreed to expand his responsibilities into supervising other migrant employees. However, as an intern Ibou should be closely mentored by Heikki. Hence, it raises questions with regards to his suitability and professional competence for guiding others at the early stage of his career, particularly in a work environment which normally include adherence to the strict hierarchy of kitchen authority (Murray-Gibbons & Gibbons, 2007; Burrows *et al.*, 2015; Fine, 1996). In this regard, as the data has shown, Ibou's position is not accepted unquestionably by other migrant employees.

Together these excerpts shed light into how authority is claimed, projected and resisted through the skilful and strategic use of language. Moving away from the native speaker model of language use, migrant employees mobilise their linguistic inventory for immediate situated purposes but also for constructing a professional identity that will allow them the access centres of power in their workplace. This leads to rewards and improves the, often, precarious positions. More on this is discussed below.

6.2.5. Summary

Case Study 1 aimed to illustrate the ways in which language and power are negotiated in rather visible yet unexplored work contexts; a multilingual kitchen. Traditionally, people get to positions of power by following the organisational structures and hierarchies (i.e. proceeding from junior to senior positions), have work experience or specialised expertise knowledge (e.g. Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; Vaara, 2003). However, data from Finlicious shows how access to different varieties of language plays an important part in (senior) role enactment and distribution of work responsibilities. Specifically, although Ibou is still in the process of learning to become a chef he demonstrates authority beyond his formal position. By having access to both Finnish and English he arguably has more power than his international colleagues who mainly speak English. Moreover, his Finnish colleagues turn to him for translations – be it in regards to other non-Finnish speaking employees or customers. Getting to this position, however, required him to prove both his professionalism and Finnish language skills. This is illustrated in the following quote which is extracted from an interview with Ibou:

when I started I had colleagues who thought that I didn't know how to be a chef because I didn't speak Finnish but when he [the senior chef] saw that I do speak um like Finnish and I do know the recipes and I can finish [...] he said to me it's nice to have you and it's good you speak Finnish. He would always comment if someone didn't speak Finnish.

Indeed this puts him in a better position compared to those with limited language skills. Ibou’s language resources and gatekeeping function as resources for “boundary spanning” (Barner-Rasmussen *et al.*, 2014) to the extent to which he can intervene, facilitate and link employees with different linguistic backgrounds. In line with Holmes’s and colleagues (e.g. 1999) criteria of how managers “do power”, Ibou often controls the development of interaction through explicit directives, appraisals, advice, warnings, silence, and (limited) information sharing. This, however, does not mean that employees automatically accept his position, as shown in the last section. Nevertheless, his gatekeeping efforts and active work involvement paid off as he was later rewarded with a full-time permanent position at Finlicious, where, as of the time of writing, he is still currently employed. The illustration below shows his enhanced position.



Figure 25: Ibou’s enhanced position.

As we can see Ibou has power over his non-Finnish speaking colleagues – including those more senior to him like Ryan and with longer in-house experience like Akene. This position is informally legitimised by the Executive and Head Chefs who *trust* in Ibou’s ability to instruct others on the basis of his language resources. However, as illustrated in section 6.2.4. this position is not accepted unquestionably. The resistance and/or compliance of his authority appeared to be associated with the knowledge of Finnish. Those with the most limited language skills (Mali and Duc, a dishwasher) stay at precarious positions and rely on Ibou’s gatekeeping.

Next the chapter turns to the second case study, which provides a non-Finnish speaking middle manager’s perspective.

6.3. Case study 2: Managing in a non-native language

6.3.1. Context and background of participants

So far I have described and analysed kitchen employees work environment and interactions. Turning to a different angle, Case Study 2 intends to provide insights from a managerial point of view by focusing on one employee in particular, “Rudo”. I will illustrate how language influences the power dynamics between Rudo as a non-native manager and his colleagues/subordinates, and consequently his professional identity construction. I aim to challenge here the static description between blue/white collar (Angouri and Piekkari, 2018) and to show the nuances of linguistic penalty processes.

Briefly about his occupational background; before joining the D&C Services Rudo was doing a degree in Hospitality and Management at an English taught programme, in Helsinki. He got a traineeship to his current workplace by using his existing networks who introduced him to his current manager. In this regard, he reports to feel that he “*got lucky*” with entering the workplace. Indeed, he is one of the rare migrant employees who has managed to climb up in the organisational hierarchy throughout the years; starting from an office trainee position to becoming a Duty Manager for dozens of D&C restaurants, cafes and pop-up bars. All of these sites operate under the same roof and are in close proximity to each other, which is why it is not uncommon for employees to change locations during work shifts and Rudo himself walking from one restaurant to another, as shown in the data.

Rudo’s work responsibilities range from managing the staff and helping them as well as maintaining good business ties with D&C’s corporate clients and suppliers among other things. He uses a metaphor of being like a ‘firefighter’ who needs to prevent and extinguish small fires throughout the work days before the flames take control. Such description can be seen as an indication of his self-perception with regards to his role in the company and significance of his role. In addition to his work commitments at D&C restaurants, he delivers presentations on motivation and empowerment in different business forums/conferences and has been invited to be a guest panellist in Finnish higher education institutions.

During the first interview he pointed out the following aspect of being in a high position as a non-native employee, which caught my attention:

the management can say that “oh look we are very diverse because we even have a supervisor who is [nationality] and nobody else has that” [...] shows they’ve done something because I don’t know any [other?] company um I mean there are lots of foreigners as dishwashers, cleaners our industry is powered by those people and like here staff come to me and say: “hey [“Rudo”] we’re so proud of you.

The above description is in line with the observations and initial discussions with his supervisors who emphasised the importance of internationalisation and need for organisational change by using Rudo as an example employee. With this it appears that he is almost put on a pedestal because of his ethnicity. As his position differs significantly from kitchen employees’ manual and routine work tasks this raised my interest with regards to his work experiences and interactions as opposed to the kitchen workers. Hence, I identified him as an interesting research participant, and shadowed him to better understand Rudo’s communication with his colleagues in his typical work environment (see methodology chapter). Altogether I spent 45 hours and 20 minutes at his workplace, out of which approx. 7 hours and 30 minutes are recorded data involving him²⁷.

Rudo shares an office with three other managers and they help each other, but unlike with Ibou in Case Study 1, he does not work in a team per se. As for his workspaces, he constantly moves from one restaurant/café to another and interacts ‘on-the-go’ with employees, customers and partners. To help the reader to follow the interactional data I present a brief summary of the main participant here, and provide more specific contextual information before each excerpt. I start with Rudo’s language biography which appears to have immediate relevance with his professional identity construction.

Rudo’s language biography

Rudo comes from a multilingual African country which was colonised by the British Empire. Due to its history, English is the primary lingua franca of the government and is the main medium of instruction in education. Therefore, Rudo considers to have two native languages; the language he uses with his family and English. According to his account being a fluent English speaker made it easier to move to Finland and helped him with his studies, although he acknowledges similar challenges described by other migrants in Chapter 4 when entering the job market:

²⁷ I also collected interview and interactional data from his colleagues, but Case Study 2 focuses specifically on Rudo.

it's very difficult for foreigners to get employed in Finland and particularly like um as a supervisor or manager or anything of that sort unless you're an engineer or doctor or specialist in some particular field but in all the basic general jobs you need to speak Finnish.

In this regard after his traineeship ended Rudo's supervisors told him that he needs to learn Finnish should he wish to build a career at D&C Services. This is seen to be important because the majority of staff Rudo is managing at the FoH are Finnish speaking as are the clientele they are serving. Acquiring language proficiency and the subsequent confidence in using Finnish in a professional setting was described as not being easy at first. For example, when Rudo had to deliver staff talks he perceived it to be:

totally horrible horrible experience like you know I'm sweating and thinking what can I possibly say? You can imagine it was so distressing like imagine standing in front of a class full of students in England and then you can't speak English at all, you know? It's absolutely horrible and that's how I felt during my professional presentations. Terrible.

Despite Rudo's initial struggles with Finnish, from status and economic point of view it could be said that his language investment has paid off (Chiswick, 2008). However, even though Rudo's supervisors encouraged him to speak Finnish, he still uses English on a daily basis and/or mixes both languages. Out of these two languages, English appears to come more naturally for him. For example, in the office he was often thinking out loud in English in front of his computer (e.g. "*mhmm good, then laskutus (=billing)*", "*done*", "*come on, work with me*", "*confirm, yes*"²⁸). Furthermore, like with the white-collar employees working at the HQs (Chapter 4), English has become a necessity also in Rudo's work environment. Namely, despite D&Cs own internal language policies (Finnish), English is the official language of many of their corporate clients. Therefore, most of the materials and presentations have to be delivered in English. This places Rudo in a better position because:

we usually have the meetings with them in English and not many of our bosses understand English then I have a bigger advantage. It's a win-win situation.

However, this also means that he is delegated responsibilities that fall outside of his job description, which Rudo feels to be overwhelming at times due to the extra workload (see also Piekkari *et al.*, 2005). The figure below illustrates his language use with different groups. The order of language illustrates preferences for language use. For example, with individual

²⁸ Recorded data

customers he is using mostly Finnish whereas with many extra employees he has a tendency to use English.

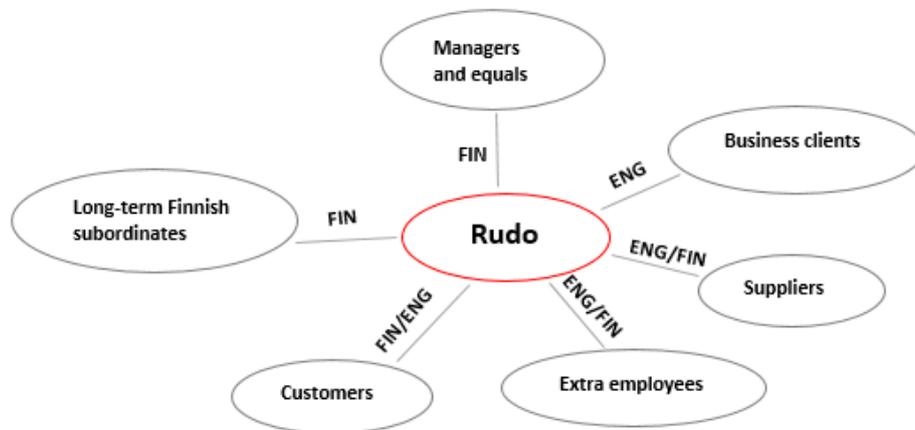


Figure 26: Rudo’s language resources.

Like the majority of migrant employees in this study, Rudo appeared to be under the impression that he would have significantly better career prospects if he was living in an English speaking country. I will start the analysis of interactional data by presenting one example (out of many) of such beliefs. It illustrates how language ideologies play a significant part in claiming (idealised) professional identity.

Excerpt 9: Language and prestige

Context: The excerpt follows from a conversation with Rudo in which he was asking the researcher about her PhD experiences at his office. At no point during that morning did I, the researcher, talk or ask about the role of language and work. This topic is initiated by Rudo.

1. **R:** you know I would have greater work opportunities if I was in England
2. than here in Finland?
3. **RES:** mm why?
4. **R:** because of the language
5. **RES:** mhmm
6. **R:** yeah I have many high school friends they’re in London and most of them
7. are bankers (.) they work in the bank and a few of them are doctors
8. one is quite um here I show you <types the name on Google search and
9. shows the person’s website> um he’s quite famous in African studies
10. you see he has stories in the Guardian UK (.) he wrote a book on [context]
11. he’s into politics (.) he’s a classmate of mine this guy here
12. **RES:** <looks at the profile:> oh nice
13. **R:** he’s tiny though <both start laughing> I don’t care I don’t care
14. **RES:** really? yeah right <laughter>
15. **R:** yeah he’s a tiny guy grr <makes a growling sound and laughs> he has to
16. boost his ego you know (..) na:h he’s a really cool guy so yeah
17. **RES:** why um why did you move to Finland?

18. **R:** because of education it's free and stuff like that and in England you have
 19. to pay for the education and a:nd I've worked with English [sports]
 20. association (.) I hosted them when they were visiting Finland and
 21. [name of a coach] said to me: "you know you just have to
 22. come to England (.) you're just wasting your life in Finland"
 23. **RES:** oh wow well is it an option or do you want to build your life here?
 24. **R:** well it's much more safe of course (.) if I wanted to be selfish and only chase the
 25. money and stuff I would move to England or the States (.) Finland is safe you
 26. know and things are gonna change (.) there's always some sunshine (.) things
 27. will change <looks at the computer screen> oh I have to finish this
 <Rudo gets back to work>

The excerpt starts with a discourse marker – *you know* – that has multiple functions in interaction (Holmes and Stubbe, 2015); here it gets the researcher's attention and creates a common agenda between me and him. In the first half of the excerpt Rudo provides a narrative of what he could have been if he was living in England, as opposed to Finland, "*because of the language*" (line 4). He juxtaposes himself to the people who have built prestigious careers in England. With this he seems to have set a high benchmark as from line 6 onwards he makes connections with his high school friends who are working in London as "*bankers*" and "*a few doctors*". He then takes action and shows the researcher a website of one "*quite famous*" (line 9) scholar and makes a remark that "*he's a class mate of mine*". After the researcher's positive response, he starts joking how the person in question needs to "*boost his ego*" (lines 15-16) due to his size (lines 13 and 15) with a tag question, "*you know*", which initiates alignment. However, as this does not result in a positive response he takes a step back and appears to assure that the depreciatory comment was not meant to be bad with concluding that he is a "*really cool guy*".

