‘It’s all about trust after all’: Doing Trust in Cross-border collaboration

By

Christina Efthymiadou

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in Intercultural Communication

Centre for Applied Linguistics

University of Warwick

September 2018

Table of Contents

List of figures

List of tables

List of images

Acknowledgements

This PhD would not have been possible without the support of a number of people, whom I would like to thank.

First of all, I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Jo Angouri, who believed in me and supported me throughout my postgraduate studies. Without her wisdom and encouragement this thesis would not at all have been possible. Special thanks also to my second supervisor, Dr Stephanie Schnurr, for her continuous support and valuable comments throughout these years. I feel privileged for having worked close to both.

I should also like to thank all the participants that took part in this study and trusted me their experiences and inner thoughts. I feel grateful for having met them and I acknowledge that this project would not have been possible without their precious help.

Special thanks I owe also to my friends and colleagues from the department of Applied Linguistics, who have been always keen to listen and discuss my ideas. Also to colleagues from the University of Thessaly and my dearest friend Dr Roula Kitsiou, who has always been by my side and supported me spiritually in my journey and difficult moments.

Finally, I would like to thank my family, my sister Danai and my parents, Maria and Efthymis, for having supported me with all possible means during my studies and for loving me unconditionally throughout my life. I dedicate this thesis to them.

Declaration

I confirm that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree at another university.

Abstract

Cross-border collaboration has become the rule for a growing number of enterprises in post-modern societies. In this context, constructing trust is directly related to establishing and maintaining strategic partnerships and alliances. This PhD project investigates the development and performance of trust between Greek and Turkish business partners in a cross-border collaboration setting. Trust is understood as a dynamic construct that operates mainly in the interactional order. It is perceived as a situated and negotiated accomplishment, something partners do in interaction either in institutional settings or in their everyday personal lives (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). The project adopts an ethnographic approach and seeks to capture the ways in which trustworthiness is understood, warranted and performed by participants. The study attends to the plea for more qualitative studies on trust and contributes to literature concerned with how trust develops and evolves over time in cross-border collaboration settings. The research data include 56 hours of semi-structured ethnographic interviews with business partners, and audio and video recordings of natural interaction, including formal meetings, dinners, visits and everyday talk. The data are analysed from an interactional, sociolinguistic perspective.

Trust development in the data is intrinsically linked to perceptions of trustworthiness. The findings suggest that trustworthiness perceptions depend on the perceived expertise and morality of partners, which are then affected by social relationships, shared group membership and the interactional histories that these generate. Shared group membership emerges as particularly significant in the context of a specific case in the data. The analysis shows that by identifying with each other on the basis of shared attributes, in this case regional identity, partners can develop affinities and close personal relationships that facilitate the development of trust. The thesis offers insights also with regard to how trust is enacted in workplace discourse. The findings suggest that negotiation of business decisions during meeting talk constitutes a good arena for the study of trust, as it provides business partners with the opportunity to claim trustworthy personas for themselves through relevant positioning. The work adds to the literature on organisational trust from a discourse analytical perspective and its findings are relevant both to workplace discourse scholars and practitioners interested in workplace relationships.

Chapter 1: Introduction

3.5 Introduction to the topic

Trust is critical for any form of collaboration (Gambetta, 1998). Organisation and management scholars have related trust to high levels of organisational performance and success, whether in large, medium or small sized enterprises (Adler, 2001; Collins and Smith, 2006; Kramer, 1999; Kramer and Tyler, 1996; Zaheer et al., 1998; Rawls, 2008). Trusting relations at work have been proposed to facilitate knowledge exchange and coordinated actions (Lewicki, Tomlinson and Gillespie, 2006), while at the same time providing a sense of security for people involved in the trusting relationship (Six, 2005). Even more importantly for this project, trust is also proposed as fundamental for establishing and maintaining strategic partnerships and alliances, which is vital for businesses in a globalised world (Solomon and Flores, 2003; Six, 2005).

Trust has attracted scholarly interest in organisation and management studies. A great deal of work within this scholarship has focused on the factors that affect trust building either within organisations or between professionals and lay people (Adler, 2001**;** Luhmann, 1979; Lewicki et al., 1998; 2006; Mayer et al., 1995). Although this body of work has shed considerable light o elements that affect trust development, questions regarding how trust develops and evolves over time in business relations are yet to be answered (Kong, Dirks and Ferrin, 2014). In addition, despite the fact that trust has been argued to be critical for the success of partnerships, trusting relationships in cross-border collaborations have received less attention from scholars (Lewicki et al., 1998). This gap becomes greater when it comes to studying trust from a qualitative perspective (Lewicki et al., 2006). The plea for more qualitative approaches to the study of trust has started to be addressed in recent years by discourse analytical studies. Two of the most influential contributions within the field include the edited volumes of Candlin and Crichton (2013) and of Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo (2014), who explore the discursive construction of trust within and across organisations. A common point of departure for both works is the presupposition that trust is a discursive achievement, something people do when they interact with each other and thus is dynamic and relational (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). Still, the interest in trust within the field is in its infancy and more work needs to be done before a better understanding is reached with regard to how trust is discursively performed.

My project addresses the above gaps in trust literature and aims to contribute to our knowledge about the development of trust in cross-border collaboration settings, specifically in the case of Turkish-Greek cross-border collaboration. Through a dataset of in-depth ethnographic interviews and video and audio recording of meetings, visits and everyday talk between Greek and Turkish business partners, my study aims to investigate how partners claim and negotiate trustworthiness in their everyday interactions. Special attention is given to the role of collective identity for the development of trusting relationships in the particular context.

The present study intends to make a significant contribution to the scientific community in more than one way and across different fields. First, the study aims to offer insights on the discursive construction of trust in business partnerships and in a non-English speaking context. Beyond sociolinguistics however, the study also makes a contribution to intercultural communication and border studies, as well as to organisational research concerned with cross-border collaboration, especially in the given context. Concerning that last point, although Turkish-Greek cross-border collaboration seems to have flourished in the last years, no studies have been found concerning the cross-border interaction of Turkish and Greek partners. My study addresses this gap in the literature and through the close analysis of case studies aims to build on previous studies in intercultural communication and sociolinguistics, by referring in particular to countries with a troubled past.

1.2 Motivation of the study

The main idea of this study emerged as a result of my previous research project in the context of my MA dissertation, where I looked at how a group of participants in

Greece constructed the image of Turks in interviews. The findings of my MA thesis showed that participants constructed Turks as both similar and different to themselves in relation to different aspects, demonstrating in that way the complexity and multi-dimensionality that characterises identity construction. These findings tempted me to study further identity construction in the Greek-Turkish context, but in relation to bilateral business practices this time. Although this PhD thesis has been driven since its beginning from my interest in the social aspect of business collaborations, its exact focus has been evolving over time. The conducting of a pilot study at the first stages of this project contributed critically to its shape (see also 3.3.2). To be more precise, although the concept of trust was not included in the initial research agenda, it emerged as a core theme during the pilot study. Trust had a central role in participants' interviews and a brief search of the relevant literature was enough to intrigue my research interest and make me devote my doctoral thesis to the workings of trust in cross-border collaboration contexts.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organised in into seven chapters. This introduction is followed by the literature review chapter, in which I discuss the different areas of research that have shaped my reading and informed my conceptualisation of the study. The third chapter reports on the methodology of the project, while the fourth discusses the findings derived from the interview analysis. Attention is paid to the factors that participants claim to be important for the development of trust. The fifth chapter explores the relationship between trust and group identification, by focusing on a specific case study, called SforSteel. The same partnership is under focus also in Chapter six, which investigates how partners do trust in meetings. The seventh and last chapter brings together and discusses the findings of the overall study, highlighting the contributions made in the relevant literature, as well as the limitations of the project and indicates further areas of research.

Before moving to the literature review, I provide a brief discussion on the background of Turkish-Greek relations.

1.4 Background of Turkish-Greek relations

Overview of key historical events from 1922 to today

Turkey and Greece have been involved in perennial conflicts over territory, energy exploration and the island of Cyprus, and as a result the relationship between the two countries has been an extremely strained and fragile one (Ganapati et al., 2010). Historical events dating from the early twentieth century have often brought the two countries in open confrontation and to the brink of war. In 1919 the two countries embroiled themselves in a Greco-Turkish war that ended with the major defeat of Greek forces in Anatolia in 1922, marked by the Asia Minor Catastrophe (Hirschon, 2003). The end of the Greco-Turkish war coincided with the end of the Ottoman era and was followed by major political events. First of all, the Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk announced the end of the Ottoman Empire and the establishment of the Turkish Democracy. Secondly, the end of the war meant a territorial contraction between Turkey and Greece and major diplomatic gains for Turkey. More importantly for the case of the present project though, the end of the decade of warfare resulted in a very disproportionate population exchange against Greece under the terms of the Lausanne Convention of 1923 (Yıldırım, 2006). The details of the population exchange were discussed in an international peace conference in Lausanne, where a triumphant Turkey, an exhausted Greece and the Allied States – Great Britain, France and Italy – were gathered in order to map out the future of the volatile Near East region (Clark, 2006). As article one of the Lausanne convention, signed on 30 January 1923, dictated:

> *There shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Muslim religion established in Turkish territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece without the authorization of the Turkish government or of the Greek government respectively.*
>
> *(in Clark, 2006)*

The separation of the populations of Greece and Turkey was driven by a deadly and cold logic; politicians did not consider the feelings of people involved in the exchange, but wanted an arrangement that would be durable and would minimize the danger of further war in the future (Clark, 2006). Thus, since new borders were drawn and economic assets reallocated, it seemed natural and safer to divide people as well (ibid.). In this context, Greece was planned to be an entirely Orthodox Christian country, while Turkey mainly Muslim; that meant that anybody who lived on the wrong religious side would be deported across the Aegean to start a new life in the 'right' country (Yıldırım, 2006). The exchange thus was more of an exchange between Christian and Muslims, rather than Greeks and Turks (Clark, 2006).

The population exchange involved almost 1.5 million people and has had far-reaching effects on the development of the two nations over the past 80 years (Hirschon, 2003). The deportation not only affected the refugees themselves, but had broader economic, political and cultural consequences for the newly established states (Yıldırım, 2006). The 1923-1933 decade was a period of national reconstruction for the two states marked by thousands of homeless and jobless refugees (Hirschon, 2003; Yıldırım, 2006). Apart from the problems associated with the absorption of newcomers, constraints also stemmed from the removal of certain parts of their populations (Clark, 2006). The latter was obvious for Turkey, since the country, with the removal of its Christian residents, lost virtually all of its skilled craftsmen, traders and entrepreneurs (Clark, 2006). The effects of the exchange though seemed to be graver for Greece, which had to face a huge influx of migrants that changed every aspect of the country's socioeconomic life (Grigoriadis, 2008; Kontogiorgi, 2003). At the time of the exchange, an extreme humanitarian crisis broke out provoking the concern and emergency assistance of international agencies, such as the Red Cross, the Near East Fund and the Save the Children Fund (Morgenthau, 1929). The impoverished Greek state was unable to provide essential assistance to nearly 1.2 million refugees from Asia Minor and Pontos (Black Sea region in modern day Turkey) and support their efforts to integrate in the new social context (Hirschon, 2003). Deported people had to face additional problems as well. As the logic behind the deportation dictated, people once relocated would have to reposition themselves and adjust to the new environment. A crucial part of this repositioning involved shifting from local varieties to the standard variety of the mainland and new norms (Clark, 2006). However, resettlement, according to Clark (2006) is never a gentle process; people are enforced to suppress certain feelings that connect them with the places they lived and they become part of a new socio-political environment which often alienates them from their past 'homes'. In most cases, apart from the trauma of departure, migrants in Greece had to face the difficulties of adapting to a new place that was not always welcoming (Hirschon, 2003). That, coupled with the inability of the Greek state to handle the crisis and support the newcomers, resulted in the preservation of a collective refugee identity of Asia Minor and Pontic Greeks for many decades after their settlement in Greece (Vergeti, 1991). And as some people still argue, the effects of the population exchange is still traceable in today's modern societies of both countries, but mainly in Greece (Clark, 2006; Hirschon, 2003).

The preservation of this refugee identity until today could be argued to affect the cross border collaboration between Greeks and Turks, turning the population exchange into an issue of contemporary relevance too (Hirschon, 2003). This argument is supported by the findings of the present project too. I am going to discuss this point along with the main findings in the following chapters.

Relations in the mid twentieth century

The relations between Turkey and Greece continued to be turbulent for a long time after the population exchange of 1923. Thirty years after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the relations between Greeks and Turks seemed not to be substantially rehabilitated as demonstrated by the pogrom against the Greeks of Istanbul in September 1955 occasioned by disagreements on the Cyprus Issue (Vryonis, 2005) and the final deportation of some 13,000 residents with Greek citizenship from Istanbul in 1964 (Oran, 2003). A new breakdown in the relations took place ten years later, in 1974, when a coup against the President of Cyprus, Makarios, became the triggering event for Turkey to use its rights as guarantor of the Cyprus Republic and through military force to occupy until today the northern part of the island (Eralp and Beriker, 2005). The two countries finally managed to avoid the war; however, the division of Cyprus became one of the biggest and long-standing disputes between the two countries that until today remains unresolved and affects their relations. The danger of an armed conflict between Turkey and Greece arose again in 1987, when a Turkish ship called Sismik entered Greek waters in order to conduct oil surveys. The incident brought Turkey and Greece into confrontation over the economic exploitation of the Aegean Sea (Kouris, 1997); war was once again prevented, the hostile climate though remained and was prolonged also in the 1990s. The conflicts over the Aegean islet of Imia in 1996, the Greek support for Cyprus in the installation of S-300 anti-aircraft ballistic missiles and the revelation of the fact that Abdullah Ocalan had found refuge in the Greek Embassy in Nairobi in 1999 (Kotzias, 2000) had only worsened relations and proved that the 'cold war in Greek-Turkish relations was far from over' (Grigoriadis, 2003:5, 2012). The strained Turkish-Greek relations in the twentieth century are also reflected in the limited number of 19 bilateral agreements signed between the two countries between 1923 and 1999 (Ganapati et al., 2010), while the fact that 18 of them were signed before 1955 and only one after that year provides evidence for the resurgence of hostility that prevailed between the two countries in the second half of the century.

Rapprochement period

Towards the end of the 1990s, however, the picture began to change and the relations between Turkey and Greece entered into a 'period of rapprochement' (Rumelili, 2007:107). After the Ocalan affair, Greek Prime Minister, Konstantinos Simitis, in an attempt to reorient Greek foreign policy and restore Greek-Turkish relations, appointed as new Foreign Minister George Papandreou. In 1999, the Kosovo war constituted the reason for George Papandreou and the Foreign Minister of Turkey, Ismail Cem, to co-operate and take steps for the improvement of the two countries' relations (Grigoriadis, 2003). Later in the same year, a working group aiming to promote bilateral cooperation was established and meetings took place in Ankara and Athens in July 1999. The group conducted bilateral talks on less contentious areas, e.g. trade, tourism, environment, illegal immigration, organised crime and terrorism (Washington Post, 1999; The Independent, 1999 in Ganapati et al., 2010). Détente efforts were successively facilitated by a natural disaster, the earthquakes that hit Turkey and Greece in August and September 1999 respectively, that triggered a wave of unprecedented mutual aid and compassion, and a dramatic reversal of hostile attitudes in the public opinion and press, making the two countries acknowledge the fact that they share common risks (Ganapati et al., 2010; Kotzias, 2000). The enhancement of Turkish-Greek relations was further supported by the change of the Greek foreign policy announced at the Helsinki Summit in December 1999 (Rumelili, 2007). At the summit, the Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou lifted the veto that had been imposed against the Turkish EU candidacy on the part of Greece and paved the way for the establishment of a warmer diplomatic climate between the two countries (ibid.). The Helsinki summit, characterized by Grigoriadis (2012) as a 'milestone' for Greek-Turkish relations, meant the advent of a new era in the Aegean region. The prospect of EU co-membership drastically changed Turkish and Greek foreign policies and triggered a shift in both countries in the way people on the other side of the Aegean were perceived and presented in the mass media (Keridis, 2001).

Contemporary situation

Despite the promising situation for Greek-Turkish bilateral relations in the early post-Helsinki period, 19 years later the picture remains mixed. Undoubtedly the two countries have committed themselves to a multi-layered cooperation that looks at issues of bilateral trade, energy relations and minority rights, establishing in that way an unprecedented growing economic interdependence. This is also indicated by the signing of 33 bilateral agreements between the two countries up to 2010 (Ganapati et al., 2010). Also, in 2017, and after almost 70 years, the two prime ministers visited their respective countries and agreed to ease tensions and keep communication channels open.

However, the two biggest disputes between Greece and Turkey, the Aegean and Cyprus questions, still remain unresolved. In 2004 Cyprus rejected through referendum the resolution plan submitted by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and joined the EU without a resolution to the Cyprus question (Eralp and Beriker, 2005). This development deteriorated the fragile Greek-Turkish relations (Beyatli et al., 2011). Since then, every round of negotiations has failed to reach any tangible results. The last and most promising reunification talks took place in Switzerland in July 2017 but collapsed amid angry scenes, with the UN Secretary General, Antonio Guterres, stating he was very sorry for not reaching a resolution and wishing good luck to future attempts (The Guardian, 7th July 2017).

Similarly for the Aegean issue, the numerous meetings launched to negotiate the end of disputes between the two countries, due to changes of the political scene and the priorities set in the two governments' agendas, have not led to an agreement (Grigoriadis, 2012). The dispute has entered a new era of tension in the last couple of years due to numerous violations of Greek territorial waters by Turkish forces, renewed tensions over the Imia-Kardak islets and disagreements with regard to oil and gas drilling rights.

In addition to the above unresolved issues, during the last two years Turkish-Greek relations have deteriorated considerably due to confrontations at a diplomatic level. Following the unsuccessful coup in Turkey in summer 2016, eight anti-government Turkish servicemen fled and sought political asylum in Greece, where courts refused to extradite them to Turkey. In reprisal, in March 2018 Turkish authorities arrested two Greek soldiers near the Evros border on charges that they had entered a prohibited military zone. Tensions have escalated dramatically after this last incident. The instability of the two countries' relations is further amplified by the constant violation of Greek airspace by Turkish aircraft, which are often followed by 'dangerous air engagements and dogfights' involving the two countries' air forces (Tasiopoulos, 2017). As recently as April 2018, there were more than 30 violations reported (Baboulias, 2018, foreignpolicy.com), while in one of the last confrontations a Greek pilot was killed while returning to his base from a mission against Turkish jets. This incident has further fuelled hostile sentiments from the Greek side.

In the context of instability in the Eastern Mediterranean region and the resultant humanitarian crisis, the peaceful resolution of the existing conflicts seems to be imperative for peace preservation. In European discussions on creating and preserving international peace and security, emphasis has been placed on conflict prevention and the peaceful resolution of disputes of the past (Council of European Union, 2011; 2014). Establishment and maintenance of good relations, especially between states at the external borders of the EU, seems to be a premise for the effective resolution of the refugee crisis and its security. This is acknowledged by the European Commission, as shown by the development of foreign policy instruments such as the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), which aims to develop a ring of prosperous, stable and cooperative states around Europe (European Commission, 2007). The two countries of Turkey and Greece fall particularly into that case. More importantly (considering the latest developments in the area), good neighbour relations between the two countries is a prerequisite for the effective application of the agreement signed between Europe and Turkey in 2016 with regard to managing refugee flows (Tzallas, 2018). In this context, the discourse of trust is rendered extremely relevant.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

My project investigates how business partners claim and negotiate trustworthiness and how this is enacted discursively. In this context, identity, more specifically the claiming of particular shared identities between business partners that are positively valued within the community, is perceived to be closely related to claiming trustworthiness. In this chapter I discuss the main theoretical premises that have shaped this study. More specifically, I start by discussing the concept of trust: how it has been approached by different studies across several fields and how it is conceptualised here. I continue by reviewing seminal works and shifts in the study of identity within sociolinguistics and discussing the view of identity as constructed in discourse.

2.1 Trust

2.1.1 Introduction to the concept of trust

Trust has attracted increasing interest across social sciences in the last 50 years. Seminal studies that have shaped the theorisation of the notion have been conducted within sociology (Gambetta, 1988), psychology (Deutsch, 1962), political sciences (Hardin, 1992) and more recently within discourse studies (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). In addition, trust has also generated interest in organisation and management studies (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010; Kramer and Tyler, 1996; Lewicki et al., 1998; Mayer et al., 1995; Mollering, 2014; Rawls, 2008). Despite the different methodologies, all studies show the critical importance of trust for workplace relationships and cooperation (Six, 2005).

My project is situated in sociolinguistic studies but also draws on organisation literature. Hence in what follows, I review insights from the fields of sociology, organisation and discourse analytical studies to illustrate the way trust is understood and approached in the present study. I start by discussing the ontological status of trust and its relevance to organisation life. This is followed by the presentation of influential research on trust development from different disciplines and I then discuss how these insights have shaped my perspective.

2.1.2 The ontological status of trust

There is no single, widely accepted definition of trust among scholars. Different works have proposed different conceptualisations of the concept, while some of them have also associated it with other conterminous notions, such as credibility or reliability. Trust has most commonly been associated with a person's confidence in others' good intentions or motives (Deutsch, 1960) or to the willingness of a party to voluntarily take a risk and be vulnerable to another party's actions based on an expectation that the other party won't act in a harmful way towards the trustor (Gambetta, 1988). As this definition suggests, trust involves more than one actor, risk, vulnerability, and expectations of action. I will elaborate further on how these notions come together.

In most organisational and recent discourse analytical accounts, trust is closely related to the notions of risk and uncertainty (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). According to Luhmann (1988), trust depends on risk; i.e., trust emerges only in situations where a person has to choose a course of action in preference to others despite the possibility that he/she might be disappointed by the behaviour of others. Trust, in this sense, is only a matter of choice, or as Candlin and Crichton (2013:2) put it, an 'existential decision – to trust or not to trust'. Uncertainty becomes relevant here as people cannot ever be fully aware of other people's motives or behaviour (Gambetta, 1988). To illustrate the above discussion using an example offered by Luhmann, a person may or may not buy a used car that can turn out to be unreliable. If he/she decides to trust the person who sells the car and buys it, he/she runs the risk of being disappointed by the trustee and regretting his/her decision. That person was not forced to buy this car, but voluntarily took the risk to trust the seller in spite of the possibility of being deceived by him/her. In relation to that, Luhmann (1988) argues that decision making always involves risk. This risk seems to be closely related to the freedom of action that other people have to disappoint our expectations or not (Gambetta, 1988). If people did not have choices regarding their action then there would not be a reason for trust to exist, as everybody would know beforehand how others are going to act (ibid.). In this context, trust, by minimizing the doubts about other people's behaviour, acts as a way of coping with situations of risk and uncertainty in life, or, in other words, with the insecurity that derives from the freedom of action of others (Luhmann, 1988; Gambetta, 1988).