Mentioning bankers and doctors (line 7) may serve to give an impression of prestige and membership belonging (De Fina, 2011). On the one hand it appears that Rudo has constructed an imagined or projected reality in which he could have been like the people he is referring to *if* he was living in England. By so doing, he is portraying an image of the 'ideal self', i.e. "the self I want to be" (e.g. Giddens, 1991). Wieland (2010) notes that: "attending to ideal selves acknowledges that the process of constructing a self-identity is fueled not only by a desire to be unique but also by a desire to assimilate and be accepted by others" (:504). Since this project takes identities as constructed and negotiated instead of given (section 2.2.), professional identities can become sites of struggle in terms of 'the ideal' and current work positions, and language seems to play a pivotal role in this. The sense of who Rudo could have been is further supported in the second half of the excerpt, which is discussed in the next paragraph.

Alternatively, linked to acceptance, Rudo might be trying build a rapport with the researcher by choosing to show his connection with another academic. To a degree his efforts are successful as the joking in lines 13 to 16 indexes comfortableness between the speakers to the extent where the researcher feels confident enough to tease Rudo (line 14).

Moving forward to the second half of the excerpt, in lines 19 and 21 Rudo mentions a highly regarded English sports association and its famous coach, who according to his account, advised him to “*just come to England*” because he is “*just wasting [his] life in Finland*” (lines 21-22). Here Rudo is not only associating himself with the ‘great names’ which functions to show his social and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) but also seems to use the coach as a resource for validating his earlier statements in regards to having a better career in England, i.e. enhancing the image of the ‘ideal self’. Moreover, the use of adverb ‘*just*’ on two occasions implies unproblematic easiness of moving from Finland to England. Interesting to note is that Rudo does not mention his qualifications or expertise, as if language is the only limitation stopping him from achieving his full professional potential.

However, in lines 24 and 25 he almost appears to disaffiliate himself from the earlier statements by stating that if he “*wanted to be selfish and only chase the money*” he would “*move to England or the States*”. This suggests that he has other (higher?) values than “chasing the money”. Here he appears to be drawing on the stereotypical national discourses in which the US and UK are compared to Finland, the latter one being described as “*much more safe*” (line 24) as opposed to the former ones.

What makes this excerpt noteworthy is that similar patterns of argument are provided by other migrant research participants in which they are be under the impression that they would have much better work opportunities in English speaking countries. The most common reasons for staying in Finland instead of pursuing careers elsewhere were related to settlement and stability, e.g. family, security, and belief in better future. Even though the last point is rather abstract, comments of Finns becoming “more international” and “open-minded” towards other nationalities seemed to act as a rationale staying in the country. As Rudo puts it in the metaphorical form in the final lines: “*There’s always some sunshine. Things will change*”.

Next I will show how language impacts his work responsibilities and role as a manager. Specifically, the excerpts explore how language hierarchies and ideologies appear to be associated with Rudo’s need to negotiate his legitimate position as a manager.

6.3.2. Language and management

Communication skills are viewed in much of the management literature as allowing managers to perform their roles more effectively (e.g. Hargie *et al.*, 2004). As the Duty Manager, Rudo's title holds certain work expectations and behaviours to be performed in order to achieve D&Cs goals. Usually managers "do power" by explicitly controlling the development of interaction (Holmes, Stubbe & Vine, 1999). Indeed, displays of authority are essential in claiming expertise at workplaces (Angouri, 2018). Language and different communication styles, however, imposes some challenges on Rudo's role enactment as a manager *and* acceptance of his position by his colleagues. The next three excerpts provide examples of this.

Excerpt 10: Language balancing the power asymmetry with subordinates

Context: Rudo is in the office with his colleague, "Hanna", and they are waiting for an extra employee who is considerably late. The two were discussing how Rudo should remind the employee of his work commitment and demand an explanation but as we will see this does not go as planned. The interaction starts with "Aleksi", the extra employee, ringing the bell and Rudo opening the door for him.

Spoken data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1. R: Aleksi?	
2. A: joo	<i>yeah</i>
3. R: sä oot ainoa kuka puuttuu (.) kaikki muut on (..)	<i>you're the only one who's missing (.) everyone else is (..)</i>
4. <checks the duty roster> um perjantai	<i>um Friday</i>
5. ja lauantai?	<i>and Saturday?</i>
6. A: lauantaina joudun lähtee sitten neljältä	<i>on Saturday I'll have to leave at four</i>
7. R: ai ei hätää <i>no worries</i> mut onks ok?	<i>oh no worries no worries but is it ok?</i>
8. A: on ok	<i>it's ok</i>
9. R: joo <writes and says:> a:le:ksi (.) onks Aleksi	<i>yeah <writes and spells slowly Aleksi> is</i>
10. kirjoitettu oikein?	<i>Aleksi written correctly?</i>
11. A: on on (.) ihan oikein (.) hyvä	<i>it is it is (.) just correctly (.) good</i>
12. R: joo <Rudo starts writing the surname>	<i>yeah</i>
13. A: ä:llä änen	<i>[with the letter:] ä änen [=end of surname]</i>
14. R: häh? ainen? niinku nainen?	<i>huh? ainen [spells the surname incorrectly] like woman [=similar sound]?</i>
<Aleksi takes Rudo's pen>	
15. A: ei <Aleksi writes the letter ä on the sheet>	<i>no</i>
16. R: ahaa ä:: (.) ä:: änen	
17. ota tää sitten kun lähdet (.) kiitos	<i>take this when you leave (.) thank you</i>
18. A: mhmm I know the drill <leaves the office>	

Even though Rudo announced earlier to Hanna his intention of reprimanding Aleksi, this communicative and managerial aim of enacting the strict Duty Manager's role ends up being partially unsuccessful because he does not get the response they were expecting (e.g. Hanna remarking earlier that: "*he better come up with a good excuse*"). Rudo's short pauses between lines 3 and 4 can be interpreted as his attempts of giving Aleksi an opportunity to explain himself but he does not respond to this. The silence or lack of engagement from Aleksi's part are open to several readings one being that perhaps he simply fails to understand Rudo's unfinished sentence and cues in line 3, and is waiting for clarification. Rudo, however, starts looking at the duty roster instead and changes the topic by confirming Aleksi's work shifts. In this regard, a failure to clarify a message can lead to misunderstandings between the speakers and contributes to a perception of dealing with a 'difficult' colleague (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015).

In this excerpt, language appears to have an impact on the dynamics between the speakers and the hierarchical positions. I see the act of taking the pen away from Rudo instead of answering his question (between lines 14 and 15) as marked and I read it as significant because it physically manifests Aleksi positioning Rudo as the 'Other' because of its interruptive effect. Such behaviour does not occur anywhere in my dataset, probably because it would have been unlikely to be accepted by the Finnish managers. In this regard research has shown that native speakers may take advantage of the linguistic differences by dominating non-native speakers in interactions (e.g. Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999b; Sliwa & Johansson, 2014). The 'Otherisation' becomes even more apparent in Aleksi's sudden code-switching in line 18; specifically, whereas Rudo has been addressing him in Finnish during the interaction, Aleksi finishes it with English ("*mhmm I know the drill*"). Whilst this interaction occurs Hanna does not contribute but takes the role of an observant.

Rudo asking for help and being corrected particularly with his Finnish writing is a rather common occurrence throughout the data. As shown here and will be explained in the next section, it may negatively impact on how he is perceived as a manager.

Excerpt 11: Avoiding phone calls

Context: The following interaction is extracted from the office when Rudo and his colleague “Irja” are talking about missing staff members.

	Spoken data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	I: kuule sielt on nyt tulematta jengii	<i>listen their crew hasn't showed up</i>
2.	R: joo kuulemma toi [name A] ei ole näkynyt	<i>yeah apparently [name A] hasn't been seen</i>
3.	I: nii joo e:ei [name B] ei oo tullu	<i>yeah no: [name B] hasn't come</i>
5.	R: niin no toi [name B] mä kyllä ymmärrän	<i>yeah well [name B] I understand</i>
6.	I: miten ni?	<i>how come?</i>
7.	R: no kato se voi olla ku se oli siellä	<i>well look it could be because he was in</i>
8.	[name of the restaurant] se on siellä ja	<i>[restaurant] he was there and um</i>
9.	öö siel raportis oli vähä ongelma mitä	<i>the report had little problems to which</i>
10.	mä sanoin sille ei haittaa	<i>I said it doesn't matter</i>
11.	I: mut eihä se oo mikää syy olla tulematta	<i>but that's not a reason for not coming</i>
12.	R: tai tai se vähä niinku haisee öö viinalle	<i>or or he smelled a bit of like um liquor</i>
13.	aamulla eilen	<i>yesterday morning</i>
14.	I: arvaa kuka kanssa?	<i>guess who else?</i>
15.	R: [name C]?	<i>[name C]?</i>
16.	I: joo	<i>yeah</i>
17.	R: joo se [name B] haisi kyllä viinalle eilen	<i>yeah [name B] smelled of liquor yesterday</i>
18.	I: niin [team leader] ei saa sitä kii meinaa	<i>yeah [team leader A] can't get a hold of him</i>
19.	se ei vastaa puhelimeen	<i>he's not answering the phone</i>
20.	R: mm [...]	<i>mm</i>
21.	R: tässä on yks tyttö se on mejjän varaihminen	<i>here's one girl she's our extra</i>
22.	se on sovittu [colleague] kanssa et	<i>we've agreed with [colleague] that</i>
23.	I: [oli	<i>[yeah</i>
24.	oli älä nyt höpötä	<i>yeah stop waffling</i>
25.	R: se on valmis tulee heti (.) soita sille ja	<i>she's ready to come immediately (.) call her and</i>
26.	pyydä jos se tuu (.) tämä tässä	<i>ask if she can come (.) this one here</i>
27.	I: soitan [team leader B] ja kysyn jos [name d] on	<i>I'll call to [team leader B] and ask if</i>
28.	myöhässä	<i>[name D] is late</i>
29.	R: e:i [name d] ei oo se on hyvä (.) kunnollinen	<i>no: [name D] won't be he's good (.) decent</i>
30.	I: on se ollu myöhässä monta kertaa	<i>he's been late many times</i>
31.	R: onko?	<i>has he?</i>
32.	I: m-hmm kuule sulla on täällä	<i>mhmm listen you have sort of</i>
33.	tommonen feminiininen puoli <both laugh> <Irja answers the phone, and afterwards remarks:>	<i>feminine side in here <both laugh></i>
34.	niinku arvasin [name d] oli myöhässä	<i>just as I guessed [name D] was late</i>
35.	taas 10 minuuttia	<i>again by 10 minutes</i>

This excerpt is illustrative of situated professional role negotiation. As the Duty Manager Rudo is responsible of staff related issues, however, this is partially shared with Irja. Even though the two interlocutors are hierarchically equal, Irja claims a more senior position which is evident in the ways she speaks to him and is controlling the floor. More specifically, she opens the interaction with a discourse marker “listen” which seeks to get Rudo’s attention to what she has to say. Then, she openly disagrees with Rudo (lines 11, 27 and 30), interrupts him and asks him to “stop waffling” (lines 23 and 23) which can be interpreted as a rather threatening command. Furthermore, she makes a comment of Rudo’s “feminine side” (line 33) which appears to imply in this context as him being too lenient towards the staff and not performing the “right” kind of manager role. Namely, the reference to “femininity” is still dominated by the gender stereotypes in which, for example, female managers are seen to possess weaker leadership abilities (for a review, see Oakley, 2000). To reinforce her (negative) evaluation of Rudo, she proves him wrong in line 34 with the statement: “*just as [she] guessed*” she was right against Rudo’s earlier comments.

There is a lot of going on in the excerpt, but what makes it particularly relevant for this project is Rudo’s dependency on Irja when it comes to contacting employees via phone. This is exemplified in Irja taking the initiative and calling to the team leaders (lines 18 and 27), and in Rudo asking her to contact the new employee in lines 25 and 26, even though these are Rudo’s work responsibilities. Similar findings are reported in Lauring and Klitmøller’s (2015) study where employees with limited language proficiency avoided phone conversations in an MNC context because they perceived them to be difficult due to the absence of body language. Indeed, when it comes to phone calls, Rudo had expressed his concern of not being clear enough on the phone which is why he prefers to use English. This is also supported by the recorded data in which he often starts the phone calls in Finnish but then switches into English. The findings from the interview data with his subordinates reveal that because of this many prefer to contact other managers, Rudo’s colleagues, instead with whom they can speak in Finnish. Language proficiency, as technical ability in the language, does have an influence (among other factors) on how some of his subordinates *may* (or may not) perceive him as a manager but also on his confidence in claiming this position. A shift of power due to language in the earlier excerpt provides a useful example of this.

In the next excerpt, rather than calling the restaurants, Rudo makes the decision to walk to different locations in order to ask extra employees face-to-face about their work availability. It

provides an example of trouble talk and illustrates the complexity that comes with claiming one's professional position while handling interpersonal relations with different employees.