2.1.3 Influential works on trust from organisation and management studies

An influential theory in trust studies that also informs the concept of trust in the present project, due to its multidisciplinarity and comprehensiveness compared to other theories, comes from organisational studies, and is that of Lewicki et al. (1998). Lewicki et al. (1998) propose a theoretical framework for the study of trust, but also distrust, within interpersonal relationships that is used by contemporary studies within the discourse analytical field too (see Jackson, 2014). In this framework, trust (distrust) is defined as the confident positive (negative) expectations about another's conduct (p. 439). Moreover, trust and distrust are suggested to be two separate but linked constructs, the development or decrease of which, depends on different elements. This means that high levels of trust do not presuppose low levels of distrust and vice versa in the same relationship. This conception of trust and distrust comes to sharp contrast with previous work that conceived of trust and distrust as the two ends of a single continuum. But what really differentiates their work from previous ones is that Lewicki et al. (1998) stress the simultaneous existence of trust and distrust within interpersonal relationships. More specifically, they argue that in the different facets of a relationship between two people, different levels of trust and distrust can co-exist. In order to understand this two-dimensional view of trust, one needs to consider the relationship within which trust occurs as complex and multi-dimensional.

Lewicki et al. (1998) base their framework in first place on a reconsideration of interpersonal relationships. In their work they condemn the notion of unidimensional relationships that much of the previous organisational scholarship on trust had adopted and propose instead a view of interpersonal relationships as multiplex and multifaceted. For them most interpersonal relationships are multifaceted, given that people relate to each other in multiple ways and in different contexts. For example, two given people, A and B, might be colleagues sharing the same office, but at the same time they can be friends who play tennis together, neighbours or co-members of the same religious group. In all these different contexts, these two people get to know different aspects, or different 'selves' of each other and develop different opinions about each other's abilities within each of these contexts. For example, A might think of B as a friendly person to share the office with, but as an aggressive person to play tennis with. At the same time, B might think of A as a person with strong communication skills but with poor gardening skills. This view of relationships as multi-dimensional is in line with recent sociolinguistic work on identities that argues for the multiplicity of selves (see also section 2.2)

Most interpersonal relationships for Lewicki et al. (1998) have broad 'bandwidth and richness' (p.442). Bandwidth is understood here as 'the scope of the domains of interpersonal relating and competency that are relevant to a single interpersonal relationship' (p.442). According to Lewicki et al. (1998) relationships are viewed as consisting of many different facets, which tend to be grouped together in bands, i.e. groupings of facets across personal qualities that characterise the relationship of a person with another in a given context. They also suggest that 'the broader the interactive experience of a person with another across different contexts, the broader the bandwidth of the relationship' (ibid. p.443). Richness of a relationship, on the other hand, depends according to Lewicki et al. (1998) on the depth and detailed character of the interaction within a given facet of the relationship. More rich or mature relationships are those between people who have spent a lot of time together in many different contexts. Frequency of the interaction, its duration and the diversity of challenges that partners face together all play a crucial role for a relationship to mature (ibid.). If all these conditions apply, then the knowledge of partners of each other is significantly enhanced (ibid.).

Linking the above discussion to trust, in most interpersonal relationships there would be many reasons for two people to trust or distrust another within a single relationship (Lewicki et al., 2006). Referents to trust and distrust then need to be qualified (Hardin, 1992; Lewicki et al., 2006). For example, a teacher might trust a student to deliver a presentation in the classroom, but distrust him/her to write a report without spelling mistakes. In such cases, it would be more insightful/meaningful to ask the teacher if he/she trusts the student to do X instead of asking him/her if he/she trusts the student in general. Reasons for trust and distrust accumulate when interactions acquire more breadth and depth (Lewicki et al., 2006). The frequency, duration and diversity of experiences all contribute in affirming confidence in either positive or negative expectations (ibid.). In the context of complex interpersonal relationships, states of imbalance, inconsistency and 'complex trust' towards another seem to be more common than states of balance and consistency or simple trust and distrust (Lewicki et al., 1998; 2006). In line with this, it becomes obvious that enactments and perceptions of trust and distrust towards certain aspects of one's behaviour are prone to change over the course of a relationship (Jackson, 2014). For example, to use the above teacher/student example, over time the teacher might trust the student to both present in front of the classroom and also write a report without spelling mistakes.

In line with the idea that trust depends on the bandwidth of a relationship, several scholars have developed typologies of trust. For example, Rousseau et al. (1998) build on Lewicki et al.'s (1998) work and suggest that there are three different types of trust depending on the different stages of a business relationship: deterrence-based, calculus-based and relational trust. Deterrence-based trust is based on the belief that the trustor won't act in an opportunistic way because an act like that would have more costs than benefits for both parties. Calculus-based trust is based on rational choice and derives from the belief of the trustor that the trustee will act in a beneficial way. These beliefs derive from the existence of deterrents, along with credible information about the other person's intention, which depend on one's reputation or certified skills (certificates etc.). Last, relational trust develops after 'repeated interactions between trustor and trustee' (Rousseau et al., 1998:399). The results of previous interaction with the trustee provide the grounds for the trustor to assess the trustee's intentions. This type of trust also includes emotional investment and attachment from both sides.

Similar typologies have also been developed by other scholars (see Coleman, 1990; Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; McAllister, 1995; Shapiro et al., 1992). The majority of this work suggests that trust develops incrementally between parties and that the strongest type of trust is the one that develops after successive rounds of interactions and through identification between parties. Kramer (1999) has termed this type identity-based trust, while Lewicki and Bunker (1996) call it identification-based trust. When partners develop this type of trust, they then act and feel like each other, they tend to share the same values and construct a collective identity (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996). Identity or identification-based trust is suggested to be the rarest form of trust in business relationships and also the most difficult one to repair if violated (ibid.). This form of trust is of particular interest for this project, since it seems to be the type of trust developed between partners in the case study under examination in Chapters 5 and 6.

My understanding and approach to trust is informed by the above works in the sense that trust should be studied within a framework that acknowledges and pays special attention to the multi-faceted and complex character of social relationships. The maturity and type of relationship between trustor and trustee are important factors that affect trust decisions. At the same time, my approach does not coincide with previous attempts within organisation literature to measure the phenomenon or develop models that describe its evolution over time in a static way (for a discussion on measures of trust see Lewicki et al., 2006).

2.1.4 Trust and trustworthiness

It is a common presupposition in trust research that trust rests on a person's general willingness to accept vulnerability based on expectations about others' behaviour (Gambetta, 1988). The decision to be vulnerable to others' behaviours is informed by/depends on perceptions of other people's credibility or reliability, i.e., their trustworthiness (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Gambetta, 1988; Jones and Sin, 2013; Mayer et al., 1995; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). Identifying the criteria that determine trustworthiness has been a topic of interest for a number of scholars, from organisation and more recently from discourse analytical studies (see Jones and Sin, 2013; Kramer and Lewicki, 2010; Mayer et al., 1995; Temmerman, 2014; Wackers et al., 2014). What was not a common presupposition in older studies, but seems to have become a point of agreement in recent work on trust, is the idea that trust and trustworthiness need to be studied considering the broader societal context in which trusting relationships develop, including calculative elements as well as social inputs that might affect judgements of trustworthiness (Kramer, 1999). A commonly shared position in this type of work is that trustworthiness is a sensitive construct or 'a fragile status' (Jones and Sin, 2013) that depends heavily on the context in which trustors and trustees find themselves.

2.1.5 Models of trust and trustworthiness from organisation studies

Useful insights in this direction come from the field of organisational studies. Mayer et al. (1995) developed a highly influential analytic model of trustworthiness in which they define the three main qualities that a person needs to acquire in order to be trusted: his/her ability, benevolence and integrity. These three characteristics seem to be parallel with the dimensions of a speaker's ethos, identified by Aristotle and used in classic rhetoric. In a professional context, ability refers to the good knowledge and competence of the person in the field of expertise he/she is communicating about, while benevolence refers to the perception of the trustor about the good intentions of the trustee towards him/her. The third characteristic, integrity, suggests that a person would trust another if he/she thinks that the latter adheres to some principles which the former considers to be acceptable. These three characteristics of the trustee are related but separable, in the sense that each can vary independently. For example, and in the context of business partnerships, a person can be knowledgeable in his/her field of expertise and well known for his/her integrity, but at the same time can be perceived as not having good intentions towards the other partner/trustor. Or at the same time, a person might have many good intentions towards another partner, but not the necessary skills to prove helpful. According to this model then, possibilities for trust to develop are higher when all three characteristics rank highly, and lower when one or more are absent. Other important factors that affect trust placement are the trustor's general propensity to trust others and the risks that each specific case involves. The model also proposes that the outcome of a trusting behaviour, either good or bad, influences perceived trustworthiness and action in future interactions. The particular model is considered analytically significant for the purposes of the present project since it indicates that trust is a dynamic phenomenon, the development of which depends on the interplay of multiple factors, which refer to qualities of the trustee and the trustor, as well as contextual conditions. In discussing the outcomes of my study in later chapters, I point out parallels with this model. The model is illustrated as shown in Figure 2.1:

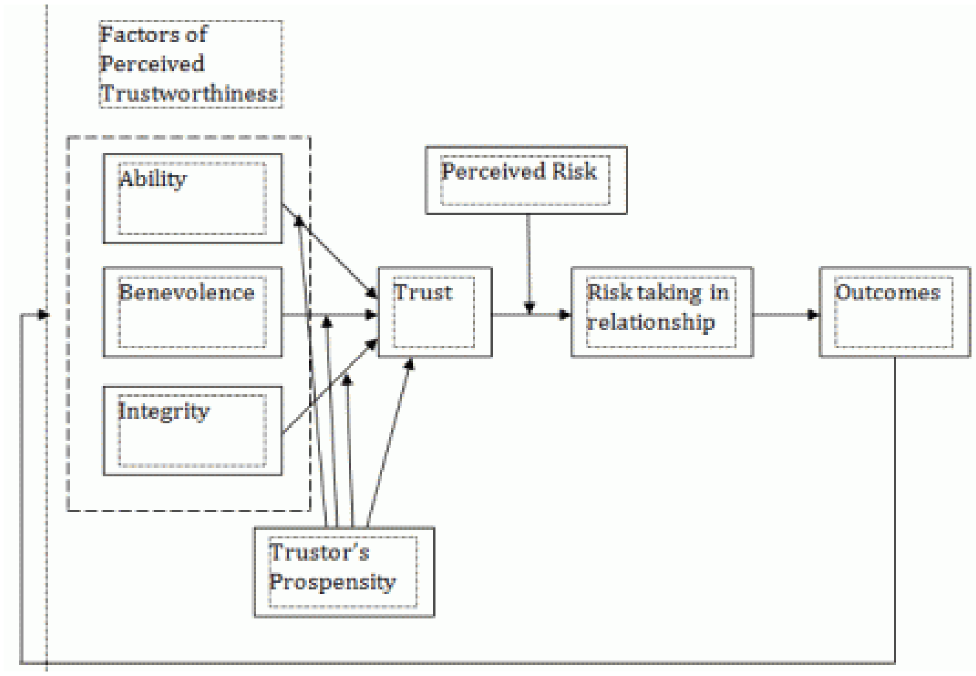


Figure 2.1: Integrative model of trust. Source: Mayer, Davies and Schoorman (1995)

In a similar vein, another model of interpersonal trust-building within management literature that brings together multiple factors is developed by McKnight et al. (1998), who propose a set of factors that affect initial trust development between parties that have no prior relationship. Their model suggests that there are two main factors affecting trust: trusting intentions or general disposition to trust, and institutional trust, the belief that the context is conducive to trusting. Trusting beliefs play an important role too and are based on perceptions of the trustee's benevolence, integrity, competence and predictability. The model incorporates further cognitive processes that affect trust development, such as categorization processes (in-group categorisation and stereotyping) and illusions of the control process, which refers to the trustor's confidence that he/she can assess the trustee's trustworthiness and behaviour. The risk that a situation includes is also taken into consideration and influences trust decisions. The model is illustrated in Figure 2.2:

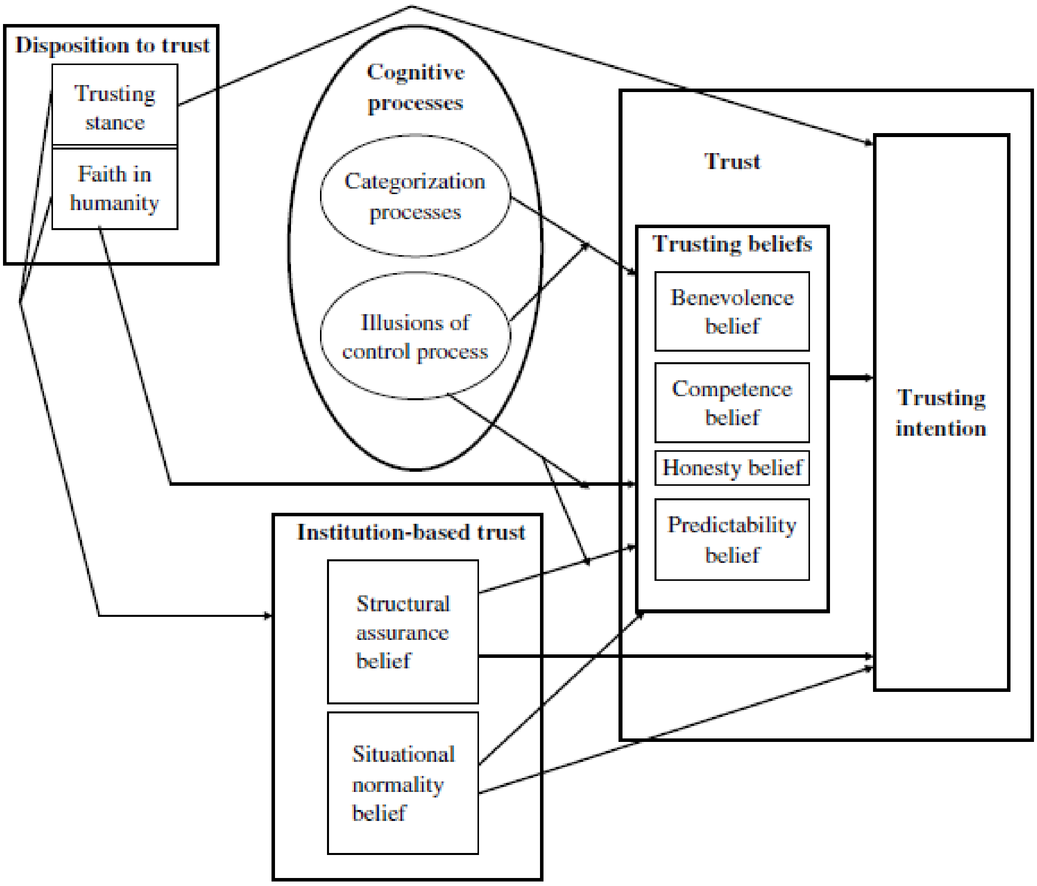


Figure 2.2: Trust-building model (Source: McKnight et al., 1998)

Both models of trustworthiness suggest that trust placement depends on multiple factors, including disposition to trust, general qualities of the trustee and contextual information. Trust then emerges as a result of a matrix of different factors attending to different orders. The second model includes more factors than the first one, demonstrating some of the complexity that characterises the construct of trust as well as drawing attention to its situated character. The addition that seems relevant to the study here is the inclusion of social categorisation processes in trustworthiness judgements, which is considered to be a factor of paramount importance for the better understanding of interpersonal trust. Categorisation processes are important throughout the data of this study too (see Chapter 5). With regard to the above models of trustworthiness, the analysis is not guided by them, but draws on them in order to identify similarities and discrepancies and justify relationships between concepts and trust (see Chapter 4).

In addition to the above factors, literature from organisation and management studies suggests important relationships between friendship, loyalty and trust. Mavondo and Rodrigo (2001) suggest that trust is based on loyalty and cooperation, which develop through friendship. Friendships involve liking and affect (Niven et al., 2012) and have been positively related to effective communication, loyalty and trust (Zaheer et al., 1998). Loyalty is proposed to be a significant concept in relation to trust, with Rosanas and Velilla (2003:56) arguing that 'the two concepts can be seen as the two sides of the same coin'. They suggest that the two concepts complement each other since a trustor shows trust to a trustee under the expectation that the latter will be loyal to the former and will honour his/her trust (ibid.)

2.1.6 Trust and trustworthiness within discourse analytic studies

In recent times, trust has also attracted some interest in discourse analytical studies. The central argument that underlies this work is that trust is a discursive achievement, something people do when they interact with each other. This position is well illustrated in Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo's (2014:7) words: 'whether we trust others has a lot to do with what they say (including what they do not say), and with how they say it, as well as with what we tell them and how we do that'. Having that as a starting point, a number of studies have approached trust through the close analysis of communication, either verbal or not. I will briefly report on two studies that are regarding medical contexts, but constitute prime examples of how professional trust is accomplished through language.

An illustrative example is the study of Hewett et al. (2013) which focuses on professional trust among hospital doctors. Hewett et al. (2013) analysed communication between doctors in written medical records and found that professional trust is developed and negotiated in intergroup terms. They discerned between in-group and out-group trust, the former referring to trust between doctors of the same specialty and the latter between doctors of different specialties. The establishment of both forms of trust seems to be facilitated by the use of accommodative language in written records. Accommodative language in their study is interpreted as the use of 'expressions of respect, politeness or the like' (Hewett et al., 2013:40). In-group trust was found to be linked to allegiance of salient social identities and constructed through the demonstration of competence and respect for senior colleagues. At the same time, the development of out-group trust was found to be related to the demonstration of respect, deference and cross-cutting group memberships.

In a similar vein, O'Grady and Candlin (2013) investigated the development of trust through discourse in consultation sessions between a doctor, a parent and an adolescent patient. As their analysis demonstrated, the doctor managed to create a climate of mutual trust and acceptance in the consultations through a series of strategic discursive choices. These choices included gaze patterns, attention to bodily movements of the young patient and careful choice of terms of address when talking to him. These actions ultimately contributed to a repositioning of the adolescent patient: from being interactionally dependent on his mother, the young patient acquires a more independent position and becomes responsible for monitoring his own health.

Still within health-care context, Elsey, Monrouxe and Grant (2014) explored doctor-patient-student triadic bedside teaching encounters and showed how trust was achieved interactionally. More specifically, using a symbolic interactionist framework they focused on the functions of pronoun use and laughter and showed how these affected the construction and negotiation of social roles and identities of doctors, patients and students in the interactions under examination, which then affected trust levels between the doctor and patients. Although in a different context, the findings of these studies are still considered significant for my project, since they illustrate how the particular discursive choices of interlocutors can contribute to the construction of a climate of trust in interactional contexts.

As it has become obvious from the above discussion, trust takes different forms in different contexts. It is constructed through discourse in many possible ways, depending on what people say, but also on non-verbal choices, such as gaze patterns and body language. The construction of trust seems not to follow general overarching rules that can be applied in all situations; instead it seems to be sensitive to the particular contexts in which it is embedded. Also, as shown, it can be conceptualised in different ways, e.g. in terms of in-groups and out-groups, or as institutional and interpersonal. This dynamic and context situated conceptualisation of trust seems to match well with Candlin and Crichton's (2013) understanding of the notion as a momentary accomplishment of people who interact, i.e., trust becomes constructed between people at the very moment that they interact with each other. Based on these insights, my project aims to study how participants do trust in different contexts and interactive events.

Work within discourse studies has recently shed light on the discursive strategies through which trustworthiness is claimed and negotiated in organisations. For example, Jones and Sin (2013) have investigated the factors that contribute to the building of a trustworthy persona for professional accountants. They analysed original accounts of practitioners taken from interview data, in which participants talked about the challenges they faced as recipients of trust from different social actors and their efforts to be seen as trustworthy. Their analysis showed that trustworthiness was constructed as a result of a certain degree of communicative expertise, which was indexed by behaviours that reflected recognition and respect for difference, such as frequent use of critical enquiry (questioning, probing, double-checking figures and facts), explaining (both to lay people and specialists), advising (on a wide range of matters) and negotiating (persuading, compromising, resolving disagreements and conflicts) but also of other non-verbal factors, such as one's appearance, manner and overall style. Trustworthiness thus was found to be a complex construct, shaped by specific forms of communicative expertise and reinforced by non-verbal cues.

In a similar vein, Temmerman (2014) investigated the communication of trustworthiness of a Flemish women's magazine to its readers. She examined the use of the first-person plural pronoun, as well as that of imperatives and pseudo-dialogue in the magazine's discourse and found that the magazine communicated trustworthiness through the adoption of an expert position towards its readers.

Another useful contribution comes from the work of Kusmierczyk (2014), who applied multimodal interaction analysis to video recording of job interviews and examined how interviewees manage to claim trustworthiness for themselves within interaction through various modes. Having as starting point the argument that engagement and mutual understanding facilitates positive evaluation of the candidate (Kerekes, 2003), she delves into identifying the discursive actions that contribute to building mutual understanding between the interviewer and the interviewee. Kusmierczyk's (2014) analysis shows that mutual engagement and understanding are facilitated by the amount and frequency of supportive overlaps, latching and drawing on each other's contributions, which all contribute to establishing an engaged conversational style that allows more flexibility for interviewees to construct their answers. In addition to that, through the multimodal angle taken, her analysis demonstrates also the critical role of gestures, gaze, body movement and object handling for the encounter under examination. All in all, her works shows that gestures, gaze, as well as written text all intersect with speech in meaning-making and are important for establishing trust in the face-to-face interactions.

Still within a corporate communication context, Fuoli (2017) conducted a corpus-based analysis of annual and corporate social responsibility reports (CSR) investigating how companies use stance expressions to construct a trustworthy corporate identity. The findings suggest that companies claim different identities in the different types of reports. While in annual reports, they make use of stance to come across as unbiased, rational and competent decision makers, in CSR reports they claim for themselves the identity of committed, honest and caring corporate citizens. The different representations of the companies are interpreted as strategic self-representations that enhance the persuasive appeal of the reports by being tailored to/guided by the specific expectations of the target audience.

I adopt a discursive view of trust for the purposes of my own project too. Trust, in the context of my work, is perceived as an interactional achievements of individuals. It has a dynamic and relational character, in the sense that it can change over time and that it depends on attitudes or beliefs of people towards others (Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). Last but not least, trust seems to be enacted at multiple levels, both professional and more personal (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Manderson and Warren, 2013).

I devote the next section to discussing another factor that has been argued to affect trusting relationships, namely identity.

2.2 Identity

In the second part of the literature review, I focus on a factor that has been suggested to act as a basis for presumptive trust in previous research, namely group identity (see Brewer, 1981; Coleman, 1990; Kramer, 1999; Loh et al., 2010). The basic presupposition behind this argument is that people who belong to the same group tend to attribute positive characteristics to fellow in-group members, including trustworthiness (Brewer, 1996) and this results in a depersonalised form of trust in their relationship (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010).

I devote the following section to discuss contemporary approaches to identity within discourse studies, which have also shaped the way identity is understood and studied in the project.