Excerpt 12: Recruiting employees face-to-face

Context: After realising that the restaurants are running short of staff, Rudo decides to approach (extra) employees personally and ask about their availability. He could lease extras from staffing agencies but as already established with the kitchen workers in Chapter 4, employers prefer to distribute work shifts to familiar employees with good job records. In this regard, Rudo had received positive feedback of one new extra employee, "Maija". Hence, he goes to "Gourmet Food" and approaches her when the following interaction starts:

	Spoken data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	R: he:i mä kuulin että täällä on huipputyyppi	<i>he:y I've heard there's a top-notch person here</i>
2.	Maija pääsisitkö sä töihin ensi viikon	<i>Maija could you come to work next</i>
3.	perjantai tai lauantai?	<i>Friday or Saturday?</i>
4.	M: öö (.) onks se monesta moneen?	<i>um (.) from what [time] to what [time]?</i>
5.	R: se on 11-15 molemmat päivät	<i>it's from 11 to 15 on both days</i>
6.	M: oota öö ens viikolla mulla on just sillo	<i>hold on um next week just then I have</i>
7.	töitä muute olisin mielellään tullut kyllä	<i>work otherwise I would've liked to come</i>
8.	R: okei <i>no worries no worries</i> ei hätää jos	<i>okay no worries no worries if</i>
9.	sä et pääse tää on ihan ok joo okei <takes a look at the duty roster>	<i>you can't make it it's ok yeah okay</i>
10.	kiitos ja mukavaa työpäivää	<i>thank you and have a nice work day</i>
11.	M: <laughs> seuraavalla kerralla tuun kyllä	<i>next time i'd be happy to come</i>
12.	mielelläni	
13.	R: kiitos Maija (.) moi moi <looks at the duty	<i>thank you Maija (.) bye bye</i>
14.	roster and says to the researcher:>	
15.	oh I'm missing one two three four um	
16.	five six <an extra employee passes by and	
17.	Rudo suddenly asks him:>	
18.	sä et pääse perjantaina?	<i>you can't make it on Friday?</i>
19.	I: öö: e:n en oikeestaan	<i>u:m no: not really</i>
20.	R: et pääse? ok ei hätää (.) hei entäs lauantai?	<i>you can't? ok no worries (.) hey what about Saturday?</i>
21.	I: öö voinks mä kattoo?	<i>um can I have a look?</i>
22.	R: joo kato rauhassa <Ilari walks off> [... in the meanwhile Rudo talks with Gourmet Food team leader about the staffing situation] <Ilari comes back:>	<i>yeah take your time</i>
23.	I: joo ni mul alkaa maanantaina kouluviikko	<i>yeah so my school week starts on Monday</i>
24.	ja mul on paljon koulutöitä nii:	<i>and I have a lot of assignments so:</i>
25.	R: tiäksä mitä? koulu ei ole tärkeä <Rudo laughs>	<i>know what? school's not important</i>
26.	e:i se oli vitsi	<i>no: it was a joke</i>

27. <Ilari does not respond>
 okei kiitos *okay thank you*
 <Ilari goes back to work>

Leaving space for employee engagement (Gruman & Saks, 2011) and possible damage control (Holmes and Marra, 2004) are important aspects of communication in terms of maintaining good workplace relationships. Rudo starts the interaction with praise which is followed by a question with regards to Maija’s work availability. Providing positive feedback to subordinates is a well-known management activity seeking to motivate and commit employees to the organisation (e.g. Gruman & Saks, 2011). Therefore, Rudo’s opening can be interpreted as a discourse strategy aimed to show Maija recognition of good work and as a hidden agenda to motivate her to accept more work shifts. Maija, however, seems to be taken by surprise which can be detected in her short pause in line 4, hesitation particle and lack of response to Rudo’s greeting or compliment. Proceeding this Maija rejects Rudo’s job offer in a deferential way which is signalled by carefully chosen justifications and softening phrases, e.g. “... *otherwise I would’ve liked to come*” (line 7) and “*next time I’d be happy to come*” (line 11).

While Rudo is looking at the duty roster he sees another extra employee passing by on the other side of the FoH, and shouts across the space: “*you can’t make it on Friday?*” Ilari’s response in line 19 includes several prolonged hesitation discourse markers: “*uum noo not really*” which can be interpreted as a less direct way of saying ‘no’. Rudo, however, is persistent and asks in line 20 if he can come to work the day after. Again Ilari uses a hesitation particle and then expresses a wish to have look at his *schedule* (?). After returning (line 23) he opens the interaction with “*yeah so*” which is used here as a continuation of the earlier conversation. Following this Ilari draws on his schoolwork and finishes the utterance with “*soo*” in which he appears to expect Rudo to infer the conclusion, i.e. his answer of not accepting the shift. Rudo, however, does not respond to this cue and, instead, asks him a rhetorical question which he answers himself (line 25: “*Know what? School’s not important*”). This was meant as a humorous comment but Ilari’s lack of uptake signals a failure of the comment (Bell, 2015), which leads to Rudo repairing the potential damage by explicitly naming the utterance as a joke in line 26. After the silence, he closes the interaction with a more formal tone shown by the shift of the tone and thanking Ilari – again without getting a response.

This excerpt bears evidence of interactional trouble. Namely, the pauses and hesitations throughout the interaction with both subordinates can be indicative of this (e.g. Ford and Mori,

1994). Usually speakers tend to work towards alignments/agreement and try to “systematically avoid disagreement, which is treated as trouble and requires explicit accounts and excuses” (ibid: 35). Neither Maija nor Ilari reject Rudo’s work offers immediately, instead their answers are clothed in indirectness and excuses. Rudo, however, appears to miss or ignore some of these cues sent by his subordinates. Hence, this excerpt demonstrates well how communication can be vulnerable to misinterpretations. This is not only because of language ability per se but also due to different communication styles that are dominant in different sociolinguistic contexts. The ways in which the floor is managed can reveal how people position themselves and others. For example, even though Rudo used polite words with Maija (“*thank you and have a nice work day*” in line 10 and “*thank you Maija, bye bye*” in line 13) he did not leave interactional space for her. In this regard I was informed later that Maija felt she had disappointed Rudo. In another example when he attempts to make a joke about unimportance of school, it can be interpreted as him not valuing Ilari’s commitment to studies.

Whereas long-term employees are used to Rudo’s directness that is partially explained e.g. by his managers with his limited language skills and perceived cultural difference, new extras might back away. Therefore, claiming authority while managing interpersonal relationships involve complexity which entails negotiating various workplace positions in the needed language and style, i.e. understanding both transactional and relational dimensions of the ‘right’ workplace discourse (e.g, Holmes and Woodhams, 2013). However, the ‘relational’ dimension varies significantly between different employees. I will go deeper into this in the next section.

(Selective) Engagement with employees

Rudo wishes to be approachable to his subordinates and believes that “*catching up with them*²⁹” is an important management activity. Indeed, small talk and joking are known to be crucial for establishing and maintaining good social relationships at workplaces (e.g. Holmes, 2005; Holmes & Stubbe, 2015; Vine, 2018). Considering that they are hierarchical environments, superiors *usually* set the boundaries to what extent social talk and joking is acceptable within an interaction, and have the power to manage a range of aspects of interactions (ibid).

In this final section I present two examples that show how Rudo’s management style is linked to interpersonal relations, which appear to be associated with subordinates’ work positions and employment types. Namely, the overall data shows that the amount of time Rudo invests on

²⁹ Interview data

small talk and bonding with subordinates varies significantly; specifically, long-term Finnish employees' get more of his time whilst migrant employees' voices are absent (previously discussed in Chapter 5). I will elaborate on this further in Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 13: Long-term employees and joking

Context: Rudo is trying fix a problem with card payments at “Deli Coffee” when the following interaction occurred between him, Essi and Sari. The latter two employees are permanent extras.

	Spoken data	English translation of Finnish utterances
1.	R: no niin nyt se toimii	<i>well now it's working</i>
2.	E: ai mitä? Ihanaa! teeksä tonne toiselle	<i>oh what? wonderful! can you do the</i>
3.	puolelle saman? sä oot tommonen Magic	<i>same to the other side? you're like</i>
4.	Mike taas (.) niinku aina	<i>Magic Mike again (.) as always</i>
5.	S: Magic Mike joo <laughter>	<i>Magic Mike yeah</i>
6.	R: yeah <walks to the other cashier and 30 seconds later:>	
7.	Essi ei tarvii mä boottasin sen lähimaksun (.)	<i>Essi no need I booted the contactless</i>
8.	se toimii	<i>payment terminal (.) it works</i>
9.	E: hän sanoi että laitetaan maksupäätteet	<i>he said lets fix the payment terminals</i>
10.	kuntoon ja maksupäätteet tuli	<i>and the payment terminals are</i>
11.	kuntoon niinku herra sanoi	<i>fixed just like the lord said</i>
12.	tulkoon valkeus ja valkeus tuli <laughter>	<i>let there be light and there was light</i>
13.	R: tottakai ja sit Jeesus muutti myös vettä	<i>of course and then Jesus turned water</i>
14.	viiniks <laughter>	<i>into wine</i>
15.	S: voitko samalla tehdä myös sen? cafe lattesta	<i>can you do that too? [=turn] café latte</i>
16.	lasin viiniä? <laughter>	<i>into a glass of wine?</i>
17.	R: vaikka viinaan jos haluat	<i>even into vodka if you want</i>
18.	E: rommitoti kiitos	<i>rum hot toddy please</i>
19.	R: no niin (.) nyt toimii	<i>right (.) now it's working</i>

Here the three speakers appear to have established a rapport where there is place for humorous comments; Essi, for example, is using teasing flattery as a strategy to push her own agenda, i.e. getting Rudo to help them “again” (line 4). More specifically, she starts calling him “Magic Mike” which is repeated by Sari (lines 4-5). The reference, “Magic Mike”, is from a Hollywood film about a male stripper who is highly desired by women. This comment resulted in all of them laughing. When Rudo solves the problem with the terminal, Essi continues joking and uses a biblical citation (lines 9-12) from Genesis 1:3, which implies that just like God, Rudo has the power to change things. Rudo then goes along with the joke and continues on the biblical

theme by making a comment of Jesus turning water into wine (line 13). Both employees appeared to appreciate the joke (lines 15-16 and line 18) until Rudo closes the interaction in line 19. Specifically, he changes his tone to formal and turns the focus back to work: “*right. It’s working now*” (line 19). With this, he reconstructs his role as a manager and puts an end to the joking which results in Essi and Sari returning to their workstations without further conversation. The excerpt illustrates how Rudo can engage and laugh with the employees whilst determining the boundaries as the manager (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015).

Interesting to note is that none of the other employees or managers had as many nicknames to my knowledge as Rudo. Namely, in addition to being called “Magic Mike” some of his other colleagues and subordinates referred to him as “kulta” (=gold, similar to “honey” in English), “poika” (=boy), and “the Yes Man” among other nicknames. This may signal familiarity or/and ‘Otherisation’ in that the other managers were always addressed by their names (in the recordings). Moreover, Rudo was also being teased in the office by his colleagues who made a remark of “Finnish ladies being into *exotic* men” after a female customer left him a box of chocolates and a thank you note. They were also jokingly asking about the customer’s wealth and whether Rudo can “squeeze anything else out of her”. I am not fully aware of the background of this teasing but it could be that they were drawing on the recent media discourse in which older Finnish women are reported to “buy” themselves younger husbands from Gambia (although Rudo comes from another country). Such categorisation clearly indexes difference in a borderline professional manner as camouflaged by humorous intent. Stereotypes function as source of humour but they also highlight and reinforce ethnic distinctions (Holmes, 2018). Rudo goes along with these jokes and in return makes fun of Finnish people and their culture. This illustrated claiming equal footing and good relations in the team.

Nevertheless, when comparing Rudo’s interactions with long-term employees, as above, to new extras he is much more direct and does not leave much interactional space, as illustrated in excerpt 13. In addition, even though Rudo has many long-term as well as extra migrant employees working in the restaurants, they are absent in the recordings apart from a few exceptions, one of which will be presented next. With the last excerpt, I will show how Rudo contributes to marginalising other migrant employees through (lack of) interactions and ‘silencing’.

Excerpt 14: (Superficial) small talk

Context: Domen, a relatively new migrant extra employee, arrives to work and Rudo gives him directions to the venue. As Domen is about to leave the office Rudo asks him:

1. R: are you um you're Italian right?
2. D: I speak Italian
3. R: [o:kay
4. D: [but I'm not Italian I
5. R: [alright I saw
6. D: [I [I
7. R: [you pointing at that [=poster]
8. D: yeah it's one of my favourite cities and I've been
9. R: [o:h okay alright
10. D: u:m yeah <laughs> okay see you later <starts walking towards the door>
11. R: ciao
12. D: yeah bye
13. R: grazie <laughs>
<Domen leaves the office>

Extra employees, regardless of background, may find it hard to cross the line from being an outsider to becoming an insider despite their best attempts to do so. Migrant (non-Finnish speaking) employees usually just sign their attendance at Rudo's office and go straight to work. This is the only interaction in which Rudo initiated a small talk with a relatively new (migrant) extra, but this appears to stay rather one-sided and at a superficial level.

This is particularly evident in Rudo's intrusive interruptions. Murata (1994) divided such interruptions into floor taking and topic-changing, which can be perceived threatening as interruptees may have to fight for the floor (ibid). In this regard, Rudo does both; he cuts Domen's speech (line 5) and diverts the conversation to the poster. Yet another interruption and closing sequence in line 9 are indicative of his power and control of the interaction. Domen reacts to the (indirect) hint and does not get the opportunity to finish his sentence.