2.2.1 Identity within discourse studies

The study of identity has been central in the social and human sciences and its theorizing involves insights from many different disciplines (psychology, sociology, anthropology, gender theory). Identity has also been critical for sociolinguistics and discourse studies, which have focused particularly on the relationship between discourse and identity, aiming to explain and demonstrate the ways through which identity becomes constructed and reproduced through discourse (Bamberg, 2006; Bamberg et al., 2011; Schiffrin, 1996).

Early sociolinguistic studies on identity theorized identity as a well-established entity of the individual, and as a fixed and permanent attribute of the speakers that could be observed by the researcher (Schiffrin, 1996). Researchers of that early period ascribed the linguistic behavior of socially defined groups to particular cultural and biological characteristics. This position was based on the twofold assumption that 'groups can be clearly delimited and that group members look alike' (Bucholtz, 2003:400). For example, some of the classic work on identity in the early days (see

Labov's work, 1966, 1972b), especially variational sociolinguistics, linked identity with language by showing the ways social categories, such as gender, age, and social class, could explain the way in which people pronounced certain sounds (Bamberg et al., 2011; LePage and Tabouret Keller, 1985). Much of the work that followed Labov's influential study, focused on linguistic variation across particular populations, advancing in that way the knowledge of researchers on language variation in society (De Fina, 2011). Identity and language in this type of work were related in the following way: language reflected an inner quality of the speaker, which was representative of his/her identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011). This view suggests that language and identity are two well separated notions that are related in a one-to-one type of relationship.

During the last two decades though, the above volume of work and its assumptions have been forcefully criticized within the field of sociolinguistics for raising theoretical, methodological and political issues (Bucholtz, 2003; De Fina, 2011; Bucholtz, 1999). First of all, as Coupland (2008) has argued, despite the fact that variational sociolinguistic work has advanced the knowledge of the scientific community on language variation, studies within that tradition seem to have treated the relationship between language and identity in rather simplistic terms. Indeed, more recent work (see De Fina, 2011) has shown that the relationship between language and identity is far more complex than a one-to-one type relationship between linguistic practices and distinct social groups. For example, speakers can adopt different linguistic styles that index membership to particular groups (i.e. by adopting accents or using dialects), for a number of different reasons, such as rejecting or accepting identities projected to them (De Fina, 2011). The main assumption behind this type of work is that speakers have choices for presenting information, and the actual decisions they make about which devices (lexical, syntactic, prosodic, phonetic) to use in their talk reveal their alignment to certain social categories and the consequent emergence of respective social identities (Bamberg et al., 2011). Other critiques to this early work are based on insights from the field of social theory and challenge the way early identity theorists viewed society and social phenomena. These critiques are mainly constructed around the argument that assumptions of homogeneity and stability seem to be completely out of date in post-modern societies that are characterized by continuous flows and mixing of people, and disunity (Bauman, 2005; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011; Giddens, 1991; Laclau, 1990). According to social theorists, late modern societies, characterized by fracture and continuous physical and social displacement, provide appropriate conditions for the emergence of various new local and group-specific identities for individuals (Bauman, 2005; Hall, 1996; Laclau, 1990). Members of modern states can simultaneously employ many different and sometimes conflicting regional, supraregional, sexual, linguistic, religious, political and other types of collective identities (Wodak et al., 1999). This is critical in the context of the present project. As will be shown in the following chapters, participants in the study employ collective regional identities that cut across national categorizations and play a significant role in the development of trust in the given context.

Over the last 25 years or so identity scholars have come to redefine the field, and the ways they understood and approached identity in their research. More recent work reflects a tendency to view identity not as a property of the individual which resides in his/her mind, but as a construct which is constituted in social action, and especially through language (Bamberg et al., 2011; Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Harré, 1991; Kerby, 1991; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Taylor, 1991). This assumption has led to different ways of researching identity as well. Instead of focusing on isolated linguistic choices of people and attempting to grasp through those the 'real' identity of the speakers, more contemporary sociolinguistic research has been more concerned with how identity is used in talk (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998; De Fina, 2011). More specifically, recent work examines how individuals engage in identity work in interaction, by which means/through which discursive practices they enact, accept or reject different facets of identity in their social interactions in a process of creating and negotiating social meaning (Bamberg et al., 2011). Contemporary thinking in the field suggests that identity is produced and negotiated in professional, as well as in mundane, everyday interactions because when people talk they perform specific acts and express specific stances towards the way the world works (Ochs, 1992). This proposition leads to the study of identity through the analysis of spoken interaction, mainly by means of discourse analysis. Identities in contemporary work are also studied in a particular here and now (Angouri, 2016; Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998). The role of context is given particular attention and identity is studied in relation to particular sociocultural contexts (i.e. identity in the workplace context).

Identity in my study is approached as a discursive construct that emerges through social interaction and is always open to negotiation between participants. I espouse the social constructionist idea that there is no such thing as an objective reality, hence, there is no such thing as an objective identity either. Thus, I am not starting my research by aiming to reveal any 'real' identity of my participants. Instead, I will pay attention to the ways my participants interact, how they make relevant particular types of identities in their interactions with their business partners, and what sorts of actions these identities seem to perform/to what ends they are put in the specific interactional contexts. My analysis does not aim to lead to generalizable findings with regard to my participants' identities; rather, my analysis is going to focus on specific interactions and shed light on the situated character of identity work in which the participants are involved (situated in the wider social context and local interactional context).

2.2.2 Common discursive practices in identity construction

Across the different discursive approaches that have been developed within the interactionist/constructionist paradigm for the study of identity, there are some discursive practices that have been identified as central to the construction of identity. Some of the most commonly mentioned concepts in relation to identity construction are: indexicality, categorization, local occasioning, relationality. I am going to discuss each one in detail.

Indexicality

Current work in sociolinguistic studies argues that identity is contextual and situated (De Fina, 2011). People might claim or ascribe an identity openly, for example by making statements of the type 'I am British' or 'You are racist'. Other times though they might do it in more subtle ways, for example by making use of specific sounds, words, expressions or languages that are associated with specific social characteristics or identities. This association making process has been addressed in the identity literature as indexicality. More specifically, indexicality is defined as the process by which a linguistic form is semiotically linked to a social meaning (Ochs, 1992). The term draws on the work of Silverstein (1976), according to which, symbols (linguistic and non-linguistic) 'index' (point to) elements of the social context. The term 'symbols' is used here in a broad sense and includes both linguistic forms and non-linguistic elements (i.e. dress code, hairstyle, body language). Indexicality can be direct or indirect. I will elaborate this point later.

Bucholtz and Hall (2008) argue that indexicality permeates all levels of linguistic structure and use, and suggest four indexical processes through which identity can be constituted in interaction: 1) the obvious and direct use of identity categories and labels, 2) less direct ways of projecting identities such as presupposition and implicature, 3) the expression of certain stances (evaluative and epistemic orientations) in talk along with interactional roles speakers inhabit in conversation, and 4) the adoption of particular styles and codes that are associated with specific types of identities. I will elaborate further on each of them.

The most direct way of ascribing an identity in discourse is by openly introducing an identity category or label in the talk, for example by describing someone else or self as 'white' or 'straight'. This discursive practice is based on/illustrates/presupposes broader processes of labelling and categorization that are reported as fundamental in identity construction processes (Abrams and Hogg, 2006; Sacks, 1972; Tajfel and Turner, 1979). I will devote a special section to the role of categorization and discuss some of the seminal works that have been developed around the concept as they play a key role in my conceptualisation of identity work in interaction.

Within more indirect ways of ascribing identity, implicature and presupposition seem to have been identified as two pragmatic processes commonly adopted for the ascription of identity in talk. Both of them describe processes where the speaker uses specific linguistic forms that carry specific meanings and should be interpreted in a specific way in order to convey the intended meaning. This process of consecutive associations (between linguistic forms, ideologies and social categories) relies heavily on accepted social meanings that the speakers have to share in order to make sense of the interaction (De Fina, 2011). That is, in order to interpret these utterances correctly and communicate successfully, speakers should share some common social beliefs/knowledge that prescribe what is considered as acceptable to be said or done and by whom (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Presupposition and implicature, thus, highlight the importance of the shared accepted social meaning for the correct (intended) interpretation of an utterance referred to earlier (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

Stance taking and role adoption are also robust ways of constructing identities in interaction. John Du Bois (2002) refers to stance as an intersubjective type of social action through which speakers provide evaluation of others and position themselves in relation to them. By expressing attitudes and positioning self in relation to other speakers or subjects, speakers adopt and project identities in interaction. The critical role of stance taking for identity is acknowledged by identity researchers and stance has been the centre of analysis for different approaches to identity. Positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990) for example, draws on this particular dimension of interaction, i.e. stance taking, and studies identity through the analysis of speakers' positions. Positioning theory broadly refers to the close analysis of the way speakers describe other people and their interlocutors in their talk, and perform in that way specific discursive actions that index specific identities. In this context, positioning is defined as a discursive process whereby 'selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced story lines' (Davies and Harré, 1990:48). Discourse in that context is conceived as a multi-faceted social process in which meaning is progressively created by the positions taken up by interlocutors. Individuals do not pre-exist in the discussion but emerge as the very products of social interaction through the discursive practices in which they are engaged.

More specifically, according to Davies and Harré (1990), positioning as a process works in the following way: each discursive practice carries a constitutive force due to its provision of subject positions. A subject position consists of a conceptual repertoire and a set of rights and duties to be followed by those who use that repertoire; the rights and duties referred to here reflect the power dynamics evident in social interactions. Hence, every position carries a certain moral quality which defines what is acceptable to be said and by whom on a particular occasion (Davies and Harré, 1990; Harré and Moghaddam, 2003; Harré and van Langehove, 1999). When an individual has taken up a particular position, he/she is viewing the world from the particular perspective that the position acquired offers to him/her.

Also related to that indexical process is the work of Goffman (1981) on footing, which suggests that speakers can adopt different roles in an interaction that are associated with different identities. More specifically, Goffman argues that speakers can choose between the roles of animator (the physical producer of the utterance), author (the originator of the utterance) or principal (the person responsible for and committed to the content of the utterance), when they utter a proposition. These different roles represent different levels of authorship and responsibility for what they are saying (De Fina, 2011) and result in constructing different types of identities. For example, in the case of saying 'I love you' to someone, the speaker would normally take up all three roles of animator, author and principal of the utterance. However, in an industrial context, when a line manager announces redundancies in the company, he/she might choose to differentiate his/her position from that of the author and principal of the decision and clearly state that he/she is passing on orders from above. In that way he/she could avoid being associated with the identity of an authoritative person who is interested in profit instead of people. This is in line with work from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective, which focuses on the situated meanings of interactions (see also section 3.5.2).

Different ways of saying things index particular identities in discourse, and this is backed by a great deal of sociolinguistic work on style and stylization. Seminal work on style defines it as a repertoire of linguistic forms that are associated with specific identities (Bell, 1984; Coupland, 1980; Eckert and Rickford, 2001). Speakers can index identities through the repeated use of specific linguistic forms over others (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). And the interpretation of the specific choices is context bound, requiring the knowledge of the locally accepted meanings in a given context. The same linguistic form might carry different meanings. Linguistic forms are understood here in a broad sense. The term can refer to linguistic structures, such as grammatical or phonological forms, but also to dialects and whole languages (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011).

In the next section I shall move on to the notion of categorization.

Categorization

Categorization processes seem to permeate all processes of identity construction and play a central role in identity analysis. Their fundamental role for identity studies is well illustrated in the argument of Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), that in order for a person 'to have an identity is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features' (p.3). Categorizing oneself and others is proposed as a practical tool for understanding and transacting business with the world, but also for building a sense of self (Sacks, 1972). According to Abrams and Hogg (2006), 'categorization is a fundamental and universal process because it satisfies a basic human need for cognitive parsimony' (p.72). Identity scholars have acknowledged the importance of categorization processes for identity and have drawn on them in the development of their theories. Indeed, some of the most influential identity theories encompass the concept of categorization.

An illustrative example of theory that highlights the role of categorization in identity work is Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), which belongs to the socio-psychological field. According to SIT, the social identity of an individual derives from his/her knowledge of belonging to a certain social group or category and from the value and emotional significance that result from this group membership (Tajfel, 1972; 1978). People grow up in families and communities, and come to identify with the groups in which they are socially located (Fligstein et al., 2012). Every social group to which one belongs provides a definition of one's self, a prescription of the way he/she is supposed to think, feel and behave (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). A core concept of the theory is the social categorization process. Individuals tend to categorize others and themselves in groups, whose members are supposed to be similar to each other as they share common features (Tajfel, 1972). Groups in which a specific individual is member are then the in-groups, while the ones he/she is not a member of are called the out-groups. As mentioned above though, the feeling of belonging to a given group alone does not lead to the development of a positive social identity for the individual. The individual needs additionally the emotional significance that derives from his/her membership of that given group. This is possible only through the positive evaluation of the in-group when compared to groups or categories one does not belong to, i.e. the out-groups (Deschamps and Devos, 1998). The comparison needs to be in favour of the in-group for the individual to acquire a positive self-image because of his/her need for positive self-evaluation, for self-esteem, (Tajfel and Turner, 1979), or self-respect, according to Hopkins and Emler (1990). Thus, a common practice for members of the same group is to minimize in-group differences and exaggerate inter-group differences. In addition, they use these inter-group differences for evaluation, with a tendency to favour their in-group. Apparently, people who identify more strongly with the in-group tend to show a more negative bias towards the out-group and develop a discriminating attitude towards its members (Sniderman et al., 2000; Tajfel, 1982).

Categorization can prove quite useful in the context of my project. The categories that participants place self and others in are going to be scrutinized in order to approach the ways in which they manage identity construction in their encounters. Rather than just looking at how they describe themselves, I am particularly interested in studying how participants mobilise certain identity categories to claim trustworthy personas.

Closely related to the discussion of categorisation is the local occasioning of identities, which I discuss next.

Local occasioning/occasionedness

Another core concept in identity studies constitutes the occasionedness of identity. The local occasioning of identity is highlighted in the definition of identity offered by Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), according to which, the identity of a person is his/her casting into some feature-rich category and this casting is always occasioned. The definition offered draws on Sacks' (1972) arguments that the meaning of any utterance 'is to be found in the occasion of its production – in the local state of affairs that was operative at that exact moment of interactional time' (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998:4). That means that every utterance comes in a specific local context, in a specific here and now, and in order to be understood by the recipient, it needs to be interpreted within this specific context.

In discussing the local occasioning of identity, De Fina (2011) argues that social roles and the identities that these roles imply, are linked to the social context in a two-way relationship. On the one hand, the social context prescribes which identities will be brought up in an interaction. For example, the same person might present himself/herself differently at a business meeting and at a party. At the same time, specific identities of the interactants might shape the local interactional context too. For example, the local interactional context will be different in a conversation between a lay worker and his manager, and between two lay workers, even if both interactions take place in the same space and time. Identity work, thus, seems to be affected by the occasion of its production and needs to be studied in context.

Another critical concept in relation to identity is that of relationality. I discuss this next.

Relationality

Identity scholars underline the relational character of identity. That means, the identity of a person is never viewed as autonomous and independent, but it acquires meaning only in relation to other social actors and other identity positions (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). The construction of similarity and difference between social actors is considered critical in this direction and constitutes a widely discussed topic among identity scholars across disciplines.

For example, Martin (1995) argues that identity is an ambiguous notion that implies both uniqueness and sameness. Sameness refers to the belonging of an individual to various groups, while uniqueness to the fact that every person is one and no other. He claims that identity cannot be defined in isolation and can only be circumscribed when contrasted with other identities (Martin 1995:6). In his theory, the presence of the other, i.e., someone different, and the establishment of a relationship with him/her, becomes a requirement for the establishment of a sense of self in one's life. Identity, he continues, derives its meaning from the Other, from what it is not, and can be compared to a word in a crossword puzzle:

'.. It is located in a place where uniqueness, defined in a negative way (one's identity implies that one is different from the Others), meets a sameness which needs an 'elseness' to exist (to get an identity one must be perceived as identical to or identify with someone else).' (Martin, 1995:6)

In the same context, De Fina (2011) refers to identity as the product of differentiating and assimilating oneself in relation to others. She argues that the creation of an 'us' versus a 'them' is considered one of the main mechanisms of identity construction in many different settings 'since differentiation is a fundamental process of self-affirmation' (De Fina, 2011:271). The same is illustrated in Hall's (1996) words:

'Identities are constructed through, not outside, difference.. it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not.. that the positive meaning of any term- and thus its 'identity'- can be constructed.. identities can function as points of identification and attachment only because of their capacity to exclude, to leave out, to render 'outside'' (Hall, 1996:4-5).

A similar perspective on difference and similarity in relation to identity construction comes from work by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), who argue that identity is an inherently relational phenomenon that revolves around three different complementary relations, one of which is similarity and difference, which they decided to call adequation/distinction. Adequation is understood here as the effort of groups to look similar, which requires them to downplay differences that might seem dangerous to that effort and foreground similarities that will support it. The establishment of similarity and difference, thus, seems to be used as a strong tool for the creation and maintenance of identity. At the same time though, their creation is presented as something relative and dynamic as people choose which features of people/groups will be turned into emblems of difference and similarity, and which will be played down in specific contexts and for specific purposes.

In a similar vein, Schneeberger (2009) aptly describes inclusion and exclusion as the two sides of a coin that both form essential parts of the identity formation process. She goes further and relates inclusion and exclusion to the conceptual distinction between identification and identity. More specifically, she presents inclusion as the positive identification with something and exclusion as the negative difference, in contrast to an opposing Other (Schneeberger, 2009:88). In her work, identification seems to be a necessary step for the production of identity. But the whole process comes to a conclusion only through the differentiation from the other. It seems, thus, that identity combines the two opposing processes of inclusion and exclusion. It can signal the belonging of a person to a specific group or category, but also the differentiation of a person from groups and categories, which elucidates his/her uniqueness.

As the above discussion demonstrates, assimilation and differentiation are central to identity formation processes. People construct their identities through positioning themselves in relation to multiple others, using as guides for their navigation their similarities to and differences from them. This distinction between similarity and difference might seem simplistic. Nevertheless, processes of inclusion and exclusion should not be perceived as straightforward, given that the boundaries between inclusion and exclusion are porous and dynamic, as are the boundaries between different facets of identities. Conditions of globalization offer choices for multiple identifications that can sometimes even be contradictory. That means that people can find themselves co-members in a particular group (both insiders) with the same people with whom they are constructed as an insider-outsider pair in another group. This partial co-membership could provide them with points of common reference, common understandings and shared interests.

The practices discussed above are critical for the discursive formation of identities and provide a framework to approach and analyse identity. In the analysis chapters (4, 5, 6), I draw on these processes to interpret how partners claim specific identities that contribute to coming across as trustworthy. The concepts of indexicality and social categorization are particularly useful in this respect. Creating groups and positioning oneself in and out of them is important throughout the data and seems to be related to the development of trusting relationships. Identity work is relevant in all three analysis chapters, but categorization processes become central in Chapter 5, which focuses on a particular case of partnership, where regional identity is foregrounded and linked to trust. I discuss regional identity in the next section.

2.2.3 Regional identity

Due to the particularities of the Greek-Turkish past (see 1.4 on population exchange), I argue that regional identity might be a more useful concept than national identity in the given context, as a large part of the Greek population has a refugee background and ties with specific regions of modern Turkey (Asia Minor, Black Sea, Cappadocia). Therefore, I will focus on this collective identity for the purposes of my project.

The strong link between space, place and identity is not new in the social sciences and humanities. Within the last 25 years or so, work mainly within human geography (see Paasi, 2009) and discourse studies has been insightful in this direction, and shows that place and space provide a further context of identity construction (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Geographical places where people have lived or do live can act as sources of identification for them and influence the way they perceive themselves and the social world (Barnes, 2000). As Dixon (2005:1) aptly puts it:

> *'All aspects of our social lives unfold within material and symbolic environments ('places') that are both socially constituted and constitutive of the social. Acknowledgement of this so-called 'spatial dimension' opens up new ways of looking at phenomena such as the formation of social identities and relationships.'*

A central theme that arises in the so-called 'place-identity' literature (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006) is that space and place are not static, *a priori* phenomena, but acquire meaning in their own right, based on the characteristics people attach to them (Lefebvre, 1991). People attach symbolic significance to places and construct and perform their identities around them (Hetherington, 1998). For this reason, descriptions of places are considered critical for the construction of identity. As Taylor (2003) characteristically writes:

> *'The places where we live are more than the backgrounds to our lives. In the telling of a life story, talk about place and relationships to place will be integral to the discursive work through which the speaker constructs a personal identity. A positioning as someone who is of a place can connect a speaker to the multiple established meanings and identities of that place. This can work as a claim to an identity as, for example, the kind of person who belongs there.'*

Keeping this in mind, in the analysis chapters, I focus on the situated meanings that participants attach to symbolic places and the identities these imply for the people who claim to be from there. In that context it becomes relevant to clarify how region is perceived and treated in my research. The conceptusalisation of region here draws on the main ideas of Anderson's (1983) theory on nation and Paasi's (1996, 1999, 2002) influential work on territoriality. Anderson defines nation as an 'imagined political community: and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (1983:5). He perceives nation as imagined since members of even the smallest nation are not capable of tangibly experiencing the larger communities they are part of, since they never know or meet more than a minuscule fraction of their fellow nationals. Hence, nations exist 'primarily in the imagination of people' (Anderson, 1983:6). They are called communities because, despite the inequality that might prevail in each, nation is always conceived as 'a deep, horizontal comradeship' (ibid.).

Paasi's work (1996, 1999, 2002) is also influential and offers multiple insights with regard to the role of boundaries, territories and regional identity. Paasi has stressed in his work the changing role of boundaries in contemporary societies and the need to perceive boundaries as social processes, not always tied to material space. In relation to territoriality, he argues that territories are not static, given entities, but social constructs that emerge through economic, political, cultural and institutional practices, rituals and discourses (Paasi, 2002). Territories are formed under the power of four shapes: territorial, symbolic, institutional and the shape of the socio-cultural identity of a place (Paasi, 2002). The territorial one relates to the distinctiveness of a territorial area from others in spatial terms. In other words, it is concerned with whether the limits of an area are clearly defined and recognisable on a map. The symbolic shape refers to the development of symbols associated with the specific area, such as local names, landmarks of the area, colours. The institutional shape refers to the institutional bodies that operate and are needed, or the preservation of the territorial and symbolic shapes. These can include for example education centres and administrative bodies. Last, the shape of the sociocultural identity of a place refers to the feeling of belonging that inhabitants of the area have.

Following this line of thought, regions are also perceived as a social constructs that carry their own identities, while also defining the identities of people who come from there (Paasi, 2009).