Being informed by the context and participants, I knew Domen had studied in Italy. Perhaps that is the reason why he stopped to look at the poster (i.e. gave a physical cue) and waited to tell more about himself. However, Rudo did not give Domen an opportunity to answer despite starting the interaction. This is marked as Rudo seems to always be generous in small talk time with Finnish employees. Same pattern was also observed in the team meetings, and at an evening work event in which the permanent employees celebrated their annual financial results. Such (selective) interactional behavior is interesting taken that at the same time Rudo talks

about empowerment of migrant employees and delivers motivational speeches on the topic at educational institutions.

The excerpt presented above is an interactional moment which may not have wider implications for the relationship of the two employees - nor should we extrapolate for Rudo's intentions. It does, however, show that keeping the 'newly' arrivals out and possibly silencing voices, can be done in multiple ways, some through innocent small talk moments.

6.3.3. Summary and final remarks

Overall, case study 2 provided insights to the relationship between language and work role involving a non-Finnish speaking Duty Manager. Traditionally managers are seen to determine the social boundaries and being in control of interactions (Holmes and Stubbe, 2015) but with these excerpts we can see how 'doing power' (Holmes, Stubbe and Vine, 1999) is more complex than that. Namely, despite Rudo's organisational status and official title, he has to negotiate to his Finnish colleagues his legitimate position as a manager. While he is being 'Othered' the data show that he also contributes to the processes of exclusion himself by not engaging with his migrant subordinates in the same way he does with the Finnish ones. The positions he takes, are highly political and ideological: by being associated with the other managers he increases his symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990) and thus prestige. It may also aim to signal to others his 'fitting in'. Yet, when talking about his own background he appears to promote and take pride in his 'success story'. If we revisit the first quote from the introduction section he claimed that the "foreign" employees approach him and say: "hey [Rudo] we're so proud of you." After spending a week at his workplace, this claim got partial support from his managers and equals (i.e. being seen as setting a good example for other migrants) but it was not supported by his subordinates.

When it comes to Rudo's language resources, his knowledge of English has increased his responsibilities in some areas (e.g. talking to suppliers and clients, being company representative at business events, delivering presentations etc.) but his limited Finnish has also allowed him to avoid other responsibilities making him more dependable on his colleagues. For example in excerpts 11 and 12 he is avoiding phone calls in Finnish. This again may influence on how his subordinates and equals perceive him as a Duty Manager. *Figure 27* below illustrates the negotiation of Rudo's position with different employees.

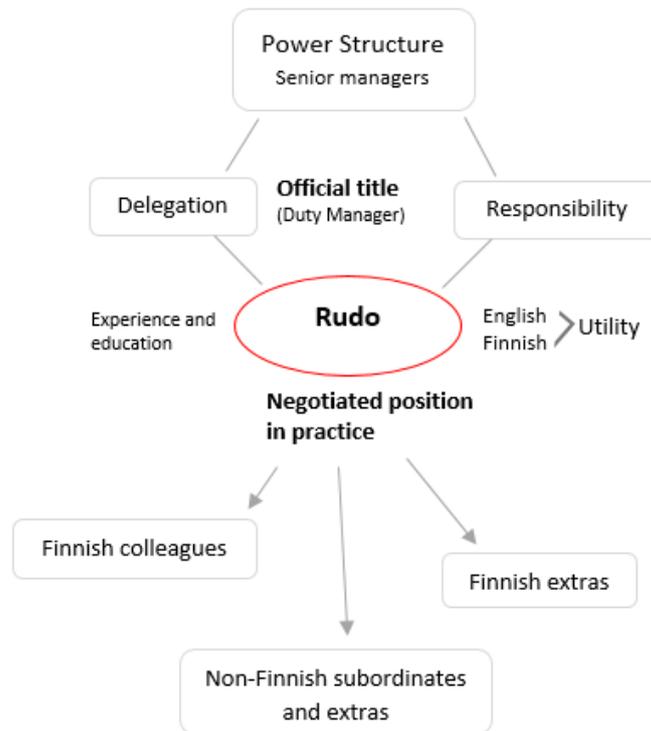


Figure 27: Position as negotiated in practice.

Officially Rudo is granted the “Manager” title. He has the relevant language resources, work experience and education. However, as we have seen, his legitimate position is negotiated, particularly with Finnish colleagues and subordinates. Non-Finnish speaking employees are placed at the bottom due to their absence from the data.

6.4. Conclusion

The main aim of the two case studies was to increase our understanding of how access to language resources enables employees to claim and negotiate positions of power. I deliberately chose two distinct contexts to grasp an idea of migrant employees’ work lives from different organisational positions. The case studies are treated as two separate contexts, although some similarities are identified.

The findings strongly indicate that language resources do enable employees to claim positions of power, however, these positions are not fixed but constantly negotiated. Rudo and Ibou’s (higher) positions are supported by their colleagues but are also occasionally rejected. The knowledge of Finnish and additional work language, English, has enabled them to claim these positions and increased their work responsibilities beyond their formal titles; Ibou enacting

seniority role despite being in a trainee position, and Rudo dealing with corporate clients and presentations in English, even though his main responsibility is to take care of staff related issues. Regardless of D&Cs official language policy and demand (Finnish), arguably the importance (and existence) of English cannot be denied in multicultural work environments. The possession of the ‘right’ language capital (Bourdieu, 1986) has enabled these two employees to increase their professional status (see also Mahili, 2014; Lönsmann & Kraft, 2018; Kraft, forthcoming). Indeed, according to Chiswick (2008) language skills are important determinants of migrants’ earnings and have high return on investment. In this respect, both participants have been “rewarded” for their efforts, if contrasted to those who lack the linguistic capital despite proving their professional competence. Mali from Case Study 1 or “the dishwashing boys” from the previous chapter provide good examples of how employees get penalized on account of this “deficiency”.

The idea of turning ‘language investment’ into economic profit, however, is not that straightforward. More specifically, criticism of this idea centres on how ‘competences’ are still measured against the dominant language ideologies and standards, regardless of linguistic repertoire (Flubacher *et al.*, 2018; Heller & Duchene, 2012). Holmes (2005) adds that it is equally important to learn “local ways of being sociable and local norms for managing small talk, humor, and friendly chat more generally” (345). Indeed, in this regard neither Rudo nor Ibou have managed to make it to the ‘core in-groups’, which still consist of Finnish employees only.

What sets Rudo apart from other migrant employees is his social distance with his Finnish colleagues which is significantly lower. This could be explained with his organisational position. Due to the nature of his work, Rudo interacts with his Finnish colleagues on a regular basis and can ask for help with his language needs. In addition, he may try to minimize the risks of misunderstandings and ease the communication by using available technology (e.g. smartphone, computer etc.). Although asking for help can be seen as uncertainty which can be damaging for professional credibility (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999). This is exemplified in Rudo’s interactions and shifts in power balance in excerpts 10 and 11. Low distance can also index lack of confidence and lack of authority which is relevant to claiming and projecting professional roles (Holmes & Stubbe, 2015).

Rather than focusing solely on the migrant employees and their struggles, this chapter also touched upon how Finnish managers with limited English language skills can become

dependent on their gatekeepers due to their own language limitations. The perceived workplace absence of managers and limited engagement does not necessarily equal to their lack of interest in migrant employees or them being exclusionary on purpose. It does however index a lack of confidence in using English for work purposes. This was observed at all studied research sites and shows the complex language ecosystems within which employees claim and project their professional roles.

Finally, the two case studies have shown that use of language for achieving personal agendas and unequal treatment of people is not limited to native Finnish speaking employees only. This chapter illustrated ways in which non-native Finnish employees strategically utilise language resources to improve their own positions against other migrant employees. An example of this is the power to decide what information to share and what to discard in order to push forward their own agenda, i.e. strengthening own work positions.

In the next chapter I will bring the analyses together and provide a theorisation and critical discussion of the findings.

Chapter 7: Discussion

In the preceding three chapters the analysis centred on Tasty Co's language policies, practices and implications by drawing on different datasets and contexts. This chapter is divided into three sections that seek to bring the findings together. First, I will address RQ1 (section 1.2.) and discuss how migrant employees are at the nexus of two co-existing and competing language ideologies. Then, the chapter turns to RQ2 and shows how language has an impact on organisational hierarchies and employees work positions. Finally, I will provide theorisation on the construction of multiple work realities that are embedded within a wider socio-economic system. I will also expand on my understanding of linguistic penalties and introduce the notion of 'shallow workplace inclusion'.

7.1. Migrant employees at the nexus of co-existing language ideologies

With regards to the first research question - *What is the relationship between the official language policy and language practice in the organisation?* - this work has shown how the co-existence of multiple language ideologies at Tasty Co forms a complex corporate language ecosystem. The analysis of the findings shows that the most prevailing ones are Finnish (associated with localisation) and English (linked with globalisation). On the one hand, Tasty Co's Finnish language ideologies are deeply rooted in the company's history whilst at the same time change towards more 'international mind-set' is seen to be inevitable. To an extent this resulted in a clash of ideologies manifested throughout the data which permeated through the organisational levels. An illustration of this is provided in the figure below.

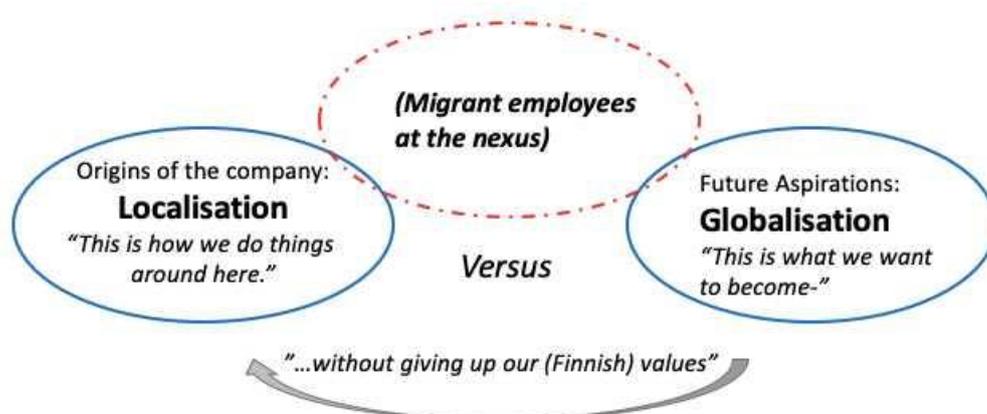


Figure 28: Competing (language) ideologies.

Indeed, contradictions emerged in relation to the notions of “who we are” (historicity, traditions, brand image being closely associated with Finland) and idealised versions of “who we want to become” (international and diverse company). Here we can see how language ideologies are closely affiliated with (organisational/national) culture. These are abstract themes yet strongly omnipresent in Tasty Co’s (language) policies and workplace practices. The company has set a different language expectation for its white-collar employees at the headquarters, which follows the globalization discourses, i.e. ‘Englishization’. Interestingly though, D&C Services headquarters did not have any non-Finnish employees. Hence, the data show that using English in all work communication is seen to be impractical and as such language practices are locally negotiated (section 4.2.2.). Despite the stated importance of English across the accounts and its (perceived) association with workplace inclusiveness, this ideology seems to be applicable to white-collar employees only. From a purely financial point of view this could be justified with kitchen employees’ higher turn-over compared to office employees. Online language courses, for example, incur costs to Tasty Co of nearly 600 Euros per participant, hence, the restaurant employees are not “worth” the investment.

In contrast to the mainly monolingual workforce above, the restaurant staff represents a more diverse workforce where some kitchens use more English on a daily basis than Finnish. However, even though English has permeated and stabilised its position (at least for now), the analysis has demonstrated that migrant employees might get penalised by the restaurant managers for using English instead of Finnish.

Revisiting the original *Figure 16*, we can now see the nuances between the categories.



Figure 29: Language expectations and preferences revisited.

Contradicting language policies (Finnish) and practices (English) impose a paradox for non-Finnish speaking migrant employees; specifically, whereas they may attempt to meet the Finnish language requirements, the prevalence of English and code-switching by their Finnish colleagues is reported to make it challenging to learn and use the language at work. Thus, non-Finnish speaking employees' workplace realities are multifaceted and the narrow migration discourses which affiliate language with integration do not portray the complexities migrant employees are subjected to.

Even though I have referred to 'high' and 'low-level' organisational positions and 'white-collar' and 'blue-collar' employees in presenting the data, I do not see them as being fixed categories which is explained next. As we have seen, access to the "right" language resources increases social and symbolic capital at workplaces and allows for boundary crossing beyond official roles.

7.2. Language and the fluidity of organisational hierarchies

The majority of existing workplace studies (e.g. Lonsmann, 2014; Holmes and Woodhams, 2013; Kirilova and Angouri, 2017) refer to white- and blue-collar workers as two distinct and static categories. For practical purposes, in terms of structuring and presenting the data, I have followed these categories in this thesis myself. However, as some of the findings have already indicated, these are fluid and complex categories consisting of different nuances and contradictions. I draw on the critique introduced by Angouri and Piekkari (2018) on the need for reconceptualising the multilingual organisation to multilingual *organising* (Weick, 1995). Angouri and Piekkari note that there is often an assumption in the existing studies that language diversity and competence increases as one climbs up in the corporate ladder, whereas blue-collar workers tend to be seen as one homogenous group of monolinguals who use the local language. And, indeed, in my data office employees do get better support and access to language resources. However, the increase in mobility and global connectedness means that the knowledge of English is not necessarily linked to class or level of education any more. The data show that many of the kitchen employees in the capital city region are nearly fluent English speakers and prefer to use English instead of Finnish in professional communication with non-native speakers.