Narratives play a central role in the construction of boundaries and regional identities (Newman and Paasi, 1998). Paasi (2003:476) suggests that there are various elements that are 'used contextually in practices, rituals and discourses to construct narratives of more or less closed imagined identities'. These include:

> *'Ideas on nature, landscape, the built environment, culture/ethnicity, dialects, economic success/recession, periphery/centre relations, marginalization, stereotypic images of a people/community, both of 'us' and 'them', actual/invented histories, utopias and diverging arguments on the identification of people.'*

The complexity that can characterize the perception of region is illustrated by Keating's (2004:xi) words:

> *'A region may have a historic resonance or provide a focus for the identity of its inhabitants. It may represent a landscape, an architecture or a style of cooking. There is often a cultural element, perhaps represented by a distinct language or dialect. (…) Finally, all these meanings may or may not coincide, to a greater or lesser degree.'*

In the context of the present study, the participants' self-identify with a Black Sea region (see data analysis Chapter 5). The image of the region participants construct is multidimensional. The Black Sea in their stories represents a specific landscape, architecture, cooking style and dialect, but also other cultural elements, such as music and dancing. Most importantly, it provides the context of identity construction for participants. Business partners attribute symbolic significance to the place, identify themselves as co-members of this particular regional group and construct their identities and relationships around the region. A detailed analysis of how participants construct and maintain this particular regional identity and, more importantly, how this identity relates to the construction of trust between them, is provided in Chapter 5.

Summary

In this chapter I discussed the main concepts that shape this thesis, namely trust and identity. I provided a review of core works on trust and trustworthiness, mainly conducted within the fields of organisaiton and management studies and discourse analysis. Attention was paid to the factors that have been proposed as affecting the development of trust in organisation relationships. Trust has been suggested to develop between two people after the evaluation of their trustworthiness, which depends mainly on perceptions of one's abilities, benevolence and integrity.

Other factors that pertain to the closeness of the parties' relationship seem to be also influential for trust development. Shared group membership seems to be one of them. Identification with a common group is associated with feelings of liking and affect, and has been argued to provide the means for the development of trust between in-group members (Loh et al., 2010). Nation and region can provide strong points of identification for people. Particular attention was paid to the concept of regional identity as this becomes relevant to the present study due to the particularities of the Turkish and Greek historical context.

After providing the main theoretical framework of the study, in the next chapter I discuss the methodological premises of the project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Research Questions

Designing the project, from stages of data collection to data analysis, has been an iterative process with all the possible challenges that this includes. The research questions and focus have been evolving and sharpening since the beginning of the study in 2014. My research questions have been formulated as follows:

1) How do participants do trust?

This constitutes the overarching research question that has guided this study. In line with the ethnographic character of the project, the question is broad and open in nature. Following Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo (2014), who argue that trust is a relational construct that emerges in interaction, the answer to this question is explored throughout all three analysis chapters and includes identifying the specific practices that seem to index trust for partners in the given context as well as the discursive resources that partners draw upon to showcase and facilitate trust.

2) How do participants negotiate trust while performing regional identity?

This research question brings into focus and explores the interplay between collective identity and trust. Previous research has suggested links between the two constructs (see Kramer, 1999; McKnight et al, 1998), but there has not been adequate empirical research on the topic. Special attention is paid on regional identity, as this is the most prominent identification group for the group under focus and seems to surpass national categorizations. This question is addressed in chapter five, through the close analysis of a single case study.

Part of doing trust includes claiming, projecting and negotiating trustworthiness for oneself and assessing that of others (Candlin and Crichton, 2013). This brings into focus the concept of trustworthiness, which is addressed by the third research question formulated in the following way.

3) How is trustworthiness enacted by participants in interviews and in interaction?

On a first level, attention is paid to the factors that participants perceive as affecting perceptions of trustworthiness (chapter 4). After identifying the factors, the focus is on the way partners make these relevant in their workplace interactions to claim trustworthy identities for themselves (chapter 6).

3.2. Conceptual framework

The study takes a social constructionist position and sees trust and identity as related and enacted in interaction. Hence here I am discussing social constructionism and the ways it is relevant to my study.

3.2.1 Social constructionism

During the last 30 years or so, the paradigm of social constructionism has critically influenced social sciences research and studies on identity are not an exception (Burr, 2015). According to the social constructionist school of thought, there is no such thing as an objective reality; rather, human life constitutes a social construct, it is formed by social and interpersonal influences (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Gergen, 1985; Robson, 2002). The adoption of this proposition implies a re-orientation in the way researchers approach the taken-for-granted knowledge (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Burr, 2015; Schwandt, 1994). More specifically, it implies the challenging of the idea that conventional knowledge derives from an unbiased, objective observation of the world (Burr, 2015; Gergen, 1985).

A core assumption that social constructionist work shares is the cultural and historical situatedness of social knowledge. Social constructionism argues that the ways in which people understand the world are the result of historically situated human interchange (Gergen, 1985:267). That means that the concepts we use in order to make sense of the world, are relationally constituted and historically and culturally specific; they acquire meaning only in the specific sociocultural context in which they are produced (Burr, 2015; Hall, 1996). The same concept in another society might mean a completely different thing. Also, the same concept within the same societal context might acquire different meanings over time. For example, historic research has demonstrated that concepts such as those of child, or romantic or parental love, have come to mean completely different things today when compared to 50 years ago (e.g. Aries, 1962; Averill, 1985). These changes are circumscribed by general societal conditions that prevail at given historical periods. The cultural and historical situatedness of knowledge implies that all ways of understanding the world are socially constructed and should not be perceived as objective representations of reality or as better representations of the real nature of social phenomena when compared to other ways of understanding the world. The understanding of the world is always related to specific conditions; it is always bounded to a specific place and time, here and now. In line with this, the interactions of business partners in the present project are examined within the specific societal and historical conditions that characterise Turkish-Greek relations (for a detailed discussion on that see Chapter 1).

Another central idea in social constructionist literature is that knowledge of the world is socially constituted. More specifically, scholars within the paradigm argue for the existence of multiple parallel truths, multiple ways in which the world or social phenomena can be understood (Robson, 2002). However, which of these different versions of truth will come to be perceived as the dominant one in a society, depends not on its empirical validity but on the way it has been communicated and negotiated between people. It is through their daily interactions that people discuss and agree on the versions of truth, the forms of knowledge that will rule their world (Burr, 2015; Denzin, 1997; Crotty, 1998; Gergen, 1985). The social constitution of knowledge is nicely illustrated in Potter's (1996) words that 'the world..is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it' (p.98). The role of language and discourse, thus, becomes critical for the emergence of social knowledge and social constructionists focus on the analysis of instances of human interaction in order to grasp the ways social meaning is constructed (Gergen, 1994; Potter, 1996).

Last but not least, social constructionists argue that different constructions of the world come with different forms of social action, i.e., different versions of the world prescribe different ways of acting for people (Burr, 2015). This could be better illustrated with an example coming from the field of education. Thirty years ago, perhaps even less than that, if a child was hyperactive and could not concentrate in the lesson, it would have been considered as lazy or naughty and would be punished for that behaviour. However, today, if a student shows these symptoms, educators would be concerned and examine, or at least are supposed to, the case that the child might suffer from Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder. If this is the case, the social action appropriate would be to offer the child some special educational support and adapt the lesson to his/her needs. As the example illustrates, negotiated understandings acquire critical importance for social life (Gergen, 1985).

The above propositions are significant for the project since they have informed the way I make sense of and approach identity and trust, and their interrelation in the given context. More specifically, they have contributed to my understanding of both concepts as socially constituted phenomena that take different forms in different contexts.

3.3 Research tradition

The nature of the project falls well within qualitative inquiry, to the extent that qualitative research is described as concerned with patterns and structures and with how things get done (Litosseliti, 2010; Richards et al., 2012; Silverman, 2010). More specifically, the project has an ethnographic character. Ethnography seems to serve well those studies that explore in detail under-researched phenomena and their embeddedness in particular communities (Dornyei, 2007) and is chosen as the research tradition guiding this project, given its interest in how participants *do trust*. In the following pages I include a brief discussion on ethnography and the ways it has informed my research design.

3.3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography is a theoretical and analytical tradition that has its origins in the field of cultural anthropology, but has gradually been adopted by other fields of social sciences as well, some of which include cultural studies, applied linguistics, sociology, psychology, human geography and more (Tedlock, 2000). This wide application of ethnography across social sciences has led to a shifting meaning of the term in different contexts/disciplines and to the lack of a single definition accepted by all of its proponents (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). For the purposes of my research, though, I adopt the broad definition offered by Richards et al. (2012) according to which, ethnographic research is an attempt to comprehend aspects of the social world, given that I perceive the performance of partnerships and trust as an inextricable part of the social sphere.

The fundamental proposition of ethnographic research is the involvement of first-hand participant observation in a natural setting (Harclau, 2005). Ethnographic data can be elicited through a wide range of data collection tools and techniques, such as formal and informal interviews, observations, fieldnotes and collection of documents and artefacts (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Most ethnographic work, regardless of the other methods of collecting available data, includes some kind of observation and informal interviews. Observations and informal interviews need to take place in everyday, natural contexts, in other words 'in the field' and not under conditions set by the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:3). That prescribes that the ethnographer needs to spend time in the relevant community studied, get to know the participants well and immerse himself/herself in the local social world (Dornyei, 2007; Richards et al., 2012). By immersing themselves in the local context, ethnographers aim to achieve an emic perspective to the phenomenon studied. Emic is defined as an insider's perspective on events, and is the opposite of an outsider's perspective, known as etic (Pike, 1967; Richards et al., 2012). An emic perspective seems to serve well the study of trust in professional contexts. Different workplaces develop their own ways of doing things (Angouri, 2012; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999) and this also applies to doing trust. In order to better understand its workings and how it plays out in the specific environments is, thus, necessary to become familiar with the particular context and understand what partners perceive as trust practices in the context of interest. With the intention of appreciating the local understandings and practices of trust, I spent time, whenever possible, with the participants.

The importance of achieving an emic perspective to the studied phenomenon is revealed in light of another basic proposition of ethnographic inquiry which suggests that the researcher should focus on the participants' situated meanings of events (Dornyei, 2007). That means the ethnographer should study how members of the community perceive their own and others' actions and behaviours, and how these subjective interpretations are implicated in their behaviour and contribute to the constitution of the community (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Richards et al., 2012). This understanding of subjective meanings would result in a richer and more holistic understanding of the studied community and of the phenomena of interest (Hornberger, 1994). Another core characteristic of ethnographic work is its emergent nature. Ethnographers are usually interested in a particular area of social life and they adopt an exploratory orientation in their studies. This prescribes an open-ended approach when it comes to research design (Maxwell, 2004). Data collection tools and the exact research questions can always be revised over the course of time. Since the researcher enters the target community and some fieldwork has been done, the focus of the research emerges contextually (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

In the next section, I discuss the research design of the project. I provide details of the research design, what I did, and details of participants and datasets.

3.4 Research design

3.4.1 Design

Following the advice of Silverman (2010), the research design was guided by the research questions of the project. In order to identify the factors that partners perceive as important for claiming trustworthiness I conducted in-depth ethnographic interviews with participants. At a second stage, to explore how partners do trust discursively and shed light to the relationship between collective identity and trust, I chose to focus on a specific company, to which I could secure the best access, and study in more detail the interactions of business partners in various events (for details on participants' profiles see section 3.3.3). The inclusion of a case study in the project was not in my initial intention. However, in line with the ethnographic character of the project, which dictated an open-ended approach to research design (Maxwell, 2004), I revisited my initial plan according to the new conditions and opportunities that arose for fieldwork.

The research design, while being flexible, was rigorous and systematic. More specifically, the data collection process from the beginning of the project was organised into five stages. Schematically the design is as follows:

Stage 1: **Exploratory phase** (establishing contacts, January-March 2015)

Stage 2: **Pilot Study** (fieldtrip to Greece, 11 interviews with potential participants, March 2015)

Stage 3: **Pilot study analysis**-Initial findings and reconsideration of the focus of the study

Stage 4: **Main study** (**1st part**: fieldtrip to Greece: semi-structured interviews, November 2015-January 2016)

Stage 5: **Main Study** (**2nd part**: case study --> 2 fieldtrips to Turkey: interviews/observations/audio and video recordings/photos, December and March 2016)

Figure 3.1: Stages of data collection process

All stages fed into each other and were significant for the overall development of the study. Although the main study constitutes the fourth and fifth stages of the whole process, the first three stages were critical for shaping the research focus and informed the design of the main data collection stage. Of particular importance in this regard was the pilot study. Pilot studies are defined as 'small scale version[s], or trial runs, done in preparation for the major study' (Polit et al., 2001: 467). In the case of the present project, the pilot study was conducted in an attempt to assess the adequacy of the selected research methods and instruments (Holloway, 1997; Van Teijlingen et al., 2001), but even more importantly in order to collect some preliminary data that could help me define the focus of the study more clearly (Frankland and Bloor, 1999). After having received approval from the Humanities and Social Sciences Ethics Committee at Warwick University to carry out my research project, the pilot study took place in March 2015 in the city of Thessaloniki in Greece and consisted of 11 interviews. People interviewed included Turkish professionals who live and work in Greece, along with Greek professionals who have some professional contact with Turkish people, either within companies in Greece or through cross-border collaboration with companies in Turkey. In these interviews the discussion focused on the experiences of the interviewees regarding their cross-border business partnerships. The interviews were analysed under the principles of thematic analysis, following the steps outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, see section 3.5.1 for a discussion on these steps). The coding process was inductive and iterative, and the thematic map generated from the data analysis is formed as follows.

l

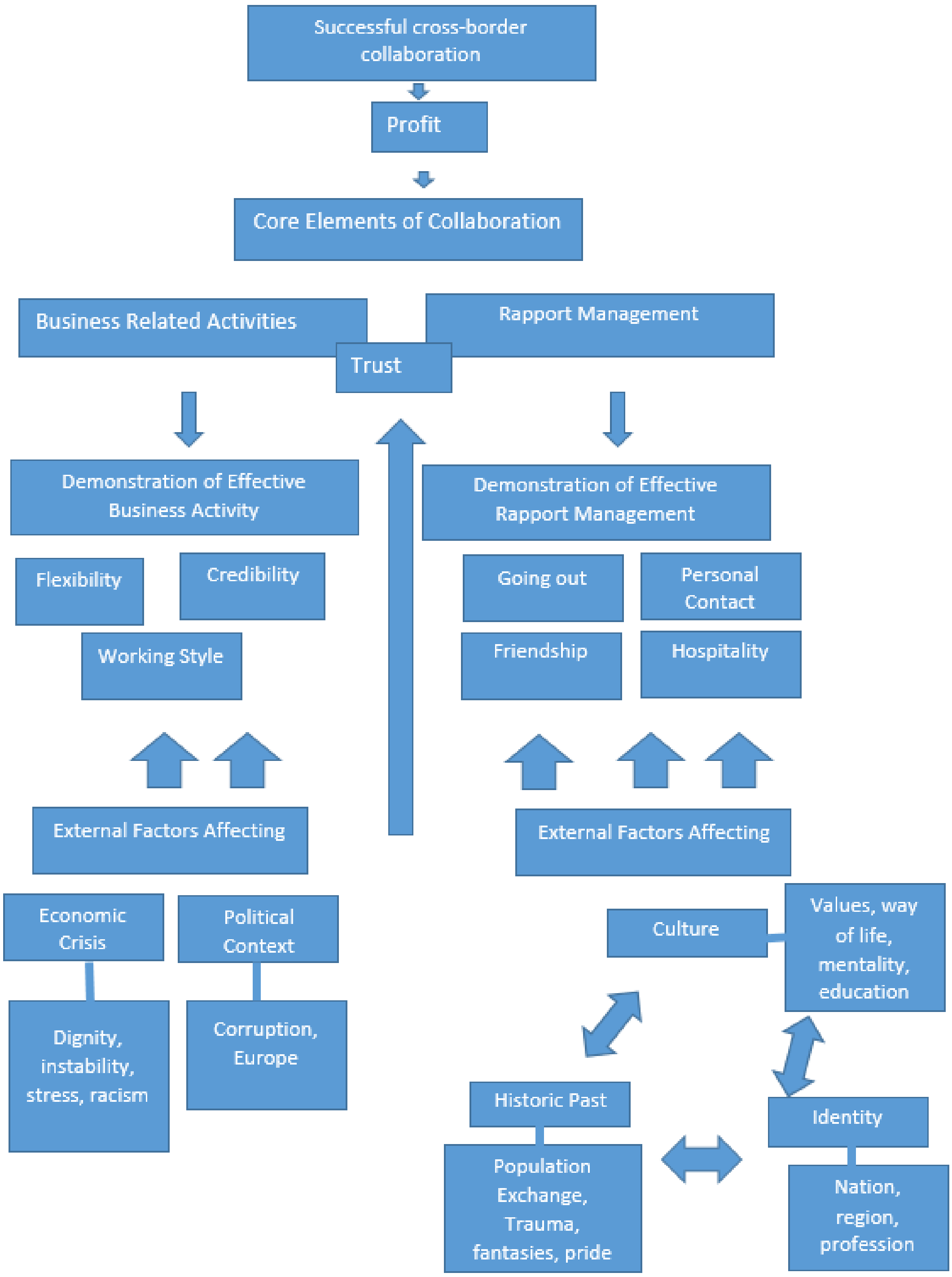


Figure 3.2: Thematic map of the pilot study

The analysis of the pilot study interviews provided some first insights on themes that appeared to become relevant to the context of Turkish-Greek collaboration and contributed critically to the development of my thinking about the topic and the redefinition of the research focus of the present study. Participants in the pilot study related the success of a partnership to business-related activities and rapport management issues. Regarding the former, participants made explicit reference to certain features of their Turkish partners. They paid particular attention to issues of flexibility, credibility and working style. The pilot data suggest that business-related activities are affected by a number of external factors that can be broadly defined as economic and political. The analysis showed though that the distinctive feature of Turkish-Greek collaboration lies in the more personal character that the relationship between partners takes. Interviewees mentioned that they have gradually become friends with their Turkish partners and also spend time with them outside their working hours. As with business-related activities, additional factors that exceed the limits of interactional levels were found to be important in relation to rapport management issues. Culture seems to be an overarching theme that penetrates Turkish-Greek collaboration. The other prevalent theme in the data was identity. The analysis suggested that national, professional and regional identities of partners all affected their collaboration. These different types of identity seem to play a catalytic role when it comes to issues of trust and friendship, but also in ways of doing business. Trust emerged as a core theme across interviews and was proposed to be the most important factor, or better still a precondition for a successful collaboration. Trust was also found to mediate the relationship between business activities and friendship.

Although trust was not included in my initial areas of interest, its significant role in the data called for a closer investigation of the concept of trust within the given context. The research topic of the study was thus revisited and the project focused on the discursive construction of trust in cross-border business partnerships.

After having revisited the research focus, I designed and conducted the main study, which consisted of two main parts. The following table summarises them.

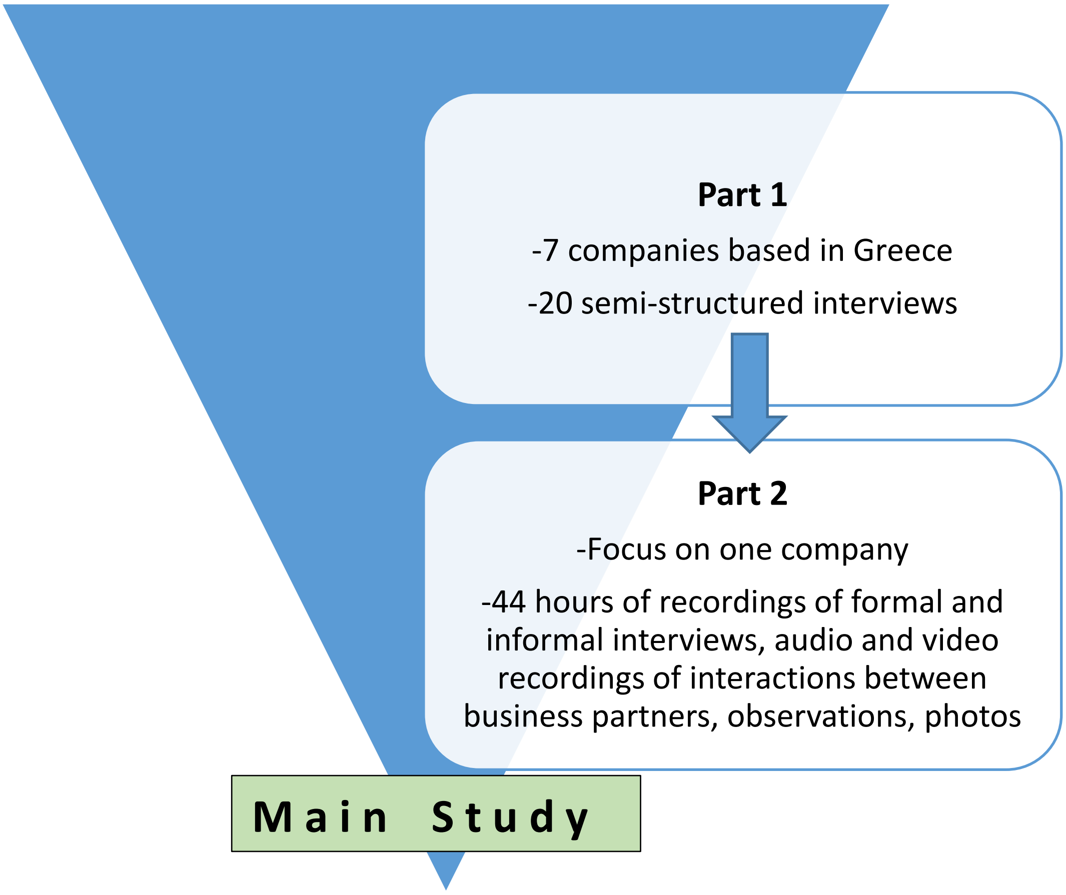


Figure 3.3: Research design of the main study

For the first part of the data collection process, I spent three months in Greece, where I conducted semi-structured interviews with business people mainly based in the broader area of Thessaloniki. The insights from these interviews then shaped the second phase of the main study. For the needs of this phase, I travelled twice to Turkey, where I gathered data from communicative events (purely professional but also interpersonal ones) taking place between the partners of one specific company, namely SforSteel (for more details see 3.3.3). In these trips, I was accompanying one of the Greek participants on his business trips there, where he met with his four Turkish partners in order to conduct their Annual General Meeting and to attend an exhibition on their field of expertise. The duration of each fieldtrip depended on participants' schedules and the opportunities that existed for meeting with them; the first trip to Turkey lasted for four days and the second for a week.

The data gathered from SforSteel are very diverse and rich. The dataset comprises 44 hours of recorded interviews, meetings and everyday talk that took place during visits to a regional club, and formal and informal meals/dinners. While in the field, I had the chance to become involved in activities with the participants, to share emotions, exchange ideas and experiences and get to know them better (O'Reilly, 2009). Attending their activities and getting to know the specific participants better was part of my attempt to gain an emic perspective with regard to the study. This is not to say that I consider myself an insider to the studied context, but my presence in the field and my interactions with the participants helped me to make better sense of the data collected. More specifically, I gained insights of how the interactions recorded were embedded in the local context and why participants acted the way they did at certain moments.