These changes are relevant for this project because as we have seen language resources provide access to different centres of power. This leads to the second research question: *How does access to language resources enable employees to claim positions of power?* and its sub-

questions (1) *How are these positions supported or challenged by others?*, and (2) *What is the role of language in the negotiation of responsibility?* As illustrated throughout the analysis chapters language has status in the workplace. More specifically, even though employees operate within the interface of different boundaries and power systems, this does not remove individual agency with regards to improving one's work position by strategic mobilisation of linguistic resources, as illustrated in Chapter 6. However, the preceding Chapters 4 and 5 provided a different account in which agency was more limited, and non-Finnish speaking employees' voices were silenced by the local restaurant managers on the basis of their claimed insufficient language skills. Indeed, employees with limited Finnish skills may get penalised, *however*, Finnish workers with restricted English proficiency may also find it difficult to work and get promoted in an increasingly international work environment. Hence, there are multiple language hierarchies depending on the context.

I have shown that language operates materially in the sense that language capital accumulates social and symbolic capital by making some individuals stand out in their managers' eyes. This means that linguistic gatekeepers can be trusted with responsibilities that go beyond their official tasks and titles. In this regard, the situated enactment of role as predicated on language ability appeared to transcend designated positions of power. The lack of (claimed) needed language skills placed other employees both socially and spatially in peripheral positions. This in itself is not a new revelation, however, this research has illustrated the complexity of crossing the workplace boundaries and migrants challenges associated with Finnish language use.

Whereas language may help to stabilise a job position (e.g. Kraft, forthcoming), increase work responsibilities, and/or allow to bypass some formal organisational hierarchies, these positions are not accepted unquestionably. These are fluid constructs that may be assigned, supported, claimed, and/or resisted through workplace interactions. Indeed, as illustrated in this thesis, the enactment of professional roles is not static as employees constantly negotiate their work positions in situ. The competition for permanent positions amongst migrant employees makes language use and gatekeeping even more political because they can be driven by personal agendas. In this respect, Chapter 6 provides examples (e.g. *Excerpts 4 and 14*) of how marginalisation and dominant ideologies might be perpetuated in the restaurants by migrant employees themselves.

In the next section I will bring the findings together and provide a summative figure of the conceptual framing arising from this research.

7.3. Theorisation of the findings: Prevailing discourses, actions and professional identity

The thesis is aligned with scholarship that understands discourses as resources for meaning-making (e.g. Burr, 2003; Gumperz, 1982; 2001). I see the construction (and enactment) of professional identity to be closely linked and affected by broader social orders. The figure below summarises the conceptual framing emerging from this project and seeks to illustrate the factors that affect the positions employees may (not) take at workplaces. Special attention was directed at how the construction of professional identities together with language and other modes of representation shape the perceived work realities and play a crucial part in mediating, legitimizing and reinforcing power relations and dominant views through mechanisms of exclusion. I will next unpack the figure.

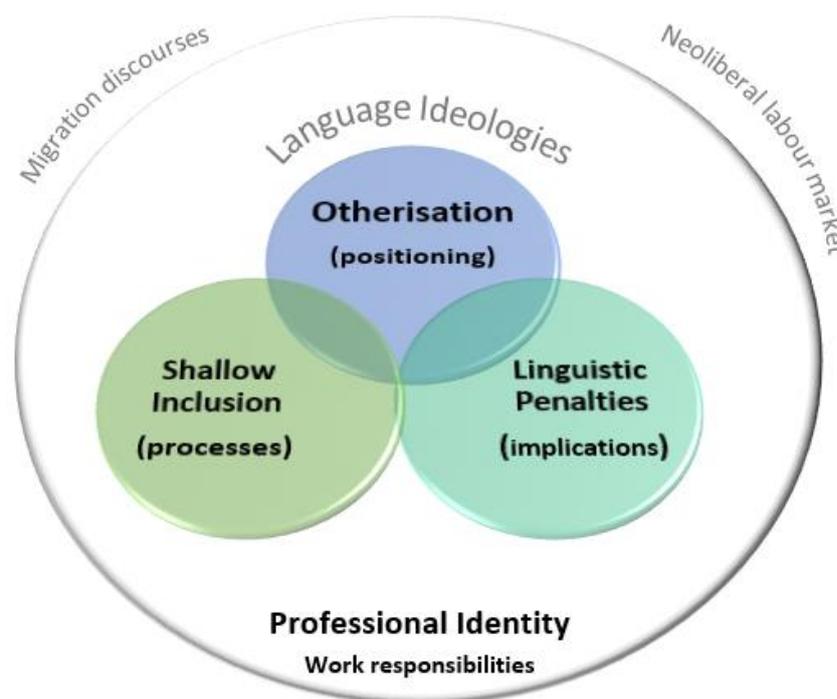


Figure 30: The factors influencing professional identity construction

The workplace actions and (interactional) behaviours are embedded in a wider socio-economic context. More specifically, migration discourses (section 1.1.) together with neoliberal values are seen to contribute to the construction of migrant identities – to be found at the outer edge in the *Figure 30*. These are ideology-informed constructs in which differences are highlighted and ranked (e.g. Wodak, 2015). For example, with the increase of labour migration many migrant employees end-up in the secondary labour market, the biggest employers in Finland

being restaurant and cleaning sectors (Ollus, 2016; Ollus & Jokinen, 2013). Related to migration discourses and their ‘function’ in the current labour market is the construction of migrant employees as “hard workers with the right attitudes” (section 4.3.) when compared to Finnish workers. This, I argued, contributes to the commodification of employees which places them in unequal, precarious positions. This is also linguistically enacted as shown in Chapters 4-6.

Moving from these macro-level discourses and conditions to the inner part of the circle three factors are intertwined: otherisation, shallow inclusion and linguistic penalties. These concepts are closely related to language ideologies (section 7.2.) and I will next provide a brief conceptualisation and revisiting of the terms.

I see the “*Otherisation*” as the *positioning* of migrant employees in workplaces, e.g. signified by difference; “*they*” (see also section 2.2.4.). In line with work on identity politics in workplaces (e.g. Ybema and Byun, 2009), processes of otherisation influence the ability to negotiate positions within social structures. As Vaara et al., (2009:10) note, workplaces ‘become sites for identity politics in a sense that actors can occupy particular identities in the organization based on discursively constructed similarities and shared experiences with similar others. This is also political in that the groups that are formed can pursue their own agendas and interests vis-à-vis other social groups.’ Here, oversimplified generalisations are often based on (national) stereotypes that are positioned in relation to the ‘Other’. Constant positioning of “us” and “them” in my data seemed to act as a means of strengthening (team) identity construction in relation to the different ‘Other’, and it appeared to hold explanatory value with regards to meaning-making of different work situations and practices. This was done by both Finnish and non-Finnish speaking employees.

Shallow inclusion is a concept I am developing and it involves systematic *processes* of exclusion. It is shallow in that the company’s diversity agendas and rhetoric do not necessarily correspond with the lived experiences. Namely, in practice ideals of ‘inclusion’ and ‘equality’ stay rather superficial as shown throughout the analysis. Shallow inclusion is indexed by restricted access to information and decision-making due to language; different work expectations (compared to local employees); limited socialization opportunities; and spatial segregation. For instance, migrant employees’ shallow inclusion in meeting contexts allows them to be present, but they are not given the opportunity to participate in decision-making

processes. All of this has significance on employee wellbeing, professional development as well as productivity (e.g. Wright, 2010; Haapakorpi, 2007; Piller, 2016).

The lived *linguistic penalties* in this thesis represent the *implications* of the marginalisation. An example of this could be not being considered for promotions on the grounds of language, despite having a record of relevant work experience and professional qualifications. According to existing studies on linguistic penalties (e.g. Roberts & Campbell, 2006; Roberts, 2013; Kirilova and Angouri, 2017) migrants are subjected to linguistic penalties because of hidden cultural expectations and mismatches in institutional talk. In my study it seems like language is used as a mechanism for maintaining the status quo of the workforce. Hence, I argue that linguistic penalties are also associated with deliberate exclusion and possible cost minimisation (see also e.g. McCall, 2003).

I see the above described factors influencing professional identity construction which is closely associated with the available positions at workplaces. In Chapter 5 processes of exclusion negatively impacted migrant employees' professional self-evaluations as professional cooks, whereas Chapter 6 provided an alternative perspective in regards to Ibou, for example, claiming an identity of an experienced cook, despite being a trainee. The examples shed light on how language resources make migrant workers in/visible to the local managers, and the ways language operates as means of power which has an impact on one's status, and the construction of professional identity.

7.4. Summary

This chapter provided the final synthesis of the overall data. I presented a theoretical model which shows the positioning (otherisation), processes (shallow inclusion) and implications (linguistic penalties) of migrant employees' professional identity construction within a wider socio-economic system. More specifically, I see migration discourses, commodification of workforce within neoliberal labour market and language ideologies in particular to have an impact on employees' various realities and work trajectories.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1. How to imagine the future multilingual workplace?

Theoretical suggestions

Foregrounding the importance of one (or more) official language(s) for efficiency purposes could be beneficial only *if* all employees could communicate in the ‘common’ language. As shown in this study and others, prescribed language policies will not and cannot eliminate existing and naturally occurring languages in the workplace. In this regard Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:251), among many other scholars, remark that “monolingualism is inappropriate because a majority of people in the world are multilingual.” (also e.g. Angouri, 2013; Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007). In this respect, linguists have moved away from treating language as a monolithic notion and have attempted to provide reconceptualizations that better capture the complexity of language use. For example, see plurilingualism (Lüdi, 2018), translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2013; 2016), and metrolinguistic (Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010). Even though the aforementioned scholars emphasize the fluidity of language use, there is a need to move theoretically and analytically forward. What does this actually mean in multilingual workplaces and what sort of implications it may have?

As shown in this thesis, language is a powerful resource for workplace in/exclusion, delegation of work responsibilities, professional identity construction and work enactment. I have argued and shown how language decisions can be highly ideological and political – especially in a multilingual workplace. With a complex linguistic landscape and diverse workforce comes also diversifying power structures in which various linguistic groups may have their own informal leaders and social rules. In order to ‘capture’ some of the facets related to language use in workplaces, I will revisit the analytical framework proposed by Angouri and Piekkari (2018) for ‘unpacking multilingualism’ at workplace. Drawing on the data from this research, the model can be expanded. More precisely, findings in this research suggest the need for a more nuanced understanding of the relationships between different factors in the original framework. In essence this involved a reappraisal of the influence of employees’ workplace interactions and experiences as underpinned by language practice.

The initial model by Angouri and Piekkari (2018) draws on the earlier works of Goffman (1959), Giddens (1984) and Jenkins’ (2000) representations of three orders of context. The authors have identified three different orders: *institutional order*, *sociocultural order* and *here*

and now which have an impact on multilingual workplaces. It is suggested that *here and now* interactions should be combined with the choices employees make in wider *institutional* and *sociocultural orders*. The orders are overlapping and in a broad sense are used to illustrate how micro-, meso-, and macro-levels can be combined for analysis, instead of conceptualising them in binary opposition by focusing solely on either micro or macro discourses. This framework benefited the design of data collection and contextual analysis in this thesis. Moving forward and drawing on my data and analysis, it seemed useful to add more factors that influence employees lived workplace experiences. The figure below illustrates the complexity and overlap of different factors. I will next explain the figure.



Figure 31: Lived workplace experiences within power structures.

On the sides we find institutional and sociocultural orders. The list of factors influencing lived workplace experiences can be endless, so I have included what seemed to be the most relevant ones in the light of this project. More precisely, institutional order determines for example *market conditions* and *policies*. These are closely intertwined. For instance, the spread of English can be associated with free markets and labour migration (Canagarajah, 2016). In this regard, Duchene and Heller (2012) note that language is connected to modern economy in two significant ways: 1.) as a source of symbolic value in which e.g. national identities and labour force are commodified based on the perceived belief of one language (or more) as being more ‘prestigious’ or ‘valuable’ than other languages, and 2.) as a management activity that attempts to standardise and technicize some specific languages (mostly English). This, Duchene and Heller argue, may create a paradox in relation to ‘pride’ and ‘profit’. More specifically, when

it comes to language, pride is framed as a cultural richness whereas profit is framed in economic terms (material gains). Eventually pride will end up in line with the requirements of profit due to the economic demands (ibid). In this regard, sociocultural order and institutional order may or may not clash. Hence, ideologies play a big part in maintaining these orders.

To provide another example from a political scene, recently Finland's former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister, Timo Soini, suggested the need to recruit more Filipino nurses as a response to the country's elderly care crisis. And indeed, due to the aging population the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment estimates that Finland needs approximately 20 000 labour migrants a year in order to maintain its current services. What makes Timo Soini's comment interesting though is that he is also a founder and former leader of the populist and nationalist True Finns party, which is driving openly anti-immigration policies and cherishes traditional "Finnish values". So here we can see how economic demands and identity politics clash. The commodified temporal labour migrants appear to be seen as less threatening than those seeking to settle down in Finland. Even if the government (institutional order) welcomes foreign labour, attitudes (sociocultural order) may not be as receptive across the country. Such prevailing discourses may influence how 'difference' is perceived and the ways migrant employees are positioned at their workplaces.