Fieldwork required from the researcher a certain set of skills. Often the nature of the project and the busy schedules of the participants dictated last minute changes of plan, especially regarding the data collection process. These situations required me to acquire agency and become a decision maker under conditions of high uncertainty, something that can be challenging, especially for novice researchers (Copland and Creese, 2015; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). With regard to this, informal interviews were conducted with participants between their professional activities, sometimes over food or in the car while driving to other meetings. At the same time, data that were not in the initial intention of the researcher to collect, were incorporated in the datasets, re-shaping the study and adding new dimensions to it. The following table summarises the different datasets collected.

Datasets	Details
Interviews	Number: 20 Duration: 17.15 hours Participants: 16
Audio and video recordings of interactions	Duration: 56.15 hours
Fieldnotes	Notes collected over 11 days of observation
Visual data/photographs	420 photographs collected over three fieldtrips

Table 3.1: Overview of data-sets

3.4.2 Research participants

The research sample in this project is made up of business people based in Greece who are involved in some form of cross-border collaboration with Turkish companies or professionals. Data were collected from seven small/medium enterprises (SMEs), the professional activities of which belong to very diverse fields ranging from manufacturing to customer support services. The initial stage of the research process included 20 interviews with mainly the founders or general managers of the businesses, but also with employees who had some form of contact with the Turkish partners. Founders and general managers were prioritised on the basis that they were the main people from the company who established the partnerships or interacted more frequently with their Turkish business partners. The second stage included additional interactional data from two companies that granted the researcher access to them, namely SforSteel and CasaIdeale. An analytical decision to focus the second part of the project on the interactional data collected from SforSteel was made at this stage. This decision was guided by the fact that SforSteel data were richer than those of CasaIdeale, but also because SforSteel partners identify with each other as members of the same regional group, which makes the case of this partnership rare and interesting to study. The following table provides an overview of the different businesses included and the fields of their activities. Due to ethical considerations that require maintaining confidentiality when doing research with people (Walford, 2005), all names included are pseudonyms.

Name of company	Main activity	Brief Description of Relationship with Turkey
SforSteel	Steel products	SforSteel is a company which produces steel accessories used in construction projects (gate wheels, scaffolding accessories etc.). It is owned by five partners, one Greek and four Turks and the premises include a factory based in Turkey. The partners founded the company in 2012
Piediland	Shoes	Piediland is a family-owned business which trades in shoes in Greece. It has imported shoes from Turkey for the last five years.
Artibag	Commercial Bags	Artibag is a family-owned business in Greece, which produces commercial bags for shops. It has been importing paper and other raw materials from Turkey for the last four years.
Intertravel	Transports	Intertravel is transport company with premises in Turkey and Greece. The owner of the company is Turkish and has been based in the company's branch in Greece since 2010.
CasaIdeale	Furniture	CasaIdeale is a company which trades in furniture. It is part of a group of companies based in northern Greece, which imports furniture from a specific furniture company in Turkey. It was founded and started importing products from Turkey in 2005.
MediaConnect	Internet support	MediaConnect is a Greek-owned company based in Athens. It offers technical support to other companies with regard to their on-line transactions. MediaConnect offers support also to a Turkish company since 2012.
HomeSolutions	Domestic appliances	HomeSolutions is a company based in Greece that trades in domestic appliances. It has been importing goods from Turkey since 1992.

Table 3.2: Participants' details

3.4.3 Access

Negotiating access to business settings is one of the most traditional challenges that professional discourse scholars face (Alessi and Jacobs, 2016) and this has been the case also for this project. Access in the field is not always guaranteed; some communities are easy to gain access to, but others might resist their opening/exposure to the researcher. The ethnographer might be denied access to a setting even when he/she is already part of a given community (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). To secure access to certain settings, ethnographers often have to make use of gatekeepers (Richards et al., 2012). Even in that case, though, issues of access and common understanding need to be negotiated between the researcher and participants all the way through the research process (Alessi and Jacobs, 2016; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Lønsmann, 2016). In the case of the present project, the role of gatekeepers was critical for accessing the field. Different people and institutions acted as gatekeepers at different stages of the data collection process. First, I approached some companies through the help of the Turkish-Greek Commercial Chamber of Thessaloniki, who provided me with company names and contact details. At a later stage, I used some family contacts to get in touch with the founder of Intertravel, who then put me in touch with other companies who had cross-border activities with Turkey, such as SforSteel, the company which became my case study. The founder of SforSteel then acted as my gatekeeper during my trips to Turkey and helped me to gain access to places and interactions that would have been very difficult to attend without his help.

3.5 Data collection

During the fieldtrips, and in line with the ethnographic character of the project, data were collected through formal and informal interviews, participant observation and fieldnotes, accompanied by photographs. These data are supplemented by audio and video recorded interactions that occurred naturally. I provide a detailed discussion of the data collection methods and the ways I employed them in the following pages.

3.5.1 Interviews

Data for this project were initially collected through exploratory, semi-structured interviews, conducted individually, face-to-face between the researcher and the participants. Interviews consist of a common part of social life; people listen to interviews of people on the radio, on television, while they also participate in interviews themselves on various occasions, for example, when they look for jobs (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997; Edley and Litosseliti, 2010). As Miller and Crabtree (1999) argue, the interview genre, with the conventions it implies, is a type of shared cultural knowledge. It is exactly this familiar character of interviews that makes them such a versatile research instrument and has led them to become the most common way of eliciting data in qualitative research (Dornyei, 2007).

The choice of the particular method was guided by the nature of the research and was supported by further arguments about the suitability of the method in projects that study complex phenomena from the perspectives of participants (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010). Apart from the flexibility and adaptability they offer as a method (Dornyei, 2007; Edley and Litosseliti, 2010), interviews also seem valuable for providing the space for the development of a sense of rapport between the researcher and the participants (Denscombe, 2010; Litosseliti, 2003; Griffin, 2004). This becomes particularly significant for projects like this one which yield personal insights on phenomena that would be difficult to discover through other methods.

Semi-structured interviews lie between the two extremes of standardised and un-standaridized interviewing structures (Berg, 2001:70) and are defined by Kvale and Brinkmann (2009:3) as the type of interview that aims to obtain 'descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena'. This is also the sense in which it is used in my project, as a conversation between the researcher and the interviewee, which aims to capture the perspectives of the participants about the role of trust in the context of cross-border collaborations. The format of this type of interview is open-ended. The researcher-interviewer has the duty to ask all his interviewees a number of pre-determined questions, but has also the freedom to digress from the original focus of the discussion and follow up interesting developments of the discussion, something that allows the interviewee to elaborate on the issues raised or on other points of interest to him/her (Dornyei, 2007). Semi-structured interviews leave space for interviewees to express their inner thoughts and understandings, and lend themselves well to in-depth investigations of complex phenomena (Denscombe, 2010; Edley and Litosseliti, 2010; Kitzinger, 1995).

Interviews were introduced at different stages of the project and served different purposes. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with all participants at our first meetings mainly on their business context and activities. These interviews were critical for eliciting first insights about the participants' perceptions of the role of trust in their business practices and informed the later stages of the research process (Dornyei, 2007). During the course of the project, once key foci were formulated, additional, more in-depth interviews were conducted as well. At the same time, during the fieldtrips, a number of informal and unstructured interviews occurred too. These had an explanatory character and were mainly triggered by specific actions/events that took place while I was there.

Limitations of interviews

Interview data have been associated with certain limitations. A common concern raised in such discussions is that there is always the danger that the researcher can lead the answers of the participants in ways he/she wants, something that again leads to biased and manipulated data (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010). In order to avoid these effects, interviews require careful and rigorous design, skillful moderation during the interview processes and attention during the analysis of the generated data, which is time-consuming for the researcher and demands high level analytical skills (Bell, 2014). Another set of criticisms regarding interviews revolves around the idea that interview data are not a legitimate way to gain insights on the participants' perspectives. In that context, Potter and Hepburn (2005) claim that researcher-instigated data are compromised and lead to invalid results; instead, they argue for the use of naturally occurring data. Other scholars though have challenged these arguments. For example, Speer (2002) states that this is not the problem of interview data only; rather, he claims that in that sense all kinds of discourse data, even naturally occurring discourse, should not be perceived as context-free, given that even in order to record interactions the researcher should first ask for the informed consent of the participants. That means, discourse data stemming from interviews are no more ‘contaminated or compromised’ than any other form of data, so they should still be respected (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010:165). In the same vein, Speer (2002) again argues that the status of pieces of data as natural or researcher-instigated depends on what the researcher wants to do with them. In addition, as Edley and Litosseliti (2010) argue, these problems are perceived as such only if we assume that it is possible to achieve an objective and authentic representation of a person’s view. This would imply a positivist orientation to research, which contrasts with more contemporary work that adopts constructionist approaches and views interviews as spaces where opinions and understandings are constructed rather than just reported (Silverman, 2001). I align with the second group of scholars in that case. Thus, although in analyzing the interviews I pay attention to the effects that my presence and my contributions might have on the development of the discussion and the views expressed, I still perceive interviews as a legitimate means of gaining access to intimate ideas and reflective thoughts of participants about trust that would be difficult to obtain through other datasets.

Interviews as co-constructed discourse events

Contemporary work on interviews highlights the importance of understanding and treating interviews as two-way exchanges between the researcher and the interviewee (Edley and Litosseliti, 2010; Holliday, 2012; Kvale, 2007). Early criticisms of standard assumptions about interviewing were further backed by the seminal work of Holstein and Gubrium in 1995. They drew on social constructionist insights that described language as a way of acting in the world, and talked about interviews as knowledge building processes. They also suggested that the interviewer and interviewee are involved in meaning-making processes when they interact in the context of interviews. In that context, the informant should not be perceived as a ‘repository of knowledge that awaits to be discovered by the interviewer, but as a constructor of knowledge alongside interviewers’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995:4). In practice, the adoption of such a view implies that the researcher should treat interviews not only as the products of what people say, but also of how and why they say it; in other words, researchers should simultaneously discern between and pay attention to the referential and performative aspects of discourse (Freeman, 1993; Mishler, 1986).

For the purposes of my project, I also adopt the view of interviews as situated action (Cicourel, 1964). The interviews conducted are perceived as interactive encounters between the participants and me, and my contribution to them is treated as a key part of the data and as affecting the development of the discussion (Richards et al., 2012).

I now turn to one of the key tools adopted in this project: participant observation.

3.5.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation is one of the main sources of data in ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The ethnographer spends time with the research participants and gathers data through his/her lived experience of interacting with them (ibid.). In this way he/she gains insights about things participants forget or avoid mentioning and is in a better position to interpret things in the ways he/she does (Emerson et al., 1995; O’Reilly, 2009). Participant observation offers the researcher the chance to see directly actual behaviours of participants, rather than relying on what they say (Dornyei, 2007). Last but not least, observations allow the researcher to gather contextual information for the settings in which the studied phenomenon takes place (Dornyei, 2007). This information can then support critically the interpretations of other data collected.

The role of the researcher

A common theme that arises in discussions about ethnographic observation is the dynamic role of the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Personal characteristics of the researcher, which among others include gender, race, personal experiences, beliefs, emotional responses to participants, can affect the positionality of the researcher and impact the research process in multiple ways (Berger, 2015). My presence in the field and the lenses through which I filtered the interactions observed, has been affected also by another factor that deserves acknowledgment and reflection, my Greek background. I was born and have lived most of my life at the north part of Greece, in the city of Thessaloniki. My family, although not entirely, does have a small percentage of refugee background since my paternal great-grandparents moved to Greece as refugees from the broader area of the Black Sea region. Although my ancestors had never identified themselves as Pontics, and nor do I, their family trip to Greece and sufferings have made me familiar with the particular context and attentive to the stories of these people. More specifically, these positions can affect access to the 'field', shape the nature of researcher–researched relationship and determine the choice of the lens through which the researcher filters the data and makes meaning of it, affecting thus the findings and conclusions of the study (see also Kacen and Chaitin, 2006). In my case, my background and personal experiences have impacted the study at multiple levels, from the choice of the particular setting/context for the project to the heightened interest to the personal stories participants had to share with me with regards to their regional identity and the way I read them. There are certainly many different readings to the data of an ethnographic project (Angouri, 2018) and my reading and interpretation have been affected by my personal identity and history.

The researcher as participant and observer

As O'Reilly (2009) notes, participant observation includes two key elements: participation and observation. This combination, she argues, can be a challenging one since it requires from the researcher on the one hand to become part of the community under study and involved in activities with the people observed and on the other to be an outsider to the community, watching and listening to what others do and say (ibid.). The ethnographer, then, needs to balance between the two roles.

Linking this to my own experience, once in the field, I was sometimes fully participating in activities and interactions with the participants, while other times I was either partially involved or just observing their interactions. So my role was continuously shifting between that of the insider and outsider observer (O'Reilly, 2009; Sarangi and Hall, 1997). There were also certain moments that I could not define myself as one type of observer or the other. This blurriness has been reported as a common issue among researchers. As Morse and Richards (2002) suggest, the dichotomy between participant/insider, non-participant/outsider observer is not clear-cut and oversimplifies the whole process of watching and listening. Morse and Richards (2002) also argue that all ethnographic observation involves at least some participation. In a similar vein, Lønsmann (2016) argues that ethnographic researchers are not supposed to be neutral observers but are part of the research process and their relationship with participants should be a point of reflection. I provide more information about my own positioning in the field in the next section.

Focus of observation and researcher positionality

While in the field I could not absorb everything; rather I focused on specific interactions and relationships (Emerson et al., 1995). For most of time on fieldtrips in Turkey, I was shadowing Nick, my Greek participant. I stayed close to him, following him in activities and observing his interactions with his Turkish partners. I was particularly interested in the topics they were talking about and the general climate that existed in the room when they were together. Nick acted as my main informant in most of the cases, providing me with translation or with background information to make sense of the interactions. The choice of staying close to Nick was primarily guided by my research focus but was also the result of the fact that I only had a very basic knowledge of Turkish and was unfamiliar with the context, and also that most of the Turkish participants did not speak English. This had practical implications in terms of communication and also caused me feelings of insecurity at certain moments, especially when I found myself in spaces and events attended only by men. In some cases, my presence in places where women are not normally allowed, did not go unnoticed and I felt the attention on my face (see also Lønsmann, 2016 on female researcher identity). In a few cases, I also realised that Nick was being interrogated by other men about his choice of bringing me to these places. On my first trip, this was more obvious, as I was regarded with suspicion. On my second trip, all of the partners were more comfortable with my presence, so most of these challenges were not an issue any more. The fact that I could only partly communicate with Turkish participants played an important role in my feelings at the beginning and had an effect on the intimacy of the relationship I developed with them. As time went by though, I became more comfortable with the context. With some of the Turkish participants we even managed to communicate with my basic Turkish and their use of Pontic dialect, the main points of which I could understand.

Due to the particularities of the context discussed above, observation was of paramount importance for making sense of the data. My presence in the field and the chance to observe the partners' style and tone when talking, but also their body posture and the general climate of the interaction, was invaluable for overcoming the language barrier and for making sense of their interactions (Dornyei, 2007), which then added insight into the translated text. The translation of the data was another barrier I had to overcome. In most cases, the recordings included a mixture of Turkish, English and a regional dialect partners used, which made it very difficult to be transcribed and translated by one person. I transcribed most of the material myself, but consulted a colleague with proficiency in Turkish when transcribing the parts that included an extended use of Turkish, as in the meeting talk recorded. The data analysis chapters include the data excerpts as translated in English, but copies of the transcriptions in the original language can be found in the appendix (see appendix 6).

Participant observation ultimately led to the writing of fieldnotes, which I discuss in the following section.

3.5.3 Fieldnotes

A core part of ethnographic projects, which is closely linked to participant observation, is the writing of fieldnotes. These are the production of written accounts of what researchers have seen, heard and experienced in the field (Emerson et al., 1995:17), and according to Walford (2009:117) are the 'basis on which ethnographies are constructed'. In the context of the current study, keeping notes about my experience with participants, apart from creating a useful resource that I could later draw on analytically, also helped me reflect on what I observed (Emerson et al., 1995). The notebook I had with me during my fieldtrips provided me with a space for internal dialogue, where I could express my inner thoughts and ideas about the research process (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

Scholars do not agree on what should be included in fieldnotes. Some suggest that they should include not only notes on what has been observed but also incorporate personal views and feelings of researchers, while others suggest that personal views should be written in the form of personal diaries or journals (for a discussion on the subject, see Walford, 2009). I agree with the former, which I believe offers a more comprehensive account of the whole research experience and is more informative for the analysis stage (Richards, 2003). As recommended by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), I tried to record fieldnotes as soon as possible after the events observed. Sometimes I attempted to take notes while in the field; however, I soon found out this attracted negative attention, so I decided to only fill in my logs after the events. This created certain challenges, however, since my fieldtrips included very long days and in most cases I ended up making notes very late at night when I knew I was very tired. These conditions led me to focus my notes only on the events that I considered most relevant or significant for the topic of interest. As most of the events and interactions during my trips were audio or video taped, in my fieldnotes I focused more on descriptions of the settings, and of elements that were not obvious in the recordings (layout of the room, activities of other people not obvious in the videos, body-posture). I also paid a great deal of attention to reporting my feelings (confusion, surprise, insecurity, comfort, familiarity) while being in the field, as these are also considered as having analytic significance (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). The general atmosphere that accompanied participants' interactions was of particular importance too, in terms of gaining a deep understanding of the type of their relationship.

In the next section I discuss another source of data, the recording of natural interactions between participants.

3.5.4 Spoken interaction

The data collection process is complemented by naturally occurring data in the form of recorded, spoken interaction between participants. The inclusion of spoken interaction is in line with contemporary thinking in linguistic research that focuses on the study of 'naturally occurring speech' (see Bucholtz, 2003: 406). Naturally occurring talk has been at the centre of interest for a number of workplace discourse analysts. Workplace discourse work often involves the recording and analysis of job meetings, transactional interactions or small talk instances at work in an attempt to discover how people create meaning, and construct and negotiate roles and identities through workplace communication (Angouri and Marra, 2011; Baxter, 2010).

Discourse analysts perceive, as naturally occurring, data recorded interactions that unfold as part of the everyday life of people and not as a result of pre-arranged conditions (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998). Potter (1996) even suggests that discourse analysts should apply the 'dead scientist's test' in order to assess the appropriateness of their research data, by which Potter (1996) means that naturally occurring data emerge from social interactions that would have happened even if the researcher had been killed before collecting them. This discussion brings to the forefront concerns linked to the role of the linguist as an 'obstacle to linguistic authenticity' (Bucholtz, 2003:406) or what more widely known as the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1972a; Sarangi, 2007). The observer's paradox refers to situations where the presence of the researcher in a setting affects the way the phenomenon unfolds; it suggests that if the participants know they are being observed, they would not act in a natural way (Richards, 2003) and would not use language in the way they would if they interacted only with community insiders (Bucholtz, 2003). By insisting on the study of a naturally occurring data discourse, scholars attempt to minimize the effects that their presence could have on the views and stances expressed and thus minimize the biases included in the dataset (Bucholtz, 2003; Potter and Hepburn, 2005; Silverman, 2001).

A number of discourse analysts, especially conversation analysts, have traditionally been contrasting naturally occurring data, often referred to as actual data or 'real language' data (Bucholtz, 2003:398), with non-natural or researcher-provoked data that are supposed to be compromised or contrived (Speer, 2002). These ideas, however, have long been challenged by other discourse analysts who argue for the *de facto* situated character of discourse data (see Edley and Litosseliti, 2010:58-166). In a similar vein, Bucholtz (2003:406) argues: 'if our goal is truly to collect and analyse authentic speech, then we are doomed to failure – or to extremely unethical research practice that no sociolinguist would endorse'. In this project, I adopt the view of Peräkylä (2005) that the two types of data – researcher provoked and naturally occurring – should be perceived as a continuum rather than as a dichotomy. Hence, recorded spoken interactions are included and treated in my project as a source of data that sheds light on different dimensions of doing trust rather than as a more appropriate data source than interviews. Formal and informal meetings between the partners, small talk at work and during social gatherings were audio and, when possible, video recorded. The assumption underlying the inclusion of these types of data is based on contemporary work within discourse studies, which argues that trust as well as identity are constructed and negotiated in everyday mundane interactions where it is open to be observed and studied (Bamberg et al., 2011; Candlin and Crichton, 2013).

3.5.5 Supplementary sources of data

During the fieldtrips I gathered a significant number of photographs (around 400 images). These images depict the workplaces of partners in Greece and Turkey, but also moments of the everyday life and practices of SforSteel partners, with whom I spent most of my time while on fieldtrips. I am interested in how participants make relevant identity claims through non-verbal means, but I am not following a detailed multi-modal analysis methodology. Rather, I treat these sources of data as complementary to the analysis of spoken interaction to further illustrate and support my arguments. The visual data are embedded in my analysis in Chapter 5, where I discuss identity work that participants engage in.

3.6 Methods of data analysis

The different datasets shed light on different dimensions of the phenomenon studied and will inform each other in the interpretation of how trust is enacted in their context. The following visualization illustrates this process.

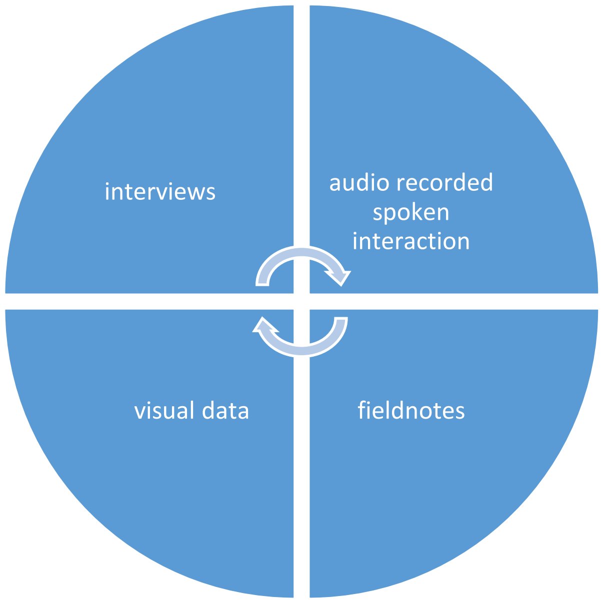


Figure 3.4: Data-sets relationships

As previous research has shown (see Schnurr and Zayts, 2017), different datasets provide different views on the phenomenon being studied; thus, studying the phenomena of interest here through multiple lenses might be more useful for a holistic understanding. Rich and diverse datasets point out connections between the different insights and identify patterns that future research could address in more detail (Angouri, 2018). In the case of this project, the different datasets are treated as providing different views on how trust is done. Interviews are mainly used in order to gain access to personal views and reflections on the role of trust in business relationships and identify the factors that seem to influence perceptions of trustworthiness in the given context. At the same time, they are a useful source for understanding the moral values that seem to be important for partners in the given context, something that affects perceptions and performance of trust. The spoken interaction I recorded then opened ways to study how these factors became relevant (if) in everyday interactions and how trustworthiness was negotiated and performed via discursive means in these interactional contexts. The fieldnotes contributed to all stages of data analysis and informed my interpretation of all datasets. Finally, photographs were treated as an ancillary source of data to support claims about identity work done by SforSteel partners (see Chapter 5).

The nature of the different datasets also prescribe different ways of analysing them. Interviews here are analysed thematically, while recorded interactions between participants are analysed following the tradition of interaction analysis and narrative analysis (see sections 3.5.1-3.5.4).

3.6.1 Thematic Analysis

One of the main aims of the project is to investigate how participants form perceptions of others' trustworthiness and how they claim trustworthy personas for themselves discursively. The focus of the interviews is on the factors that seem to affect perceptions of trustworthiness in the given context; in the first instance, the focus of my analysis is on the content of the participants' utterances. From this perspective thematic analysis was deemed an appropriate choice. I discuss this further below.

Thematic analysis consists of the identification, analysis and elaboration of the patterns, or themes that emerge within a set of data as being important to the description of the phenomenon studied (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Daly et al., 1997). Thematic analysis is made up of several steps, the first of which is the process of transcribing the tape-recorded data. Dornyei (2007) argues that while transcribing, the researcher already obtains a rough idea of the unprocessed information. The transcription of interview data does not include detailed interactional features (e.g.

as per the conversation analysis transcription conventions), as the aim is content analysis. After transcription, the researcher needs to familiarises him/herself with the data. Familiarisation, although seemingly an obvious step, is of crucial importance, since it determines the integrity of the analysis (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Familiarisation is achieved by reading the transcribed data several times and by adding comments and reflections (Denscombe, 2010; Rice and Ezzy, 1999). During this process the qualitative researcher also aims to identify 'patterns and processes, commonalities and differences' in the data (Miles and Huberman 1994:9). This process is considered to be a pre-coding exercise as it includes the first identification of possible codes. A 'code' is a label that assigns meaning to a chunk of text and refers to the 'most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon' (Boyatzis, 1998:63). Or as Dornyei puts it, the code is a label attached to a chunk of information that intends to make the specific bit of information 'manageable and malleable' (2007:250). Boyatzis (1998:1) describes as a 'good code' one that captures the qualitative richness of the phenomenon. What counts as code at this first stage is relative; it might be a word appearing many times or highlighting a special feature of the data that can be linked to broader concepts considered to be highly relevant and meaningful for the phenomenon (Denscombe, 2010). These codes are used at the next stage to form categories; these should be formulated in such way that they can all be classified under at least one of the categories (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). These first sets of codes and categories are subject to a continuous process of refinement during the whole analytic process (Denscombe, 2010).

Up to this stage, the researcher in practice organizes the data in such a way that can be manageable. The actual interpretation of the data, however, starts to take place in the next phase, where the researcher having developed a list with his/her codes and categories sorts them into broader labels, the themes, and starts to develop arguments about the phenomenon under examination (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Boyatzis (1998) defined a theme as 'a pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon' (p.161). The identification of themes is supposed to offer explanations on the interconnections that recur between the codes and categories that have emerged, or in other words explain how the different units are related (Denscombe, 2010). The identification of certain themes at this stage can be assisted by the use of visual representations, such as mind-maps and memos (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The coding process, however, is not complete at this stage. It might be necessary for the researcher to refine his/her codes, categories and themes by going back to the data to ascertain that the themes work in relation to them, otherwise he/she will need to do a re-coding (Denscombe, 2010). After having completed this step, then the researcher should be able to produce a final thematic map with the main themes that emerged from the thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Once the thematic map is finalized, the researcher should form arguments to support the choice of the specific themes based on related literature (Aronson, 1995).

Despite the linear presentation of the process offered above, thematic analysis is understood as an iterative and reflexive process; i.e., the analysis process is not linear, but uses a 'zig-zag' pattern (Dornyei, 2007:243). This implies that the analyst goes back and forth between data collection, analysis and interpretation, depending on the emergent results, and reflects constantly on his/her actions/choices/decisions (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006). For example, it is not uncommon for the researcher to decide in the middle of the analysis that he/she needs to collect some additional data on a specific aspect, or to go back to the raw data and rearrange it according to some newly conceived categories (Dornyei, 2007). Regardless of the stage, when reflecting, it is also common practice and advisable to go back to the interviewees and ask for their feedback, either on the transcripts, or on the themes identified and the interpretations made (Aronson, 1995). I had the opportunity to meet with some of the interviewees more than once and in these cases, I asked them to elaborate on certain topics that were raised in our previous encounters and that I had found interesting after a first round of analysis.

Coding can be assisted by relevant software. In the case of my project though, the coding process took place manually, since the number of interviews (20) was manageable. The process was data driven and iterative; codes and categories were reviewed many times before being finalized. While coding, I was not always sure what to regard as a code or what to exclude, so I started underlining any key words, sentences and concepts that seemed significant for the participants or interesting, even if not directly linked to my immediate focus, in order to let new insights be generated (Dornyei, 2007). I also paid attention to words or concepts that were repeated across the data, as well as to parts of the text that reminded me of theories or other relevant results from previous reports on the topic. As a next step, I rewrote all the codes in an A2 blank poster, and started classifying them in possible categories, depending on their conceptual relevance. Boundaries of categories were fluid and revised multiple times. Issues of frequency and significance became particularly salient at this stage. More specifically, I was in doubt whether to develop categories for concepts mentioned by only one or very few participants or not, or keep to recurring ideas expressed by the majority. I decided to include both recurring concepts and concepts mentioned by fewer participants. This decision was because qualitative research is not preoccupied with the generalizability of the results, but aims at a better understanding of the phenomena (Dornyei, 2007). In order to reach this understanding, the researcher needs to pay attention to all relevant aspects of a phenomenon, not only the ones mentioned more often. For this reason, categories were also made for less common ideas that were given particular attention from participants and seemed to be significant to the topic. Contradictory data, especially those coming from the same participants, posed an extra challenge for me at this stage. Contradictory data though seem to be an implication of researching abstract notions. In order to cope with the frustration that contradictory data can cause, I identified inclusive categories and then themes that could also incorporate contradictions. The following table provides an example that illustrates the coding process.

Chunk of text	Code	Categories
Interview with Nick When you are ethical in your life, you do not miss friends. The snakes and worms go away and *good friends* remain. These are only a few. But this is the joy of life, you know, to say it is a big honour to have you as a friend	Ethical-positive Friends (reward) A few (precious) Joy of life Big honour of having someone friend	Friendship as honour
Interview with Bill Me and my father, we are going to Turkey every fortnight and we have very good relations there, personal ones that have been developed, at a level of friendship'.	Family Very good relations Personal relations developed (dynamic) friendship	Personal relationship friendship

Table 3.3: Coding process sample

Once categories were formed, I drew a schematic representation inclusive of all of them and tried to point out possible connections between them. Visual representation of the data, according to Richards (2003) can prove quite insightful and reveal new aspects of the data. Its significance is also evident in Miles and Huberman's words (1994:91) 'You know what you can display'. The different features in the map were rearranged many times. Finally, the revision of the first analytic schema led to the identification of broader categories that explain the phenomenon.

I will now turn to the discussion of interactional sociolinguistics, which informs the analysis of spoken interaction recorded.

3.6.2 Interactional Sociolinguistics

My analysis of recordings of spoken interaction is heavily informed by Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), which is attributed to Gumperz work and has its roots in the ethnography of communication, more specifically that of Dell Hymes (1961). Hymes (1961) ventured into the study of the relationship of language and social context; more specifically, he suggested that linguists should recognise the importance of context in people's talk and focus their studies on the analysis of speech events rather than on talk as a reflection of the values and beliefs of certain communities. A core interest of IS scholars is the linguistic and cultural diversity of communicative environments and the ways in which speakers negotiate meaning in context. IS approaches diversity by drawing on two contrasting views on the role of diversity in communication. According to the first one, communicative practices of people are shaped by macro-social conditions that prescribe how people should act and perceive the world, and analysts should study these conditions in order to understand diversity (Bourdieu, 1977). The other one suggests that, given that the social world is shaped by interactions, scholars should gain a better understanding of the way localized interactive processes work, if they are to understand diversity (Gumperz, 2005). In other words, IS tries to bridge the gap between top-down and bottom-up theoretical approaches accounting for communicative practices (Stubbe et al., 2003).

IS draws heavily on conversation analytic tools in its micro-analytic approach to interactions; however, in contrast to the conversation analytic approach it also pays attention to the wider sociocultural context of interactions (Stubbe et al., 2003). In other words, IS approaches communicative practice as the site where societal and interactive powers meet (Gumperz, 2005). For Gumperz, the founder of IS, interaction is an ongoing process of negotiation and what is at issue in all interactional situations is the shared or non-shared interpretations, rather than the denotational meaning of language (ibid.). Previous local and context-specific background knowledge is critical for the successful interpretation of messages and the aim of an IS approach is to demonstrate how people use talk to achieve their communicative goals by taking advantage of this background knowledge of their interlocutors (Gumperz, 2005). IS gains access to these interpretive processes through 'contextualization cues', defined as any verbal signs which 'when processed in co-occurrence with symbolic grammatical and lexical signs, construct the contextual ground for situated interpretation and thereby affect how particular messages are understood' (Gumperz, 1982:131). Contextualization cues can be a) specific codes, dialects and styles, b) prosodic features, c) lexical and syntactic options, and formulaic expressions, and d) conversational openings, closings and sequencing strategies (Gumperz, 1982:131). Contextualization cues can be also provided by non-verbal behaviours (Schiffrin, 1996).

IS offers a useful set of tools for the analysis of discourse in certain 'strategic' research sites, such as interviews, meetings and encounters at work, where status and power differences are prominent between the interactants (Roberts et al., 1992). At the same time, IS can prove useful in intercultural communication contexts, especially at work, for raising awareness about the possible differences that can cause problems in the interactions (Cameron, 2001). In such cases, there is often tension between different goals, which is expressed through discourse processes open to observation; IS sheds light on the contextual factors of the interactions and contributes to understanding why certain linguistic features were chosen and how they were interpreted (Stubbe et al., 2003). Accordingly, IS is a reasonable choice for my project, considering its focus on the effects of diversity for complexity of meaning negotiation. Its tools are useful for exploring how the different cultural backgrounds of business partners may affect their perceptions of different types of identities and their role for cross-border interactions, without prejudging the role of national, ethnic or religious affiliations.

A significant part of the data includes narratives of different kinds. For this reason, in section 3.5.3 I discuss the tradition of narrative analysis within discourse studies.

3.6.3 Narrative analysis of identities

The data include a large number of stories. These stories were not deliberately elicited but emerged naturally in my conversation with the participants as well as their own discussions. And as it will be shown from the analysis, they seem to perform various roles and serve certain interactional goals in the given context, such as facilitating identity work. Accordingly, my project draws on another tradition within discourse analytical studies of studies, namely narrative analysis. The datasets (interviews and audio and video recordings of interactions between partners) include a significant number of short and longer stories, specific autobiographical stories that re-emerge in different occasions and instances across the data, and stories that seem to be used for task-oriented events. Some of these stories recount the personal experiences of the participants and include the narrators as protagonists, while others are ‘other’ oriented as the protagonists are not the narrators themselves but either their parents or other family members (see also De Fina, 2008). In line with contemporary work by Declercq and Jacobs (2018), who argue for the crucial role of stories for personal professional and collective corporate identities, I consider these stories a powerful analytical tool for unpacking the various identities that participants claim in the data. I discuss the most relevant traditions of narrative analysis for this project below.

Narrative analysis-traditions

Telling stories about oneself and others is a prevalent way of constructing, interpreting and sharing experience (Schiffrin, 1996; Schiffrin et al, 2010). As Hardy (1968:5) characteristically stated: ‘we dream in narrative, daydream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, gossip, learn, hate, and love by narrative’. The acknowledgement of the width of social actions that narratives seem to accomplish unsurprisingly has led a wide range of social researchers to focus their studies on narrative analysis. Seminal contributions to the study of narratives have come from the fields of linguistic anthropology (Ochs and Capps, 2001), developmental psychology (Bamberg, 2004; Bruner, 1990), social psychology (Harré, 1987), sociology (Riessman, 1993; 2003), sociolinguistics (Labov, 1972a,b; Labov and Waletzky, 1967), linguistics and more specifically discourse studies (De Fina, 2008; 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Schiffrin, 1996; Schiffrin et al, 2010).

Following social constructionist ideas, narratives have been argued to be a primary site for the construction, performance and negotiation of identities (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; De Fina, 2008; 2012 – for a detailed discussion on the construction of identities see Chapter 1). For narrative researchers it is through narratives that people make sense of who they are or who they wish to be and through this process they become the stories through which they tell their lives (Bruner, 1994; Cortazzi, 2001; Denzin, 2000; Riessman, 2003). In line with contemporary constructionist theorisations of identity, narrative identity is conceptualised as multiple and dynamic, contextually situated and interactionally achieved (De Fina, 2015, see also Chapter 1). Narratives, in this context, thus, become the interactional space where people 'do' identity (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). Stories in the data will be approached in this sense too. The narratives that participants include in their talk are considered as spaces where they 'do' identity.

Biographic and interactional approaches to narrative analysis

Although the above ideas seem to be common reference points among narrative scholars, studies of narrative identities have followed quite diverse trajectories, in terms of ontology and epistemology. Broadly speaking, a main distinction could be drawn between studies which adopt biographical and interactionally oriented approaches (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). The two approaches differ in the questions that respective scholars seek to answer. Broadly speaking, biographic approaches focus their attention on the actual story told by narrators as a way of producing a sense of identity, while interactional approaches focus on the interactional process of story-telling. I will elaborate further on these two approaches and successively discuss the particular position adopted by the present project.

Biographic studies of narrative identity, referred to also as conventional/traditional/ canonical (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008) are very much influenced by the seminal work of Labov (1972c) and Labov and Waletzky (1967). According to their work, narratives are stretches of talk or text characterised by a regular textual structure. In their analyses a fully formed narrative 'begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, concludes with the resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda' (Labov, 1972c:369). To explain this further: at the beginning the story starts with an abstract, which includes a statement about the general topic or point of the story. The abstract is followed by an orientation, a description of the place, time that the event took place and the persons involved in the story. Orientation is continued by the complicating action, which is the part of the story that tells the audience what actually happened. The events in this part need to be temporally ordered. Next comes the evaluation of the story, which addresses in what sense this story is tellable and significant/relevant for the audience. Evaluation is followed by the resolution, what finally happened in the story and after that comes the coda, which signals the end of the story and provides the teller with the opportunity to draw some general conclusions of the effect of the story on him/her and link the end of the narrative with the present time of the narration (Labov, 1972c). In a later work, Labov (2001) also identified other common features across the narratives of his studies, including the reference to witnesses in the story, which renders the story more credible, and also the tendency to assign blame or praise for the reported events through presenting the characters in the story in particular ways.

Overall, within biographic studies of narratives, for a chunk of text to be considered as narrative it needs to be well organised, with a beginning, middle and an end, to be teller-led and monological (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). Stories of this type, in principle, are created in biographic interviews and come as an answer to the interviewer's life-reflective questions (Bamberg, 2006; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). The typical type of stories analysed in this tradition recount personal experiences of the story-tellers, mainly their autobiographies/life-stories or decisive life-determining or threatening events. The actual analysis of the narrative within this tradition consists of identifying the above structural components in the stories (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006).

Biographical approaches to narrative identity pay particular attention to the temporal structure of stories and their structural features. This is mainly due to the notion of temporality that proponents of biographic studies attribute to narratives and which they claim to be their main advantage when it comes to the study of identity. Through story-telling, they argue, narrators can incorporate notions of connectedness and temporal unity in their narrated life-stories and this successively leads to the construction of a life-story model of identity which offers a notion of coherence (Gregg, 2011). The production of a coherent sense of self is argued to be the ultimate goal of identity building in biographic studies (McAdams, 1988). Narrative in this context is considered as a mechanism that affords the story-tellers the opportunity to create this sense of coherence in the particular here and now.

Biographical studies of narratives have contributed critically to the development of the field of narrative inquiry. Moving away from traditional positivist research in identity, narrative researchers of conventional narrative analysis have provided new ways of conceptualising the relationship between story-telling, life experiences and identity; they also offered insights in the ways people make sense of their lives and how they make these experiences relevant to a particular narrative context (Bamberg, 2006). Thus, narrative scholars have been enabled to theorise more effectively on the links between past experience and present interpretations of experience and arrive at a better understanding of the subjective nature of meaning-making practices.

Despite the recognition of the above contributions, biographical approaches to narrative have been forcefully criticised in more contemporary works on narrative identity (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2015; Edwards, 1997). A common point of critique and debate concerns the exclusion of a number of stories which do not fit the Labovian definition of narratives, but could be insightful for the study of identity. To explain this, not all stories fit in the structure suggested by Labov (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006). In some stories, not all the Labovian narrative components are included, while in others they might be included but structured in a different order (ibid.). Another point of critique concerns the preoccupation of biographic approaches with the structural properties of stories at the expense of the interactional work being done in their telling (Edwards, 1997). According to Edwards (1997), narratives analysed under the biographic tradition tend to be reduced to chunks that are eventually left unanalysed. Scholars from the field of conversational analysis suggest that the focus of interest should be placed instead on how narratives are embedded and managed in the different interactional settings, and on what interactional functions they perform (Goodwin, 1997).

Attempting to address the above challenges, a significant amount of work adopts an interactional orientation to narrative analysis. Interactionally oriented approaches to narrative start from different premises to biographical ones. First of all, for interactional analysts, a narrative does not necessarily need to include all the structural features proposed by Labovian work. In contrast to fully-fledged, autobiographical stories, known also as Big Stories, this approach to narrative analysis also perceives as analytical units the shorter types of stories, known as Small Stories (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008). In this direction, the work (individual and collaborative) by Bamberg (2004) and Georgakopoulou (2006) has been fundamental. In their work, small stories are 'a range of under-represented narrative activities', such as 'tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell' (Georgakopoulou, 2006:124). Small stories are significantly shorter than autobiographical narratives and emerge in interaction, either in interview settings or everyday talk (Bamberg, 2006). Small stories are not necessarily about the speaker, sometimes they refer to things that the speaker has not even lived through him/herself. They are stories about mundane everyday things that are evoked in mundane everyday interactions and often are not considered to be tellable or somehow interesting, and this is one reason why they have also been neglected by previous studies (Bamberg, 2006).

Within the interactional tradition, and drawing on conversation analytic principles, analysts treat narratives as 'talk-in-interaction' and attribute special significance to the local occasioning of identities in them (Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998).

Narratives, are seen as embedded in the local context and cannot be analysed as detachable from that, such as ‘self-contained’ forms of text (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008); this means that their analysis should attend to previous talk and actions (ibid.). Moreover, and in line with the above argument, narratives in interactionally oriented studies are supposed to perform specific social actions. For example, through story-telling, a narrator can orient him/herself in various ways in relation to previous talk or to interlocutors; he/she can challenge previous arguments/expressed views; he/she can put forth new arguments and take different positions.

In contrast to biographic approaches, for interactionist scholars the interest does not lie in whether story-tellers achieve a coherent or positive sense of self through story-telling. Rather, they focus their attention on the process of identity construction in itself: on the actual strategies narrators, co-narrators and audiences use in order to construct and negotiate specific identities (De Fina, 2015). This echoes the adoption of a broader conception of narrative as a co-construction between story-teller, interviewer or audience (De Fina, 2015). De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008:381) suggest that we need to move away from the ‘restrictive dyadic scheme of teller-listener’ and distinguish between different participant roles in a story-telling event. In this context, the story recipients gain a more dynamic role. They affect the design of the story in the first place, in the sense that the narrator might adjust the story, given that some of them might already know part of the story or might be involved as characters in the story. In addition, recipients, with their contributions in the interaction, can also add, modify or reject points made in the narrative (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Goodwin, 1984; Ochs and Capps, 2001). In light of the above, narratives seem to become a joint venture of interlocutors (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). I pay particular attention to this in my data and scrutinise how my and others’ presence and verbal activity affect how stories are told.

The adoption of the above principles has significant implications for the process of data collection as well. Narratives here emerge naturally in conversations, either in formal settings or in everyday talk. In line with the above discussion on the active role of the recipients in the unfolding of the narrative, contributions from all interlocutors (researchers or not) are transcribed and analysed as significant for the way the stories unfold. Interactional approaches to narrative analysis are often seen as parallel/compatible with the ethnographic tradition. As in ethnographically informed projects, the close observation of participants and of the local level of interaction are considered as providing the means for the investigation of participant orientations and understanding (De Fina, 2015). In the context of my project, insights from the close observation of participants will contribute towards a better understanding of the role of stories in the data (see also later for a discussion on that subject).

Narrative as practice

In the broader context of interactionally oriented approaches, a significant contribution with regard to the conceptualisation of narratives comes from De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008), who propose the view of narrative as social practice. The Social Interactional Approach (SIA) they propose is in line with the view of narrative as talk-in-interaction, but also encompasses a view of narrative as social practice. De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) acknowledge the importance of studying narratives from a micro-perspective as embedded in the local contexts, but stress the need to link the here-and-now of story-telling activities with broader macro-processes too. A central role in this direction is played by the notions of social practice, genre and communities of practice. I will now elaborate further on them.

A major premise of the SIA is that narratives are closely associated with macro-social processes/practices and take different shapes and generic forms depending on the specific practices they are part of. One of the main tasks for narrative analyses within this approach is to identify and account for the ways stories reflect and at the same time shape these social processes. This focus is in contrast with other types of narrative analysis that are preoccupied exclusively with the referential level of stories in order to reveal potential underlying identities. The choice of the term ‘practice’, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008: 383) explain, is a strategic one since ‘it captures habituality and regularity in discourse in the sense of recurrent evolving responses to given situations, while allowing for emergence and situational contingency'. Practice, thus, seems to suit well studies of the interrelationship between relatively stable and emergent, processual aspects of communication (ibid.).

De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) suggest that the process of linking specific ways of speaking to aspects of social life is facilitated by the investigation of narrative genres. Genre here is used in line with recent linguistic-anthropological developments as a habitual mode of action, or in other words as repeated ways of acting and demonstrating social knowledge and experience. Looking for genres in narrative data places the focus of the analyst on the routine ways of telling specific things for specific purposes (Hymes, 1996 in De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). Narrative structure, in the context of SIA, is thus perceived as something flexible and dynamic rather than as stable and fixed, as in biographic approaches. Stories can take several forms, depending on the purpose for which they are formed and told. Place and time are acquiring significant importance in an SIA context as the ways narratives unfold are related to the particular here and now of interactions.