Organisational environment lays the foundation in the figure for workplace experiences. Even though organisations operate within the wider orders, they do have the power to form their own internal policies within the legal frameworks, push forward organisational values and agendas. These can be issued from the 'top' (i.e. institutions, unions etc.) or they may emerge from the 'bottom' as a response to, for example, employees (dis)satisfaction on certain issues. Each organisation is slightly different in terms of how they wish to be seen and what kind of organisational culture they seek to promote. As we have seen in this thesis, at Tasty Co 'equality' and 'inclusion' policies may be regarded as loose ideals where the implementation is highly dependent on local practices and co-workers. Regardless of this, Tasty Co as a company is seen as a good employer, even if the research participants disagreed with the ways their teams were managed. Understanding organisational culture (and ideologies) gives an insight into why some individuals are committed to their workplaces and what kind of positions are available for them.

At the bottom of the vortex we will find the *individual factors* which are linked to a person's (perceived) identity, interpersonal relationships, organisational position etc. These factors and

in addition to the institutional and sociocultural orders have a significant influence on various work trajectories. Some individual factors can be controlled whereas others cannot. For instance, neoliberal dispositions and migration discourses emphasize individual accountability and self-management (Flubacher et al., 2018; Angouri & Miglbauer, 2014). Acquiring new knowledge and skills can be linked with individual factors that employees may try to *control* and enhance. In this regard we have seen how Ibou and Rudo (Chapter 6), for example, claim and negotiate positions of power depending on the context and employees involved. However, the findings have also shown, it is not simply a matter of determination and ‘career management’ since perceived difference can still lead to unfavourable positioning as the ‘voiceless Other’. In this respect, there are *un/controllable* factors that go beyond language learning and professional competence, namely ethnicity and perceived difference. For example, reports have shown that Finnish employers may hold strong stereotypes towards certain nationalities (Jaakkola, 2005: 69-86; also the Ministry of Employment and the Economy’s discrimination report, 2012). This means that ‘learning the local ways’ does not guarantee ‘fitting in’.

In this study language resources (and communication skills) in particular are strongly associated with improved status - at least within migrant groups. This leads us to the next factors influencing lived workplace experiences; *(in/)exclusion* and *(in/)formal organisational positions*. Multilingual workplaces come with diversifying power structures which means that there are multiple co-existing hierarchies within and between different groups of employees. Different memberships are constantly negotiated as are (in)formal work positions. The levels of in/exclusion are highly context specific if we compare for example migrant employees working at Finlicious to Meet’n’Eat. All of this, I argue, has an impact on employees’ interactions with each other and lived workplace experiences.

The model above seeks to provide a multilayered approach to better understand the processes of in/exclusion in multilingual workplaces. Different factors suggested in the figure form a web of relationships which are influencing employees’ workplace interactions and experiences. As illustrated in this thesis through a number of examples, workplaces and hierarchies are fluid and complex constructs. Even though the model has its limitations it could provide a useful critical guideline for future workplace interaction and discourse studies.

Other future changes and suggestions

Diversity and inclusion, as I understand the terms, involve acceptance of the existence of different cultures and languages. However, as it stands, diversity discourse tends to privilege and revolve around office employees (Noon, 2007). Ethnic minorities' absence in decision-making positions shows the limitations of turning corporate diversity agenda's into practice. In this respect D&C Services headquarter did not have a single non-Finnish employee in white-collar positions, which is fitting with the metaphor of 'snowy peaks' (Phillips, 2003, in Roberts, 2010) that mirrors many Western companies' senior management being mostly white (see also Vaara *et al.*, 2019). I would also add that ascending 'snowy peaks' can be slippery for minority employees.

In this regard more training and education is needed. Reflecting back on my own experiences in providing feedback, rather than drawing on the standard rhetoric of 'inclusion' and 'respect', which of course are important values, concrete examples of different exclusionary workplace processes are found to be more efficient ways of making employees to reflect on their own behaviors and workplace practices. In this regard, Holliday (2011) notes that the idea of respecting *their* culture is patronizing. Instead, openness requires critical self-problematization and the examination of discursive claims. Indeed, I have observed that using stories and relatable examples from workplaces appears to have much stronger impact on people. It also allows the researcher to break "natural" and "commonsense" beliefs and practices. Namely, sometimes people do not necessarily understand that their actions or certain word choices may have a negative influence on their colleagues and overall work community.

As for migrant employees' limited language proficiency, Canagarajah (2016) suggests employees should adopt *'a two-way street ethic'* in which multilingual speakers utilize strategies of comprehension check, repetition, clarification questions and rephrasing to negotiate language difference. This, however, requires a radical shift in "...tolerance, humility, and patience" (Canagarajah, 2016: 46). Having said that, I do not see language teaching to be local employees' or employer's responsibility. As demonstrated in the analysis chapters, many employees are already under pressure due to high workloads and limited time. Nevertheless, considering the importance of workplace interactions to language learning (Yates, 2018, Stömmer, 2016), giving an opportunity for migrant employees to express themselves in Finnish (should they wish to do so) seems reasonable rather than routinely replying in English. Even if well-intentioned, this indexes 'Otherisation'. Also colleagues' social support in a more general

sense has been reported to help in migrants' adaptation to their work communities (e.g. Lahti & Valo, 2013; Suni, 2017). This leads back to the need for more staff awareness training.

To add to this complexity, there is a growing number of temporary labour migrants who do not speak Finnish or English at all. In this respect I see future multilingual workplaces becoming more dependent on technology. The increase of new tools such as interactive screens in different languages and use of symbols is inevitable. In this way employers may attempt to ensure that people have access to crucial information relating to, for example, health and safety regulations.

Speaking of regulations, it appears the policy-makers are not yet prepared for 'handling' labour migration (also Vertovec, 2007; see also Liddicoat, Heugh, Curnow & Scarino, 2014, for educational context), hence I anticipate more institutional intervention. For example, a few Finnish cities (e.g. Helsinki and Espoo) are already changing their hiring processes (no names in the job applications and CVs), language requirements, in addition to attempting to diversify decision-making bodies, but there is still a long way to go. To provide a counter-example, during summer months Finnish businesses recruit thousands of temporary berry-pickers from Thailand whose salaries (Martin & Prokkola, 2017) and living conditions are characterized as degrading (e.g. Makinen, 2018, for Helsingin Sanomat). In this respect, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment is annually revising and adding new sections to the labour contract which berry businesses are required to sign in order to be granted work visa's for non-EU employees. However this has not stopped employers from breaking the contract, and the living conditions of workers might often remain borderline inhumane (also e.g. Piller & Lising, 2014). This is only one example that demonstrates the dark side of labour migration exploitation (see also Teittinen's, 2019, report on migrant restaurant workers) and how the policy-makers try to intervene. In the future, it seems like an absolute necessity to try to reach and communicate with temporary workers about their rights. The economic gains cannot come at the price of human rights in my view.

8.2. Research contribution

To conclude, there is a call for multidisciplinary ethnographic research investigating workplace language use (e.g. Angouri & Piekkari, 2018), especially in blue-collar contexts (ibid: Lönsmann & Kraft, 2018). This study attempted to address some of the research gaps by exploring language policies and practices through a critical sociolinguistic lens in an unexplored food and catering work context. The ethnographic approach proved to be useful

particularly in reaching a vulnerable group of low-wage migrant employees. The employed research design makes this study stand out from many existing ones that tend to focus either on white-collar or blue-collar employees, and may follow micro or macro-level analytical frameworks.

The rich dataset resulted in new empirical insights on the detailed processes of workplace in/exclusion (spatial and social), descriptions of power im/balance between different groups, and the role of language ideologies in negotiating work positions. Novel to this work is the concept of ‘shallow inclusion’ (section 7.1) which mirrors the contradictions of modern workplaces. Namely, on the one hand diversity is embraced in corporate rhetoric, documents and websites, but on the other hand it stays shallow in terms of actually putting policies into practice. In addition, I have attempted to expand on the notion of ‘linguistic penalties’ by describing the implications of marginalisation. Chapter 5 provides a useful example of ‘lived linguistic penalties’ in which skilled migrant employees are denied career progression opportunities on the grounds of language. However, in contrast to this, the analysis in Chapter 6 suggests that the knowledge of local language and English hold status in the workplace and make employees visible to the managers. In other words, language skills give more symbolic power and can help migrants to move from precarious positions closer to the centre as we saw with Ibou and Rudo’s cases. Even at Meet’n’Eat, Bale (Chapter 5) was the informal leader of migrant employees.

These findings show how power and in/formal hierarchies are complex, fluid and situational. In this regard, I have provided a conceptual framing of the factors that influence professional identity construction in section 7.1. and expanded on Angouri and Piekkari’s (2018) analytical model in section 8.1. which aims to provide a guideline for unpacking workplace interactions and lived experiences within the broader contexts.

Finally, the methodology chapter and its sections on negotiating research access to corporate settings and the researcher’s positioning during the fieldwork seeks to open a critical discussion in relation to qualitative enquiry. More precisely, the data collection processes, researcher’s influence on participants and reading of the data are still rare in organisational ethnography studies. I believe my work and experiences can make a contribution to this area.

8.3. Practical implications

The research findings and reporting to the case study company resulted in the following practical implications for D&C restaurants: distribution of information folders in English; better utilization of photos and symbols rather than written texts; hiring of a ‘Diversity Officer’ who tackles the issues illustrated here and presented to the management.

The company also plans to make induction videos so that employees with limited language or reading skills can familiarize themselves with the health and safety instructions in their own time with the social support that might be needed. This, however, is not a new thing. Tasty Co has several videos on their Intranet but these are accessible to permanent full-time employees only. The problem I raised (and was raised to me by the Restaurant Managers) is related to the extra employees on which the industry is relying more and more. These employees do not get inductions, and hence might be unfamiliar with the basic occupational practices. Whereas one could argue that it is staffing agencies’ responsibility, it would be beneficial for all parties to set clear ‘rules’ for all employees. Especially, since D&C Services may recycle the same extras for years, it seems like a small but important investment.

I also provided feedback to the restaurant managers and presented practical suggestions in terms of how to get employees more engaged in the meetings. For example, at one restaurant we tested a few warm-up games to get everyone’s attention. The feedback in general was perceived to be eye-opening and useful. However, how the company and restaurants will continue their work practices and socialization, I cannot know. I am hoping to continue my relationship with them and feed further into their practices.

8.4. Limitations of the present study

I will address here the main research limitations. Firstly, I acknowledge that the relatively short time spent at each research site does not afford the full picture of different teams’ practices and deeper understanding of employees interpersonal relationships etc. Perhaps more longitudinal research would have reduced the ‘performative’ aspects of research participants and provided new perspectives. In the short duration I was present in the research setting I stayed as only a *visiting* researcher/kitchen assistant. This brings me to the second limitation, my background. Being a young(ish), educated white Finnish female came with the ‘privilege’ of being invited to the Finnish core groups. These employees actively approached me and initiated conversations at “my” workstations which made it harder to build a rapport with non-Finnish

employees. My actions were politically charged at the start of the fieldwork especially at Meet'n'Eat and Finlicious.

Thirdly, I faced a number of technical difficulties in relation to noise-levels (addressed in greater detail in methodology chapter), humidity, and movement. Due to this, some of the interactional data ended up being too scattered and unclear for a meaningful analysis. When it comes to the interviews, language was occasionally an issue where misunderstanding would occur. It also meant that I missed a few interview opportunities with those at the most precarious positions due to lack of common language and not having enough resources for including an interpreter in the study. Nevertheless the rich dataset I collected made up for those limitations and provided useful learning experiences for me.

Finally, moving from the research design to the theoretical limitations, I agree with Hammersley (2007) that there are inconsistencies in the application of constructionism in terms of arguing for fluidity whilst using categories in the analysis when referring to the research participants. In my study the most commonly occurring categories are 'migrant employees' and 'Finnish employees.' I understand the contradiction of this. However, for the purposes of this thesis, it seemed like the most practical way of organising and presenting the data for the reader. Other common categories are 'blue'-and 'white-collar' employees in 'higher' and 'lower' positions. In this respect I have shown how these categories are not fixed. However, more theorisation is needed on this which is addressed in the next section.

8.5. Future research directions

Even though language in the workplace research has increasingly attracted scholarly interest in applied/sociolinguistics as well as international business studies, workplace discourse studies is still a young field (Angouri, et al., 2017) and there are many unexplored areas that future research could address. For example, studies could benefit from a theoretical reconceptualization of blue- and white-collar (as well as pink-collar employees that describe care workers) binaries. Traditional conceptions do not portray the modern work environment and various positions. For example, blue-collar category does not mirror a social class or low education, as illustrated in this thesis. Unproblematic use of these categories maintains the stereotypical discourses around them and does not reflect the social reality, thus, repositioning these categories and critically addressing their analytical values seems necessary.

Moving forward, considering that interaction is multimodal video recordings that would capture organisational artefacts and body movements, physical proximity in interactions, use of material space, expressions and so forth would allow for a more detailed reading of the data and fine-grained micro-analysis. Also, interactional sociolinguistics are currently influenced by the social theories, but combining analytical tools utilised in linguistics with for example management/organisational theories could complement each other and offer a more tangible analysis rather than confirming existing grand theories.

Despite the rise of temporary labour migration there are only a few sociolinguistic studies (e.g. Lising & Piller, 2014; Theodoropoulou; 2019; Kraft, fc. 2020) that focus on this group of employees and the role of language in their trajectories. Moreover, there is often an emphasis on the integration to the host society but what about temporary ‘posted workers’ who have homes elsewhere and do not necessarily place as much value on ‘fitting in’? For instance, my observational data from the ‘Restaurant Complex’ partially confirms Goldstein’s (1997) findings that temporary Russian and Estonian extra employees tended to sit together during breaks because it “felt more natural” (fieldnotes). It shows that enforcing a language strategy with an idea of making workplaces more ‘equal’ and ‘unitary’ is limited. There is a need to consider and understand other ways of making workplaces more inclusive and engaging.

Finally, rather than ‘victimising’ migrants in relation to dominant groups, there is great scope for shifting the research attention to ‘success’ stories. For instance, focusing on agency of migrant entrepreneurs and businesses would provide a refreshing narrative to the existing studies. Descriptions of business owners’ career journeys and crossings of linguistic boundaries in finding ways of running businesses would add a new perspective to workplace discourse studies. It would also challenge the major migration discourses in which the ‘Other’ is most commonly seen either as a ‘threat’ or ‘powerless’. I hope future studies will contribute to making a stronger voice for those much-needed alternative narratives.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

___ Underline indicate emphatic stress, e.g. “do it now”

[Left square indicate an interruption

[] Researcher’s notes or clarifications, e.g. “I need it [contract] back”

(.) Pause

(?) Researcher’s best guess of an utterance

< > Descriptions, e.g. <laughs>, <shouts across the kitchen>, <sits down>

? Rising/questioning intonation

... Section of transcript omitted

All names are pseudonyms.

Appendix 2: Participant information sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Study: An examination of multilingualism at _____.
Investigator: Kristina Humonen
Supervisor: Dr Jo Anagnostou

Introduction

You are invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide, you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish.

(Part 1 tells you the purpose of the study and what will happen if you take part. Part 2 gives you more detailed information about the conduct of the study)

Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

PART 1

What is the study about?

The focus of the study is on the perceived opportunities and challenges employees face in the multilingual workplace. Specifically, language decisions are directly linked to employees' career progression, integration, efficiency, teamwork, work motivation and corporate commitment among many other aspects. From this we aim to identify various language strategies used when employees try to integrate successfully into their work environment and interact with different stakeholders.

Do I have to take part?

It is entirely up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through this information sheet, which we will give to you to keep. If you choose to participate, we will ask you to sign a consent form to confirm that you have agreed to take part. You will be free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and this will not affect you or your circumstances in any way.

What will happen to me if I take part?

I would like to invite you to contribute your views about your working experiences at ____ and how you perceive the multilingualism affects your daily work, if it does. With your permission, the discussion will be recorded. All the data will be securely stored, anonymised and treated as confidential. Reading reports from the research will not reveal who has contributed to it, unless you explicitly wish to make it public.

What are the possible disadvantages, risks, and/or discomforts of taking part in this study?

You may be asked a sensitive question that you may not want to answer. Rest assured that your participation is voluntary and you are not obliged to answer all questions. Furthermore, the information you give will be fully anonymized, unless agreed otherwise.

Page 1 of 3

What are the possible benefits of taking part in this study?

Participants will have the opportunity to express their views about their working environment and provide narratives of their career experiences. Based on this information, we aim to understand the linguistic landscape and daily realities at your workplace. This, in turn, may serve to guide future organisational development in terms of language policies, employee integration and team operations.

What will happen when the study ends?

Following the data analysis, the data from the project may be used as part of my PhD thesis, conference papers, publications, research proposals, funding applications, feedback reporting and intercultural training. However, your contribution will be fully anonymized.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

Yes. We follow strict ethical and legal practice and all information about you will be handled in confidence. Further details are included in Part 2.

What if there is a problem?

You are encouraged to raise any aspects or concerns about the study to the researcher.

Any complaint about the way you have been dealt with during the study or any possible harm that you might suffer will be addressed. Detailed information is given in Part 2.

This concludes Part 1.

If the information in Part 1 has interested you and you are considering participation, please read the additional information in Part 2 before making any decision.

PART 2

Who is organizing and funding the study?

The present study is an *independent academic research*, meaning that even though the research is carried out in collaboration with ___ & _____ the investigator is not working for the company. The project is funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, UK) and the Foundation for Economic Education (Liikesivistysrahasto, Finland).

What will happen if I don't want to carry on being part of the study?

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Refusal to participate will not affect you in any way. If you decide to take part in the study, you will need to sign a consent form, which states that you have given your consent to participate.

If you agree to participate, you have nevertheless the right to withdraw from the study without affecting you in any way and decline any further contact by study staff.

Who should I contact if I wish to make a complaint?

Any complaint about the way you have been dealt with during the study or any possible harm you might have suffered will be addressed. Please address your complaint to the person below, who is a senior University of Warwick official entirely independent of this study or to the PhD supervisor:

Head of Research Governance

Research & Impact Services
University House
University of Warwick
Coventry
CV4 8LW, United Kingdom
Email: [REDACTED]
Tel: +44 (0)24 76 322740

PhD Project Supervisor Dr. Jo Angouri

Warwick Applied Linguistics
Social Sciences, office 1.95
University of Warwick
Coventry
CV4 7AL, United Kingdom
Email: [REDACTED]
Tel: [REDACTED]

Will my taking part be kept confidential?

All published data will be anonymized, unless agreed otherwise.

The UK Data Protection Act 1998 and research ethics principles will apply to all information gathered during our interactions within the framework of this research project. All personal data will be held in a password protected drive; in addition any documents with attributable information will be password protected.

Who has reviewed the study?

The study has been reviewed and given favorable opinion by the University of Warwick's Research Ethics Committee.

What if I want more information about the study?

If you have any questions about any aspect of the study, or your participation in it, not answered by this information sheet, please contact:

Kristina Humonen (email: [REDACTED] mob: [REDACTED] / +44

0 [REDACTED]

Thank you for taking the time to read this Participant Information Sheet.

Appendix 3: Consent form

CONSENT FORM

Project: An examination of multilingualism at —

Principal researcher(s): Kristina Humonen

Data access: Dr Jo Angouri

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the *information sheet* provided for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without being penalized or disadvantaged in any way.
3. I agree to take part in the above study and am willing to:
 - Take part in the interview(s) and/or being observed.
 - To have the interview recorded for the purposes of the study.
 - To be contacted further by the researcher for clarification purposes or additional questions.
4. I understand that my data will be securely stored for a minimum of 10 years, in line with the University of Warwick's Research Data Management Policy.
5. I understand that the examples may be used for the PhD thesis, conference papers, journal articles, educational purposes and/or reports to ___ for improving current language practices and policies. All data will be confidential and anonymized, unless otherwise agreed (see 5a).

5a.) I give consent that my title and position can be used in academic publications and presentations.
6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of participant Date Signature

Name of researcher taking consent Date Signature

Appendix 4: Guiding interview questions

The following example is from the first data collection round with the Senior Management. Each interview was tailored to managers' different roles and responsibilities. I did not follow it as a script, instead, it was more to remind me of the main issues and themes. Appendix 6 will provide a full interview transcript (in Finnish and English) from the kitchen context.



WARWICK
THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Haastattelukysymykset ja teemat
(CR)

Käy läpi tutkimuksen informaatio- ja suostumuslomakkeet.
Kerro haastattelun luonteesta ja tavoitteesta (yleiskuva).
Haastattelun jälkeen keskustelu tutkimuksen eteenpäin viemisestä: kuinka parhaalla tavalla voisi palvella _____?

Osallistujan taustatiedot

- Voisitko kertoa työhistoriastasi sekä työtehtävistäsi ____? (+ monta vuotta ____?)
- Kuvailisitko minulle teidän ____-tiimiä? Tavoitteet?

Yrityskulttuuri
(Mainitse ____ hyvä maine työnantajana):

- Mikä tekee ____ yrityskulttuurista niin vahvan?
- Kuinka kuvailisit ____ työympäristöä henkilökohtaisten kokemuksiesi perusteella?
- Millaisia sisäisiä yrityskulttuuria koskevia muutoksia ____ on kokenut viime vuosien aikana?
- Kuinka organisaatiokulttuuri vaihtelee eri liiketoimintayksiköiden välillä?
- Millaisia yrityskulttuurin vahvistamisstrategioita ____ käyttää, esim. ____? Pyritäänkö fuusioitumaan vai säilytetäänkö eri työtavat?
- Millaisia strategioita käytetään ____ kulttuurin vahvistamiseen?
- Voisitko kertoa minulle '____' ja '____' ohjelmista?
 - Saavutus: '____' (2016 vuosijulkaisu). Kuinka saavutitte ja mittasitte tämän?
 - Kuinka ____ tukee monimuotoista työyhteisöä? Otetaanko kielikysymykset huomioon?

____ kielipolitiikka

- Kuinka kuvailisit ____ kieliympäristöä?
 - Mitä kieliä itse käytät työssäsi? Missä tilanteissa?
- Ketkä tekevät ____ kielilinjauksia koskevat päätökset?
- Onko ____ konsernilla virallinen kielipolitiikka?
- Kuinka näistä kielipäätöksistä viestitään työntekijöille?
- Millainen asennoituminen työntekijöillä on englanninkieleen?
- Onko teillä informaatiota siitä, miten ____ kielipolitiikkaa toteutetaan käytännössä konsernin tasolla?
- Yltääkö englanninkielinen linjaus myös esim. tuotantotyöntekijöiden tasolle?
- Mitkä ovat mielestäsi mahdolliset hyödyt tai haitat yhden virallisen työkielen käytössä?
- Kuinka kielitaito vaikuttaa ____ työntekijöiden vaihtuvuuteen tai uralla etenemiseen?
- Oletteko kuulleet ulkomaisten (ei suomenkielisten) työntekijöiden näkemyksiä kieliasista?
- Arvioitteko ____ työntekijöidenne kielitaitoja?
 - Kuinka ____ tukee työntekijöiden kielitarpeita?
- Olisiko sinulla antaa konkreettisia esimerkkejä siitä, kuinka viestintäkatkos tai väärinymmärrys on johtanut ei-toivottuihin tuloksiin?

- Miltä uskot ___ näyttävän tulevaisuudessa?

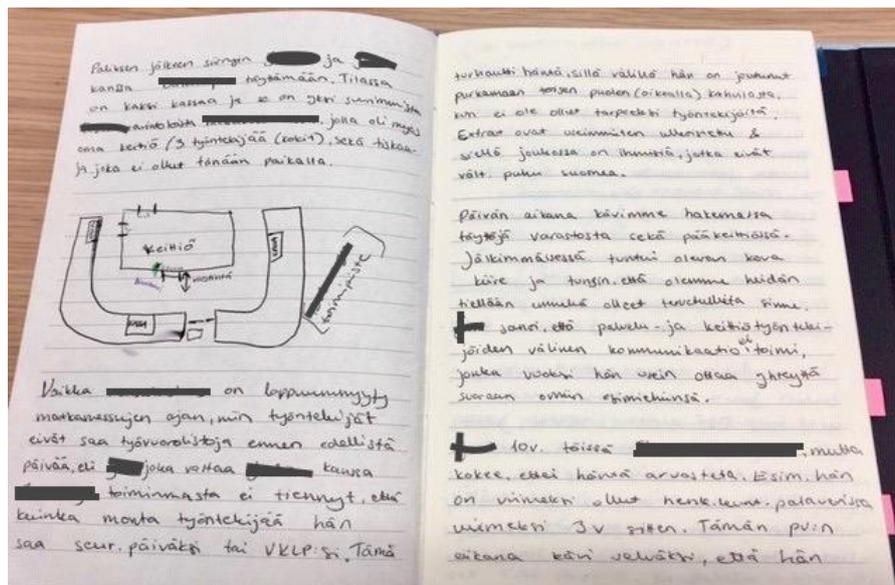
Loppuun

- Mikä motivoi sinua osallistumaan tähän tutkimukseen?
- Olisiko sinulla lisättävää tähän haastatteluun?

Haastattelun jälkeen:

Kysy seuraavista askeleista ja hankkeen kehittämisideoista/ehdotuksista.
Suostumuslomake – tarkista ja varmista.

Appendix 5: Sample of fieldnotes



Appendix 6: Sample of interview transcript

The following is a *raw* transcript sample with a non-Finnish kitchen employee, i.e. I did not focus on descriptions or grammar etc. The interview started in Finnish until code-switched into English (from 10 min 10 sec onwards). Identifiable information will be removed with _____ lines. R is the researcher and P stands for the participant.

Interview Sample (24 minutes 34 seconds)

R: mehän olemmekin jo viettäneet muutaman päivän yhdessä

P: niin

R: pyydän yleensä haastateltavia kuitenkin esittelemään itsensä alussa niin voisitko kertoa hieman itsestäsi?

P: minä olen _____ ja minä olen ___ vuotias kolmen viikon päästä. Muutin tänne melkein 10 vuotta sitten, koska minun poikaystävä on suomalainen. Ensin 4 vuotta en voinut tehdä mitään vaan opiskelin suomen kieltä kotona ja minä tein kotityötä, koska minulla ei ollut työskentelylupaa ja jos haluan mennä kouluun, kotoutumiskouluun, minun piti maksaa koska minun miehen palkka on vähän enemmän kuin normaalipalkkaisilla. Sen jälkeen minä sain luvan ja menin heti kotoutumiskoulutukseen

R: voitko kertoa lisää kotoutumiskoulutuksesta?