The SIA to narrative also has implications for the way analysts view the relationship between story-telling practices and specific groups. More specifically, it draws attention to the fact that people can simultaneously participate in multiple, intersecting communities. This view challenges notions of homogeneous communities and all-encompassing notions of society and culture, by stressing the need to focus on smaller units/groups of people and communities of practice (CofP), defined as groups of people who come together under a shared concern or passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Communities of practice are defined along three dimensions: mutual engagement, joint enterprise and shared repertoire (Wenger, 1998). In such communities, De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008) argue, people share language and social practices and norms as well as shared understandings of them. In this context, then, narratives (maybe specific typologies/ways of telling stories), are turned into a shared repertoire of the communities of practice (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008). Or, in other words, they become shared resources for group members' identity work. Narratives, as resources, can then be used for different ends by group members. For example, workplace studies have shown that through story-telling, group members can perform acts of group identity, can share experiences and interests, can re-affirm or challenge roles, negotiate group-membership etc (see Declercq and Jacobs, 2018). Of course, these resources are flexible and prone to change over time.

So far, I have discussed the different traditions in relation to narrative analysis. I now turn to present the way narrative analysis will be applied in this study.

Narrative analysis in the project

For the purposes of the present project, I am adopting an interactional, practice-based approach to narrative analysis, which is further complemented by other ethnographic methods (De Fina, 2015; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). My interest lies in how participants use narratives to perform social actions in different contexts and communities of practice. The data collected comprise a range of stories, including what has been termed in narrative research big and small stories (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Georgakopoulou, 2006). My intention is not to choose either one type or the other, but to read carefully across the data and find the stories which a) are recurrent, and b) seem to be more significant or somehow consequential for the interactions in place; and c) I am also interested in stories participants label as 'critical' for explaining their own professional practices and relationships. While analysing the narratives I draw on my ethnographic logs and understanding of the context I developed through my fieldtrips and time spent with the participants.

Summary

In this chapter I reviewed the methodological framework of the present project. After discussing the main premises of the social constructionist tradition, I focused on the qualities of ethnographic research. I then described the research design and the data collection process, which resulted in rich and diverse datasets, including interviews, fieldnotes, recordings of spoken interactions, videos and photos. The different datasets talk to each other and were analysed employing thematic analysis and IS tools.

Chapter 4: Interviews analysis – Factors affecting trustworthiness perceptions

Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss the findings of the first part of the main study, which includes 20 semi-structured interviews with 14 participants, who are founders or managers of seven companies based in Greece and involved in cross-border collaboration with Turkish companies (for a detailed list of the companies and their background see section 3.3.3). The interviews focused on the relationships of participants with their Turkish partners and the existence, or not, of trust within those relationships. The interview analysis took place manually, was iterative, and aimed at the identification of patterns that seem to be significant for the development and maintenance of trusting relationships in the given context as well as specific trustworthiness cues (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010), i.e. characteristics of partners, which made them seem creditable or trustworthy, and were indexed by certain behaviours.

The findings of the interviews were then used as a foundation for designing the data collection process and analysis of the second part of the study, which includes interactional data. I will discuss the findings from these datasets in Chapters 5 and 6 and provide a discussion of all datasets together in the last chapter (Chapter 7).

The following figure illustrates the themes that emerged in the interviews in relation to the concept of trustworthiness, namely: expertise, morality, social identification, interactional histories and personal relationships, as well as the ways these themes interact. All the above are embedded and affected by the broader social context in which companies operate.

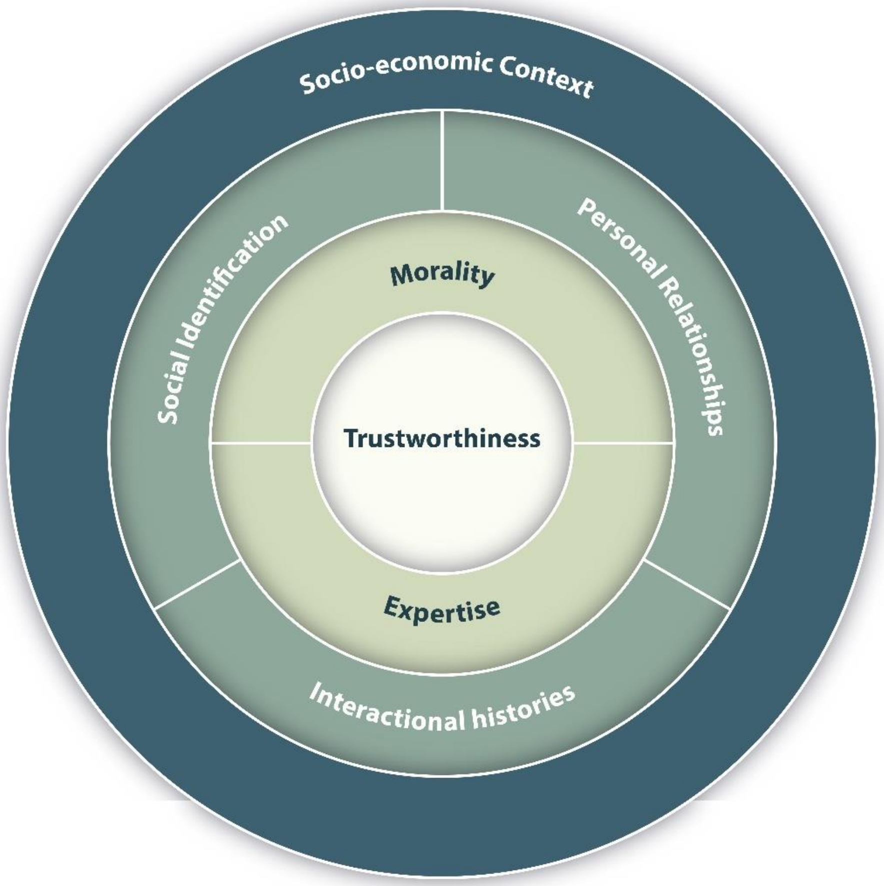


Figure 4.1: Trustworthiness model

Trustworthiness is a sensitive and context-dependent construct, which results from the interplay of several factors. My conceptualisation of factors here builds on Kramer's plea for the development of approaches to organisation trust that incorporate both calculative elements and social inputs that influence trust judgements and decisions (Kramer, 1999). The trustworthiness model above includes (elements that regard) personal attributes, but also other elements that correspond to the social-interactional side of a partnership.

The analysis suggests that perceptions of trustworthiness of partners in the given context are related to perceptions of their professional expertise and morality. These are intertwined with and informed by social identities formed on the basis of shared group memberships, by the interpersonal relationships developed between partners and the interactional histories that these relationships generate. Good interpersonal relationships take the form of longstanding friendships and family bonds, including trips to both countries and hospitality. Boundaries between the different themes are not clearly defined and rigid; rather, the themes overlap and are interrelated. This matrix of relationships within which trustworthiness is achieved, is influenced by a broader sociocultural and politico-economical context within which the companies and trusting parties operate, along with the values of each business group.

Organisation of the chapter

In the discussion that follows I draw on interview excerpts to show how these themes emerged and how they are indexed by specific behaviours. I first discuss the theme of expertise. The analysis shows that perceptions of professional expertise rest on different factors that relate to a partner's formal qualifications and experience, as well as their overall working style, reputation and the more general conditions of the market in which they operate. I then move on and focus on the theme of morality. Morality seems to play a very important role for participants and is indexed by specific behaviours and stances towards life and money. Claiming morality is related to abiding to certain group values, including: modesty, respect towards family, prioritisation of personal relationships over money, religiosity. These group values constitute part of the broader socio-cultural order within which the trusting relationship takes place and shows how macro and micro levels interact. The following table summarises these behaviours.

Expertise, related to…	**Morality, related to…**
formal qualifications	modesty
economic success	prioritisation of personal relationships
reputation	respect towards the family construct
working style	religiosity
institutional context	generosity

Table 4.1: Warrants of expertise and morality

After discussing how expertise and morality are claimed, I move on and discuss how social identification, personal relationships and interactional histories affect perceptions of expertise and morality in the given context. While discussing this, I point out, where relevant, how the moral values perceptions of the moral order interact and affect the interaction and perceptions of trusting parties at a micro level. The chapter closes with one additional section, which focuses on two, more extended parts of interviews, drawn from in-depth interviews with Nick and Mehmet, two of the five SforSteel partners. These two extracts include the reiteration of a story that seems to be significant for the partners' relationship and trustworthiness perceptions. The inclusion and separate discussion of these two extracts serves two goals. First, they illustrate how the different themes interact with each other in a single communicative event. At the same time, they show empirically how stories that draw on critical moments in partners' histories can become resources for partners to claim and perform/negotiate trustworthiness.

The analysis of interview excerpts pays attention to what participants say about trust, but also to how they say what they say. The focus of the micro-analysis is mainly on the creation of in-groups and out-groups. Particular attention is paid to personal pronoun use. Sociolinguistic research has focused on the use of pronouns and argued that mobilisation of 'we' pronouns is closely linked to the linguistic establishment of social groups and collective social identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011; Helmbrecht, 2002; Wodak et al., 1999). Under scrutiny are also lexical choices that index us/them relationships and also put emphasis on the emotional dimension of the partners' relationship, which facilitates the development of trust (Rousseau et al., 1998; Zaheer et al., 1998).

I start by discussing the theme of professional expertise.

4.1 Professional expertise

Expert behaviour or professional expertise was found to be an important component in the trustworthiness puzzle for business partners. Expertise has also been suggested as an antecedent of trustworthiness within previous organisation studies, where it was termed mainly as ability or competence (see Mayer et al., 1995 for a review). The same concept has been suggested as important for the persuasive power of a speaker, since Aristotle's time and his work on ethics, which dictated that a speaker's ethos is divided into three dimensions: good sense, good moral character and goodwill (McCroskey, 2001). Ethos has been associated with trustworthiness in recent discourse analytical research on trust (see Dossena, 2014; Wackers et al., 2014), which suggests that if a speaker carries the status of an expert or a role model, then he/she is going to be deemed trustworthy (McCroskey, 2001).

Professional expertise is a concept that has concerned workplace communication scholars too and is related to notions of professional knowledge and accumulated experience (Candlin, 2006; Candlin and Candlin, 2002; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). How professional knowledge and experience are to be warranted though depends on the context and is a matter of constant negotiation between partners. In the context of this study, analysis shows that perceptions of professional expertise are found to rest upon a partner's official qualifications acquired via formal education, quality of services offered, previous experience in the field, previous economic success and reputation, as well as their communicative and working style. I will discuss each of these factors drawing on selected data excerpts.

Notions of expertise were related in the interviews mainly to the overall quality of the services provided by a partner. Quality of services translates into the actual product quality, but also punctuality and flexibility with regard to the delivery of the product and payment. The following excerpt by John demonstrates this.

Excerpt 4.1

```
Context: John is the owner of Piediland, a Greek company that imports
shoes from Turkey. This interview took place at the premises of the
company in Thessaloniki, Greece.
   1. R:    What are you looking for in a partnership?
   2. J:    Credibility foremost. This is, the other to be accurate,
   3.       in the delivery, in the payments, in everything (..)
   4.       (Trust) is built mainly in the transaction, if
   5.       everything you have asked for is done, is a good step,
   6.       isn't it? Payment, delivery and quality.
```

Consistency and accuracy in what has been agreed between partners are two important parameters when it comes to judging a partner, especially in cases of partners who did not know each other prior to their collaboration. Trust seems to develop as a result of interaction between partners, where they can both check if the other is honouring or not what has been agreed between them (see also Kramer, 1999). John places emphasis on credibility, as denoted by the fact that he mentions it first and accompanies it with the emphatic adverb foremost (line 2). Credibility is often used interchangeably with trust and trustworthiness, as shown by previous research (see Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014) and it seems that it is used in this way in the dataset of this study too.

Quality of services relates also to the working and communicative style of a partner. Management literature suggests that smooth and positive communication among parties affects positively the development of interpersonal trust in organisational settings (Fulmer and Gelfand, 2012) and accessibility and approachability of partners are important aspects in this direction (Cameron and Webster, 2011). This is reflected in my data too, as timely delivery of products and approachability of partners in the sense of frequent and direct communication (mainly on the phone) are suggested to be important elements for a successful collaboration, and contribute to perceptions of one's professional expertise and hence trustworthiness. Five of the participants, Bill, Greg, Alex, Tolga and Nick argued that having frequent communication with a partner and taking personal care of the delivery of a product is considered as an index of respect and adds to perceptions of professional responsibility and expertise, and hence trustworthiness. This is illustrated in the following excerpt elicited during the first interview with Bill, the owner of a factory that specialises in packaging and commercial bags.

Excerpt 4.2

Context: Bill is the general manager of Artibag, a company that imports paper and other raw materials from Turkey. This excerpt is drawn from our very first interview at a coffee shop in Greece.

1. R: I would like you to tell me a bit more with regard
2. to the differences you have spotted between your Turkish
3. partners and the rest of your partners from other
4. countries.
5. B: Look, the way they treat you and the directness
6. involved. Most of the time, there is personal
7. relationship, irrespective of the company size.
8. We talk about private companies and often you
9. have to deal with the actual owner of the company,
10. even when the company is very profitable. I don’t
11. know if this applies only to our field, but I think
12. this is a general pattern. In general they are by your
13. side, they see you as,a client, they are there to cover
14. your needs.
15. R Yes
16. B: I can give you an example as well. Two cases with
17. companies that do the same thing, they sell
18. paper. We talked on Friday with one company in Turkey
19. and asked for some paper. The paper needed to be
20. processed before delivery. I paid them on Friday and I
21. asked to have the paper for Tuesday. They worked
22. during weekend, on Monday morning the paper was ready,
23. on Tuesday morning there was a truck at our company’s
24. door. They were by our side until it arrived.
25. R: Yes.
26. B: A similar case happened a month ago with a company
27. in Germany. I paid them off, for some paper that
28. needed some process first, for a whole week I was
29. begging for information, to let me know why the paper
30. was not out for delivery. I was told that it needed a
31. whole process, to print some certification, to load
32. the truck. Simple things, in a few words, to go to the
33. warehouse and ask the person to load it.
34. R: Yes.

B: But because you are a Greek company they let you
wait, at least in my opinion, and then..while I have
paid them off in advance, a big amount of money, they
load it a week later. The directness, you don't have a
person to talk to. I mean, I was calling Germany and
they were telling me no, you need to call the rep-
resentative in Greece,the representative was telling
me whatever the Germans say. What is the result? We are
turning to those who can provide better service.

Bill in this excerpt claims that what differentiates his experience with his Turkish partners from others is the directness involved in their communication, which is related to the service provided. He provides an account of an argumentative nature to justify his case (lines 16-43), which is characterised by emotional talk. In his account, he compares and contrasts the treatment he received from two different companies, based in Turkey and Germany respectively. While talking about the first one, his talk is characterised by action verbs (talked, asked, paid, worked) and short sentences. He presents the actions taken as methodical and effective. In contrast, he talks about the second case in a negative tone, stressing the lack of communication and the delay in the procedure. in line 28, the adjective 'whole' which accompanies the word week, pays emphasis to the unreasonable delay, while the verb 'begging' (line 29) conveys feelings of resentment and disappointment. Begging for information from a partner includes a power struggle in the partners' relationship and positions Bill as powerless and disrespected. A similar effect seems to have also the use of passive voice in line (30), which indexes distance and lack of direct communication. Bill implies that the delay in the delivery could have been avoided. When talking about the issues that caused the delay, he refers to the certification with the term, 'some', which denotes vagueness and lack of clarity. His explication in lines 32-33, has an evaluative tone, challenging the importance of the technical and bureaucratic procedures. In lines 35-36 he makes a direct statement that the delay was an act of discrimination, the force of which he tries to mitigate by saying that this is his personal opinion (line 36). The way the story unravels in lines 38-42 continues to transmit a negative evaluation and signifies feelings of confusion and frustration that are caused by the lack of clarity with respect to organisational roles and procedures. Personal relationships are proposed to contribute to better provision of services in this context, something that has also been pointed out by previous works by workplace scholars, which have argued that the interpersonal side of a professional relationship affects positively the transactional side of doing business (see Holmes and Stubbe, 2003).

Official skills and qualifications of partners is another element that adds to their perceived trustworthiness. In the following excerpt, Nick talks about the history of his partnership and the economic investment made and in this context, he provides a list of reasons that made him trust the management.

Excerpt 4.3

Context: Nick is factory owner in Greece and has established a partnership with four Turkish businessmen, with whom he owns another factory in Turkey. This excerpt was elicited during our first interview in his office in Greece.

Nick We have invested 2.5 million euros. Ok? We might lose them. I tell
you, nobody is going to be sad in the sense that he lost money. He will
be sad in the sense that we did an effort and it did not succeed.
R Yes.
Nick However, in all these years, the management is on Demir's brother,
who is an engineer, speaks English, is hard-working, everything, and
he is also a religious Muslim. He believes strongly in God (…) and a
person who believes in God there is no chance that he will deceive
you.

The excerpt opens with Nick making an identity claim for himself and his partners. He uses the inclusive we when referring to his partners and himself (line 1), creating a group, which denotes a collective identity (Bull and Fetzer, 2006; Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011). He projects to the group similarity, by arguing that no one from the group would be 'sad' if their investment is not fruitful, implying a shared mentality within members of the group. Foregrounding similarities and downplaying differences is a common practice when doing collective identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Claiming and performing group identity seems to be very important for constructing trust in this group and I devote Chapter 5 to discussing this in more detail. Apart from a collective identity, Nick claims for the group the identity of people who do not care solely about money (lines 1-3). His statement that nobody will be sad if they lose their money, and the fact that he chooses to refer to the exact amount of the investment (2.5 million euros) in line 1, intensifies the force of his statement. His statement could be interpreted as a heroic performance aimed to impress me. However, in line 5, Nick explains the reasons why he thinks his partnership is a good investment of money and has high chances of being successful. He describes Mehmet, Demir's brother, the general director of the company and focuses on his skills and qualifications. He projects on him the identity of a hardworking person and refers to his language skills (he speaks English) and his formal qualifications, acquired through university education (he is an engineer). Nick refers to these attributes of Mehmet to justify his trust in him and the partnership. Official qualifications have been argued to constitute grounds for one's professional trustworthiness in previous research (see McAllister, 1995) and the analysis here confirms these findings. Nick also refers to the fact that Mehmet is religious and associates this with being moral. Religiosity has been associated with morality in previous work (Longenecker, McKinney and Moore, 2004; Miller, 2007) and this seems to be the case also for participants in this project.

Relevant literature suggests that other common factors affecting trusting beliefs include the economic status of a partner as well as his/her reputation (Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Fulmer and Gelfand, 2012; Howorth and Moro, 2006). In my data, reputation and social status were found to be important only for two participants, George and Nick. In these cases, previous economic success of a partner was considered an index of skills and abilities and a source of respect that adds to perceptions of professional expertise. Reputation is considered equally important as it provides information about a partner's performance/achievements (Howorth and Moro, 2006), which makes the interaction with him/her less risky. The most prominent case in the data was that of Nick, who kept referring to the economic status and reputation of a particular partner, Adem, throughout the interviews and everyday talk. The recycling of stories/facts across contexts has been shown to point to the significance of this story/fact. I illustrate this by discussing different instances, where this became relevant.

Excerpt 4.4

```
Context: This story was elicited at the second formal interview with
Nick in his office in Greece. In the room there was only Nick and
I, and the interview was conducted in the Greek language.

   1.  R:    R: I would like you to tell me a bit more, the other
   2.        time you told me that there is blind trust
   3.        between you and your partners. I would like you to
   4.        explain this.
   5.  N:    Look. Blind trust, right? These friends and
   6.        partners are not random people. Every one of us
   7.        has its own history. One of us is millionaire.
   8.        Yes.
   9.        He is the person that when the business is under
   10.       economic pressure, he puts in the money and we move
   11.       forward.
```

My request for further explanation in line 1 already shapes the argumentative nature of the account that follows (De Fina, 2008; Schiffrin, 1996). Nick provides an account of the reasons that led him to trust his partners blindly. Nick places himself and his partners in the identity category of ‘not random people’ (line 6), which he then links to perceptions of economic wealth. It could be argued then, that perceptions of trustworthiness of others are linked to their economic state, something which also confirms previous findings on the development of trustworthiness (see Mayer end Gavin, 2005). In this excerpt, trust is also proposed to be associated with specific identity categories, such as that of friends. Nick chooses to refer to his partners as ‘friends and partners’ (lines 5, 6) instead of just partners or partners and friends. The choice and sequence of the term friends and partners here could possibly denote the significance and prevalence that friendship acquires over partnership in this context. Nick projects to his partners the identity of friends and he does this just after I asked him about the existence of blind trust between himself and his partners. It could be argued then, that Nick here decides to partially reject the identity label of 'just partners' that I ascribed to his relationship with his partners through my question (line 3). Instead, he decides to foreground the identity category of friends over that of partners when talking about the people he collaborates with. The idea that speakers can project specific identities to others in interaction, which the latter can then reject, accept or negotiate, constitutes common ground for contemporary work on identity from a sociolinguistic perspective (Bamberg et al., 2011) and this excerpt is an example of that. Pronoun use is also insightful in this excerpt, where Nick uses the inclusive 'we' personal pronoun in the form 'us' when referring to himself and his partners, placing them all in a group. Mobilisation of 'we' pronouns is a prime way of claiming collective identities discursively (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011; Helmbrecht, 2002).

The economic state of Adem is brought up in other instances as well by Nick, acting as an index of his competences and skills, which then add to Adem's perceived trustworthiness. I consider this repetition significant as it points to the structural role of this factor for the partners' relationship in the given context. The next extract comes from another interview that took place some months after the above.

Excerpt 4.5

Context: This excerpt was elicited during the second interview I had with Nick, which took place almost six months after the first one.

1. N You know one of my partners is very rich, very very rich.
2. Believe me. Eh..
3. R It’s ok. Rich.
4. N He is a very good person. He is helping too many
5. people. So that guy left from Trabzon when he was a
6. child, 19-20 years old. He worked in Germany
7. for five years, his boss loved him too much and he wanted
8. him to go back to Turkey. And he gave him three machines
9. to start the business. Today he doesn’t know how
10 much money he has.

In this extract Nick refers again to his partner Adem, when talking about his business activities in Turkey. Right from the beginning (line 1), Nick puts emphasis on the fact that Adem is rich. His message is intensified by the repetition of the word ‘rich’ accompanied by the emphatic adjective ‘very’ three times. He then provides a short account of Adem’s life (lines 5-9) that is used to put emphasis on the fact that Adem created his fortune himself, without having any support from his family background, which is implied to be a great achievement and denotes exceptional skills and abilities. To achieve such a thing, one needs to be hard-working and make strategic decisions, which both add to a partner’s expert status and trustworthiness. The stark difference between his background and his current economic state makes Adem a rare case and his story is one of high tellability (De Fina, 2011). In the context of this story, Adem is positioned as something unique and rare, as a ‘hero’, or a referent role model. This positioning allows Adem to be depicted as a person with exceptional professional skills and thus a good candidate to do business with, something which adds to his perceived trustworthiness.