P: joo siellä on maahanmuuttajia ja pakolaisia ja me opiskelemme siellä suomen kieltä, kulttuuria ja työelämästä.

R: kuinka kauan se kesti?

P: 10 kuukautta ja joo se on helsingin kaupungin

R: kauan se kesti siis ennen kuin sait ilmoittautua sinne?

<T:2:00>

P: se riippuu joko ihmiset pääsee heti, mutta minun piti odottaa noin 8 kuukautta ja minä pääsin. Sen jälkeen vaihdoin koulua maahanmuuttajien valmentavaan koulutukseen. Sielläkin opiskelimme suomen kieltä ja työelämästä ja meillä oli kaksi työharjoittelua. Minä olin lounasravintolassa, koska minä halusin työskennellä ravintolassa, sitten menin sinne. Ensin en ollut varma, että haluan tehdä jotain keittiössä vai salissa. Ensin kokeilin tarjoilijan hommaa, sitten keittiössä ja tajusin, että okei nyt haluan tehdä jotain keittiössä. Sitten sen jälkeen pääsin _____ rekrykoulutukseen. Se kesti vaan 6 kuukautta. Ensin kaksi kuukautta me opiskelimme vaan teoriaa ravintolasta ja ravitsemuksesta ja sitten luokassa on vaan 20 henkeä ja sitten puoliksi suomalaisia ja muuten on maahanmuuttajia ja joo ja sitten tällä hetkellä vaan neljä ihmistä saivat vakituisen työpaikan.

R: aa vau miten sä hait sinne? Mitkä vaatimukset siihen koulutukseen oli?

P: jos sinne hakee pitäisi olla joku kielitaso joku b11 ja sitten voit hakea. Se oli vähän vaikea koska opettaja aina puhui vaan suomen kieltä ja puhui nopeasti ja sen takia minä ymmärsin noin 60 tai 70 prosenttia, mutta joku koulukaveri ei ymmärtänyt mitään ja sitten ei voinut tehdä kotitehtäviä. Se oli aika kamalaa.

R: Kuinka monta suomen kielen kurssia olit opiskellut kun hait tuohon koulutukseen?

P: ensin minä menin helsingin yliopiston kesäkouluun ja se oli noin kolme kuukautta, mutta se oli miten lasketaan tai värit, tavallisia juttuja opiskelin. Sitten kotoutumiskoulutuksessa opiskelin paljon kielioppia.

<T:06:14>

R: kuinka tärkeä kielitaito on työllistymisen kannalta?

P: minä ajattelen että minun kielitaso ei riitä ku tottakai ku ihmiset puhuu minun kanssa ne puhuu vähän hitaammin ja selkokielellä, kyllä minä ymmärrän, mutta sitten jos minä kuuntelen ihmisten puhuvan ja sitten on vaikea ymmärtää koska totta kai täällä on paljon murteita ja slangia ja joo

R: mm no kuinka tärkeä se kielitaito on työelämässä?

P: minusta se riippuu minkälainen työ mutta aina meidän pitää kommunikoida ja tottakai kielitaito on tosi tärkeä

R: ni siis kauan sä oot ollu tässä ____ toimipisteessä?

P: _____

R: miten kuvailisit kieliympäristöä täällä? <T:07.40>

P: no melkein kaikki puhuvat englannin kieltä ja um sen takia jos minä en ymmärrä he voivat selittää englanniksi mutta normaalisti meillä on aina kiire ja he eivät halua puhua englantia. Se on helppoa heille, että puhutaan vain suomen kieltä minä tunnen että joskus ärsyttää heille

R: um miten tota noi aamupalaverit, kun ne käydään aina suomeksi. Olisko sulla siihen mitään mielipidettä?

P: joo minä en tykkää. Itseasiassa mut se riippuu ku nyt ____ on täällä ja sit ____ tiskaaja he eivät puhu suomen kieltä ja esimerkiksi palaverissa minä ja ____ pitää kääntää heille koska pomot ei sano mitään englanniksi ja minusta se ei oo kivaa koska kaikki ymmärtävät englanninkieltä niin miksi ei vaihtaisi kieltä? Mutta miten minä voin sanoa ihmiset eivät ole niin rasisteja mutta en tiedä pitää kunnioittaa minusta paljon enemmän

R: koetko sopeutuneesi työyhteisöösi?

P: minä yritän sop sope

[T:10:10: *struggled with Finnish pronunciation so the interview shifted to English.*]

P: right so I don't feel fitting in totally even though I've worked here for ____ it's like there's still something between me and the Finnish people

R: mhmm I've noticed that you, ____ and ____ tend to stick together..

P: yeah I think everybody has to help each other communicate with each other and share the knowledge but I've asked for help many times and they say: ei kuulu minulle or give that kind of attitude so I gave up and don't ask anymore [nervous? Laugh] but um I don't know we feel that we're like maahanmuuttajat and communicate more

R: uhum I overheard yesterday that you were considering of changing jobs, is that right?

P: it's like um even though people are nice to me I'm still looking for something. I check daily avoimet työpaikat website because here I feel sometimes that I'm being used by people if it's busy they always say "oh ____ hoitaa" and I never say no we don't know how to say no but sometimes too much is too much I don't want to have a burnout

R: have you filled the ____ ?

P: yeah

R: have you discussed the results yet?

P: noo but we should

R: uhum well one of the lowest scores were on the point that um like it went somehow along the lines that 'I find it hard to disagree with my supervisor' and people...

P: yeah I believe that I also wrote a lot of answer to those questions sometimes when I suggest something in the meeting they don't listen so there's no point

R: oh to whom are you usually addressing your concerns?

P: usually to ____ and ____ you know the new keittiömestari but he doesn't do anything

<T:14.50>

R: no? mm so how do you feel about the new chef then?

P: well the previous one ____ was a little bit racist guy. We had many extras and usually many are pakolainen and he didn't like it and was like: why is it always Ahmed or Mahmed or those kind of people coming here. I got pissed off and said: "okay _____ says that they're trying to help maahanmuuttaja to fit in, why do you say that?"

R: and did he say it in front of everyone?

P: yeah everybody in the kitchen and then I was like: "hey excuse me that wasn't nice" and at that moment there was a harjoittelija called Ahmed and thankgod he didn't understand Finnish but I was like hey that's not good. Everybody was like [makes a shocked face]. It's okay if he says those kind of things at home but not in the working area.

R: mm how would your dream team look like? <T:16.35>

P: I think it would be a good mixture of cultures

R: okay why? What would it bring?

P: I feel it's more interesting to talk about things like even food things like thai or filipino food you know or we can share and think of some crazy ideas so its more fun to talk and also I don't know I'm okay to be the only maahanmuuttaja but I think I can be more relaxed if I'm surrounded also by other nationalities

R: uhum you say maahanmuuttaja, how do you feel about the maahanmuuttaja label?

P: um people some talk about it negatively I don't like that but um every country have their maahanmuuttaja but now there are pakolainen more and people have started hating us

R: oh has it had an impact on your life? <T:18.00>

P: yeah some people are like hey why'd you come to finland

R: and they ask you that?

P: yeah and I'm quite lucky because I'm ____ but for example people coming from thailand or philippines are looked down on like they're here to look for a wife or husband so it's like um you know if you move to another country you'll be also a maahanmuuttaja yeah so it's been a little bit sad lately to see those things

R: mhmm well if you could give any suggestions for _____ diversity plan what would you say?

P: well it would be nicer for the maahanmuuttaja maybe like some communication lessons could help because we feel a little bit ashamed to talk sometimes in Finnish because we might say something wrong . I don't mind because I want to speak out and if I say something wrong someone else can fix it and I can learn from it and I don't know um communication it's not about Finnish and maahanmuuttaja we should talk more and communicate because here if I

don't know anything and I ask somebody, nobody answers so I'm like okay what's going on? Then I feel that the boss needs to tell important information to everybody like in the morning meetings like at the breakfast usually we're all there and we could discuss the important information but those kind of things don't happen. I don't know I feel they should give more training for the bosses.

R: uhuhum um like training on how to include different people?

P: how to treat people equally

R: mm yeah of course. So you've stayed here for ____ years, have you seen any other changes in people's attitudes?

P: the Finnish people's attitudes?

R: yeah

P: well now I try to speak to them in Finnish so they're more friendly

R: you think language helps with that?

P: yeah I think so yeah of course I have many friends who don't care if I speak in Finnish or English but for example in super market or if I talk to elderly people they're happy like 'oh you speak Finnish' yeah but I understand that there's a lot background and history so they don't like Asians I just try not to see those things

R: do you see yourself staying in Finland in the future?

P: the thing is I'm still learning Finnish so I don't wanna move anywhere and I don't have any space to learn new languages [laughs] it's not bad in here economically. It's going a little bit down but it's happening everywhere and also that I think the systems are working fine like in ____ so if I won't move back to ____ I'll stay here even though my boyfriend wants to move to Portugal [laughs]

R: well it'd be definitely warmer [laughs]

P: and much cheaper and food is nicer but now I'm like I'm learning Finnish so if I go anywhere else I will have to learn a new language. It's nice to learn it and useful but also too much. Now when I work I try to listen as much as possible Finnish because after work I don't have any energy to learn it, I'm just so exhausted because I try to listen and understand but at the same time I have to work

R: uhuhum and I think you mentioned that what makes it difficult to learn is the lack of grammatical rules?

P: yeah you just have to memorise and my teacher said to me you don't have to ask just memorise [laughs]. Oh it's almost two, I think ____ is alone?

R: I don't know um okay is there anything you'd like to add to this interview?

P: I think I talked a lot about my opinions and you will stay here tomorrow?

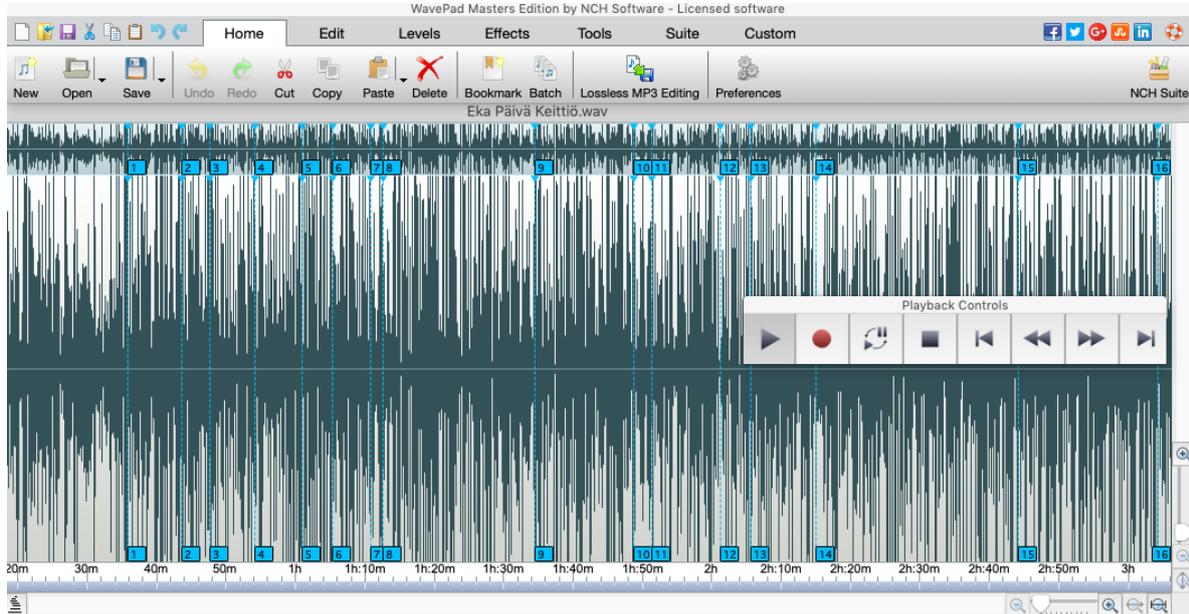
R: yeah so if you want to...

P: thanks I'll come to you [laughs] like our therapist [laughter]

R: I'd rather not be [laughter] I'll turn off the recorder now.

Appendix 7: Sample of interactional data organization

The below samples are from Finlicious.



I listened to the data repeatedly, marked patterns, critical incidents and wrote comments on the WavePad Audio Software (blue squares in the photo above). I also wrote comprehensive notes (below) and colour coded different themes. The example here is from the preliminary analysis stages which broadly looked at leadership, teamwork, conflicts, responsibilities, (language) misunderstandings.



Upon listening to the data and identifying emerging themes, I then transcribed 52 interactions and organised them thematically on different excel sheets (below).

The screenshot shows a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet with three columns of text. Each column contains a transcript excerpt with Finnish text on the left and English translations on the right. The first column is titled "EXCERPTS ON RESPONSIBILITY" and contains a transcript about a menu item. The second column is titled "Ibou double-checks the quantities after duty manager's advice for Ryan" and contains a transcript about food quantities. The third column is titled "Heikki Whining" and contains a transcript about a waitress's shift. The spreadsheet interface includes a ribbon with tabs for Home, Insert, Draw, Page Layout, Formulas, Data, Review, and View. The status bar at the bottom shows "Sheet1" through "Sheet10".

Finally, the most relevant transcripts were printed and I analysed them manually like I did with the interview data (explained in section 3.5.3.).