The analysis suggests that professional expertise and trustworthiness are linked to the working style of a partner. Three of the participants mentioned the concept of working on the basis of one's word as a practice that denotes trust. The concept of word has also been related to trust in organisations' settings in previous studies. Jones and Sin (2013), for example, examined claims of trustworthiness in relation to accounting professionals and found that interviewees often talked about someone's word to signify credibility and reputation, which was then associated with trustworthiness. The following excerpt represents one of the instances where word became relevant in my data:

Excerpt 4.6

```
Context: George is the owner of Artibag, a Greek company that
imports paper and raw materials from Turkey. The interview took
place in his office at the headquarters of the company in
Greece.

   1. G:   They continued showing trust to us. Solely the fact that
   2.      you can make deals only on the basis of someone's word
   3.      signifies trust. (…) Traditionally in Greece, but also
   4.      in Turkey, the way of doing business was the 'word'.
   5.      The commercial relationship was based on that. There
   6.      is something left from that. In Greece and in Turkey.
   7.      You say I will do something and you stick to it.
```

George associates doing business and making deals on the basis of one's word without formal contracts with the existence of trust. He stresses that working on the basis of someone's word used to be the traditional working mentality in Greece and Turkey. Similarity between the two countries is foregrounded in lines 3-4 and 6 and this is related to the concept of trust. Giving your word and keeping it is associated with a businessman's reputation and it is considered honourable for a businessman in the given context. Moreover, working on the basis of someone's word, without taking steps to secure one's interests, is associated with situations that include the risk of losing money. Risky situations are inextricably linked to trust (Luhmann, 2000).

It seems thus that perceptions of one's professional expertise rest on different factors that relate to a partner's formal qualifications and experience, their overall working style, flexibility and approachability, and their social status and reputation. To be considered trustworthy though, apart from knowing a business well and being competent, one needs to showcase that he/she is ethical/moral. The next section focuses on the concept of morality and discusses how it was indexed in participants' talk.

4.2 Morality

Although professional expertise is undoubtedly a significant factor when it comes to business partnerships, there were other factors that seem to be perceived as more influential for regarding someone as trustworthy in the given context. Participants seem to value specific personal identities of their partners and this affects perceptions of trustworthiness. In the context of this study, personal identities that are highly valued fall within the overarching theme of morality. In other words, for someone to be considered trustworthy, apart from being considered an expert in his/her field, it is also important to be deemed moral and ethical. The way the term morality is used here is parallel to the notion of integrity that other studies have identified (see Mayer et al., 1995 in Chapter 2). The notion of morality is central in the data and is indexed by specific behaviours and stances towards life and money, such as upholding to certain group values, including: modesty, generosity, respect towards family, prioritisation of personal relationships over money, and religiosity.

A widely held position associated with morality is the prioritisation of personal relationships over money. Almost all participants in the interviews stressed that greediness can pose risks for intimate interpersonal relationships. Participants make an effort to ascribe to themselves and their partners the identity of people who are not driven by the idea of making money, but instead, are generous and like to help others and sustain their personal relationships. They claim this identity in the interviews through the circulation of stories of past experience to provide evidence of why they have come to trust their partners. A common pattern in these stories is the idea that morality is indexed by behaviour that involves the risk of losing money. For example, Nick has made this relevant in two narratives embedded in his interviews. The next excerpt illustrates the first case.

Excerpt 4.7

Context: This excerpt is drawn from the second interview with Nick, during which I asked him to elaborate on certain aspects that I found interesting about our first interview.

1. R: The other time you told me that you like to know
2. your partners, to meet them in person. It seems thus
3. that you strive for a more personal relationship.
4. N: Of course.
5. R: It seems important for the viability of a
6. partnership.
7. N: This might sound romantic, but for me, always, the
8. most critical thing is human relationships. Why I am
9. saying this. I have a Belgian friend, but we
10. have never worked together. And he told me one day. 'I
11. am always approached by people who want to do business
12. with me. Haven't you ever felt the need to do business
13. with me?' And I told him 'I love you so much that I
14. don't want to lose you'.
15. R: Oh really.
16. N: Right? It might sound weird, but I told him like
17. this. 'I prefer to keep a friend as a friend, rather
18. than having an ex-friend as enemy. Let's stay friends.
19. If it happens, if life brings us the opportunity to do
20. business together, we would do our best. But I would
21. not want us to chase this'.
22. R: I see.
23. N: I don't see people as money, I never saw people
24. like money. I spend my everyday life at a local old

coffee place where I am dealing with everyday people,
we keep each other company, and I feel so well that I
place money and titles at the bottom of the list. (..)
This is once again what I have been telling you from
the beginning and I will continue saying it, we are
not allowed as Greeks to not reflect on our lives.
Right? Life is not all about money, life is about
human relationships. My Belgian friend told me once: I
envy you because you are very rich.
R: Yes
N: And I told him, me rich? I don't even have money to
feed myself. No, he told me, you have so many friends
and your fortune lies there. I don't have friends.
Whoever approaches me, is because I have money.
R: Oh..
N: It sounds provocative, but it's like that. I have a
comfortable life, very comfortable, but lonely, right?
R: Yes.
N: And since then I use what he told me. Whenever I am
having a gathering at my house and I have many guests
I reproduce these words. I feel very rich because I
have friends.

The excerpt is rich in identity claims, the most salient of which seem to be that Nick is a modest person, who values friendships and is ready to prioritise them over potential economic gains. He claims these identities directly via open referencing (lines 7- 8, 23- 27) and positions himself as a special type of person, as something that is rare to find. He achieves the latter by initiating his core identity claims, stating that what follows might sound romantic (line 7) or weird (16) something which denotes that for him this stance towards people and friends is something rare to be found and thus precious. Nick here includes a narrative (line 9-21) to illustrate better the claim he intends to make for himself and adds vividness and credibility to his claims. In his narrative, through the reported speech he attributes to his Belgian friend (line 11-13) he still presents himself as a weird and rare type of person. One of the functions that reported speech has been argued to serve, is the provision of space for expressing attitudes and evaluation (Myers, 1999). Through the reported speech in this excerpt, Nick offers evaluation and projects specific identities for himself.

There is a widely held belief among Nick and his partners that doing business with someone poses risks for the continuation of smooth personal relationships. The idea that money can corrupt one's character and priorities is popular in the given group and partners seem to be concerned about it. Through this narrative Nick comes out as a modest person, who prioritises human relationships over money, something that indexes a person with moral values, who can be seen as trustworthy eventually.

The following excerpt focuses still on the core identity claims that dominate the theme of morality. Here though we see how partners project these identities to their partners, apart from themselves. The excerpt is drawn from another interview with Nick.

Excerpt 4.8

R: N: So, two of these men are retired now. This one cut his fingers while working at a factory. Adem worked in Germany and set the grounds for his fortune and today he is one of the richest Istanbul based businessmen.

N: The same person used to be a shepherd in his village.

R: Oh really.

N: My partner. This guy here is a singer. What I want to tell you is that here, in this club, you can see all sorts of people, from different social classes. And this has never affected things. I mean he doesn't care, you see this guy, who is a millionaire, he mingles with poor everyday people, they live at the same place. This happens every day. Like you did yesterday, when you called me I told you I was at the coffee place. Five out of seven days a week, I am there. Right? Adem is also like that. Two days a week he might be invited to business dinners, because he was also the president of the x organisation (details about the organisation, omitted).

R: Oh..

N: No comparison. I am talking about something
incredible here. To be a member you pay a very small
fee. It is like a ministry. This is like
a ministry.. Anyway, what I want to say is that he
will go 2-3 times a week to a business dinner or other
social events and he will spend the rest of the week
with everyday people. They might tell him that someone
is in need, that a family suffers, if he can help. He
would just ask 'how much money is needed'. And he will
sort it out. Because he says, it's very bad
to be envied because you have money. Because of this,
because God chose you to have a lot, give some of it
to others to help them as much as you can. Right?

Nick chooses to comment on the photo by focusing on Adem's behaviour, who despite being a busy millionaire, chooses to interact frequently with people from very diverse backgrounds. This behaviour could denote a modest person, who values personal relationships and likes to keep a low profile, despite the fact that he is very rich. Nick projects this identity to his partner Adem through open referencing (lines 11-13). He puts emphasis on this behaviour and presents it as something of high tellability (De Fina, 2011), due to Adem's social status. Nick refers to the prestigious role of Adem to emphasize how successful and influential he is. He includes details about the size of the organisation, some of which are omitted for anonymization purposes, to illustrate further the importance of his successive claims (in lines 24-27).

Nick makes another important identity claim for Adem in lines 27-30, where he presents Adem as a generous person who offers financial assistance to those in need. The way Nick makes this claim is also significant. He presents Adem as 'just' asking (line 29) how much money is needed. The lexical choice 'just' here is strategic, since it denotes that Adem would offer his help in such cases without a second thought and without investigating each case. This again showcases an ethical and moral person with kind feelings, which contributes to claims of trustworthiness. Modesty is suggested to be a part of the spectrum of morality. Towards the end of the excerpt (lines, 32-33), Adem is presented as having a good knowledge and following the orders of God. Faith and spirituality have been related to existing literature with claims about one's morality and ethicality (Fernando and Jackson, 2006; Longenecker et al., 2004; Miller, 2007) and this how the concepts are used too, adding to Adem's morality and overall trustworthiness.

In lines 13-16 Nick attempts to foreground similarity between himself and Adem, by arguing that they share similar patterns of behaviour. Foregrounding similarities and downplaying differences between group members is a common mechanism of doing collective identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and Nick here seems to be constructing a homogeneous group for himself and his partners (in this case Adem). What is foregrounded here is their modesty, which is highly valued in this group and acts as an index of morality.

Another important element of the morality spectrum is respect towards the construct of family. Participants attribute value to the role of family and construct their relationships and identity around it. Showing respect to the concept of family and practising respect towards older family members is considered an index of a moral and ethical character. Family relations have been associated in relevant literature with the concepts of altruism (Schulze et al., 2003), collectiveness and support (PAD paper, 2016), which all index positive relationships. In relationships characterised by altruism, parties are more likely to act in a beneficial way towards each other and this will affect perceptions of trustworthiness. Altruism is also related to loyalty (Ward, 1987), which has been suggested to be complementary to trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003). It should be noted here that five out of seven companies included in the sample, are family businesses. Most participants stress this fact in the interviews and ascribe particular importance and weight to it. References to family and family roles are frequent across the data. The next excerpt illustrates one of these cases.

Excerpt 4.9

Context: This excerpt is elicited from an Interview with Bill, the general manager of Artibag. The interview took place in a coffee shop.

```
1.  B:   You see that this extraordinary development does
2.       not affect their mentality and their values. You can
3.       see that there is order. They have left us far
4.       behind…You see that the groom is still kissing the
5.       hand of his father in law.. This is a bit extreme. I
6.       can tell you though.. They (Turks) still have what we
7.       were calling 'filotimo'. The last time we were there,
8.       it happened that the bus broke down, we were commuting
9.       by bus, they will get down in their suits and help
10.      fix it. The last time I was there, we were looking
11.      for a street and we asked a man for help and he
12.      entered our car. I thought he would take us a couple
13.      of streets further down and he stayed with us for
14.      almost 3 kilometres. He left his job to show us.
15. R:   Oh and he even entered an unknown car.
16. B:   Exactly, and he did not care. I was concerned about
17.      him getting back and he told me not to worry about it.
```

Bill here praises Turkish people for maintaining moral values and traditions, despite the 'extraordinary' economic development of Turkey. He firstly praises the valuing of the concept of family. He makes a comparison of Greeks and Turks in lines 3-4 and 6-7, which intensifies the strength of his statement. The pronoun 'they' represents the Turks, while 'us' represents Greeks in this case. We can see here the creation of an 'us versus them' dichotomy (De Fina, 2011), which is in favour of the 'them' part of the comparison. This negative evaluation of the 'us' group is related to the preservation of cultural traditions and habits that value the role of family. Bill refers to the specific practice of kissing the hand of your father in law, which signifies respect towards the father figure. The theme of respect towards family members is followed by the narration of an incident that Bill associates with the concept of 'filotimo'. The word carries symbolic significance in the Greek context and is a concept that is often considered untranslatable. It denotes a complex range of virtues, such as personal pride, dignity, courage, sacrifice and sense of duty. It is a concept that is commonly related to the discourse of 'Greekness', i.e. something that characterises Greek people. Having 'filotimo' is considered very honourable and Bill here uses the term in this way to attribute positive light to the behaviour of Turkish people. A person with 'filotimo' is considered moral and thus trustworthy.

In a similar vein, John comments:

Excerpt 4.10

```
Context: This interview with John took place at the office of
Piediland, the shoe company that John owns in Greece.

   1.  J:    In general, they are very sweet, approachable people.
   2.        They put you in the family. They conceive it as an
   3.        honour (…)In general, the concept of family plays
   4.        an important role in Turkey. You need to know. They
   5.        respect it a lot. For example, they use the
   6.        second person plural form when talking to their father
   7.        and things like that. When they say hi to the father,
   8.        they touch him, they kiss his hand, they ask him
   9.        how he is doing, there is respect.'
```

John here, through open reference, projects to his partners the identity of being sweet and approachable (line 1) people and associates this with the respect they show to the concept of family. Showing respect to parents and older members of the family seems to be turned into an index of morality in the given context and seems to be achieved through strategic discursive choices, such as the use of politeness forms when talking to them. Family acquires a holy dimension and is positively presented, as shown by the choice of words associated with it in the extract (honour, line 3, important role, line 4, respect, lines 5 and 9). In this context, introducing someone to your family constitutes an act of honour, it signifies intimate relationships and generates feelings of affect and familiarity. Familial relationships are associated with altruism and support (PAD paper, 2016; Schulze et al., 2003), as well as unconditional trust (Luhmann, 2000) and thus developing family relationships can ultimately lead to developing presumptive trust and trustworthiness.

So far, I have shown how perceptions of trustworthiness relate to perceptions of one's expertise and morality. In the previous section I have focused on the concept of morality and discussed how morality is warranted through specific behaviours, such as showing respect to the family construct, being modest, claiming religiosity and generosity. In the next section I will show how perceptions of professional expertise and morality are affected by the social relationships developed between partners.

4.3 Social identification

Perceptions of trustworthiness were found to be informed by the social identities of partners, as these are defined by shared group membership. Shared group membership is a central factor that affects the construction of social identities (see Social Identity Theory, Tajfel and Turner, 1979) and here it seems to be influential also to claims of trustworthiness. Following insights from previous studies, this could be interpreted by the fact that shared group membership acts as a 'basis for presumptive trust' (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010; Loh et al., 2010) and serves for 'defining the boundaries of low risk interpersonal trust that bypass the need for personal knowledge' (Brewer, 1981: 356). This is based on the presupposition that in-group members tend to attribute positive characteristics to fellow group members, such as honesty, cooperativeness and trustworthiness (Brewer, 1996), which leads to a depersonalised type of trust towards them (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010).

In every context, there would be multiple groups with which partners can identify and can prove salient. Previous work has shown that workgroups can provide important points of identification and affect trust levels among in-group members (Loh et al., 2010). In my data, shared group membership was found to be closely related to levels of in-group trust only in one case, namely the SforSteel partnership. In contrast to the study of Loh et al. (2010), which showed that the most salient group for participants to develop trust in was their workgroup, in my data, the SforSteel partners' most salient point of identification is their membership to a particular group of people coming from the region of Trabzon near the Black Sea (in Greek Pontos), in modern Turkey. Nick, my Greek informant in this case study, has founded a company in Turkey together with four Turkish people, who all claim to come from this region and thus carry a Pontic identity. Although it constitutes only one case out of the sample, the effect of this shared group membership is so catalytic for the relationship between partners and the trust shown to each other, that it could not be ignored.

The historic perspective of the Turkish-Greek relations becomes relevant here. The identification of Nick and his partners as Pontics goes back to the population exchange dictated under the Lausanne Convention in 1923 and its far-reaching results, which are still evident in today's Greek and Turkish societies (Clark, 2006; Hirschon, 2003). Research on refugees with a Pontic background in Greece (see Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011) shows that the specific group of relocated refugees, similarly to other groups relocated from Asia Minor, preserved their refugee identity over the years and hold fond idealized memories of their fatherland, Pontos. They preserved their local music and dances, their regional culinary specialties and their dialect. This was mainly due to the unwelcoming conditions they had to face in Greece, where the Greek state did not have the necessary resources to support their re-settlement and the local population kept a hostile towards them challenging constantly their ethnic identity (Clark, 2006; Hirschon, 2003).

Nick's family, constitutes a prime example of the part of the Greek population, which although lived in Greece for their whole life, preserved their collective refugee identity over the years (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011). Nick made his refugee background relevant straight away in our very first interview, where he mentioned that both of his grandparents came as refugees from the Pontos area and that '*Every family lost from 10 to 12 children in their way to Greece. This was placed just after the end of the Greco-Turkish war. All this had as a result for Pontic Greeks in general, and for us a bit more, to keep inside us, in our genes, a sympathy for the area of Pontos'.* Regional identity here seems to be closely related to the family history of Nick. Feelings of collective trauma, seem to have been preserved over generations, affecting the identity of the interviewee until today. The power of regional identity seems to surpass even the power of national identity in the specific case and as will be shown affects the development of trust between partners.

Nick and his partners talk about their relationship with Pontos and attach symbolic significance to the place (Hetherington, 1998; Lefebvre, 1991). They self-identify as people coming from this region and claim that they carry the characteristics of the people who belong to this place (Taylor, 2003). Shared regional identity led SforSteel partners to establish a long-term family friendship in the first place and this successively led to the establishment of their partnership.

In this section, I focus on and discuss briefly this case of identification in the data, as the analysis shows that it plays a fundamental role when it comes to perceptions of trustworthiness. I will discuss this particular case of regional identification in more detail in Chapter 5, as I consider it to be as analytically significant in the project as previous research has not touched upon the importance of regional identity in shaping perceptions of trustworthiness. In addition, this finding is also significant as it is in contrast to previous recent work on trust in workplace settings that has focused on the salience of cultural differences for the development of trust and has perceived culture as synonymous with national identity. My study builds on literature that has criticised these essentialist approaches to culture (Angouri, 2018; Piller, 2010; Schnurr and Zayts, 2017). Instead, it proposes that other identities, such as the regional one, can be equal or even stronger means of self-identification with far reaching results.

I will show the importance of regional identification through the discussion of excerpts elicited from my interviews with Nick. Nick acted as my main informant for this case study, as the only Greek person in the partnership, so he features in the majority of data gathered from this company. The following quote is extracted from the first interview with Nick and illustrates how regional group membership is directly associated with the trusting relationship between partners.

Excerpt 4.11

```
Context: This excerpt was elicited in the very first interview
with Nick in his office at the factory in Greece.

1. N     We have founded a business in Turkey, we are five
2.       partners, all of us are Pontics and we have a
3.       relationship of blind trust. You won't find any
4.       other Greek to do business with a Turk and
5.       to have this type of trust, what you find in my case.
```

Nick describes his relationship with his partners and the first thing he chooses to focus on is the regional identification of partners (all of us are Pontics, line 2). This shared regional identity seems to act as a basis of presumptive trust (see also Kramer and Lewicki, 2010) for Nick, or as he calls it in the excerpt above, 'blind trust' (line 3). Nick mobilises the national identities of the partners by talking explicitly about the typical relationship between a Turk and a Greek (line 4). However, he distances himself from this pattern and presents the case of his partnership as a rare and unique one. He constructs a collective identity for himself and his partners through the use of the personal pronoun we/us in its inclusive meaning (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Bull and Fetzer, 2006) accompanied in line 2 by the booster 'all'. The construction of a well-bonded in-group for SforSteel partners facilitates then the development of identification-based trust (Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

In the following quote, regional identity becomes an important parameter for the relationship between partners.

Excerpt 4.12

Context: The following extract is from the second interview with Nick at his factory premises in Greece

1. N The thing you should pay attention to is the fact that
2. a Greek company that has Pontic owners, my father of
3. course is also Pontic, my father was friends with
4. the father of the guys and this friendship was
5. followed up and we created this factory. And what is
6. happening is funny. There are two funny things about
7. it. I speak the Pontic dialect, English and of course
8. my mother tongue, which is Greek. With them I speak in
9. the Pontic dialect. Despite the fact that my partner
10. Mehmet speaks English, he always insists on talking to
11. me in the Pontic dialect, for practice.
12. R: I see.
13. N: While I want to learn Turkish, they keep talking to
14. me in the Pontic dialect. And we always fight who is
15. going to teach whom.

In this excerpt Nick brings together the concepts of family, regional identity and friendship. He reflects on his partnership and leads my attention right from the beginning of the excerpt (line 1), to the fact that SforSteel partnership was created out of a friendship between two families with a Pontic background. It seems that there is an association between regional identification and friendship and this acquires even more symbolic significance through the role of family members in the story. The friendship between the partners is inherited from their fathers and, given the respect shown to the construct of family, it acquires a sacred dimension and is presented as something precious that needs to be respected and preserved over time. Taking into consideration that the linguistic choices of speakers act as tokens of particular social identities for them (De Fina, 2011; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985), one could argue that Nick, by stating that he speaks the dialect fluently (line 7) and is in position to teach the rest of his partners (line 15), makes a strong identity claim for himself as belonging to the group of Pontics. At the same time, by presenting his partner Mehmet as ‘always’ (line 10) wanting to speak Pontic, he projects a Pontic identity to him too. The same identity is then projected to all of his partners, as denoted by the pronoun ‘them’ (lines 8, 13, 14), affording the construction of a collective identity for Nick and his partners on the basis of their ‘Ponticness’.

SforSteel partners acknowledge the importance of their Pontic regional identity for their relationship and through strategic choices they constantly work to claim and sustain their legitimate membership of the regional group. As membership of this regional group emerged as very significant in the data, I devote and discuss trust and shared group membership in more detail in Chapter 5.

It would be worth mentioning that although the SforSteel case was the most prominent in the data where regional identity was found to be an important factor affecting relationships today, there were also other cases where aspects of Greek-Turkish history were made relevant by participants during the interviews. For example, Bill mentioned about Turkish people: ‘If you visit Turkey, you can still see the Greek signs on their buildings. The are common roots. If you go there, most of them (Turks) have someone here (in Greece). First of all, if you go to the Turkish consulate here in Thessaloniki, it is Kemal’s Ataturk house. And there is it Hagia Sofia.’ In this instance, Bill talks about indexes of a common past between the two countries that are still evident. These traces of the shared history contribute to a feeling of familiarity and proximity between Turkish and Greek partners by offering common points of reference and identification, which all contribute to developing trust (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

In the next section I continue discussing elements that affect trustworthiness perceptions between partners, focusing on the importance of personal relationships.

4.4 Personal relationships

Another salient factor affecting perceptions of trustworthiness in the given context is personal relationships developed between partners. All participants associated trusting relationships with their partners with the close personal bonds and friendships developed over time. Friendship groups are found to be important referent groups for all participants. Friends are considered to care for their partners' needs and interests, and have good intentions towards each other, qualities that make them trustworthy candidates to do business with.

The relationship between friendship and trust has been touched upon by previous literature too, sometimes with contrasting results. For example, Pesämaa and Hair (2007) used survey data from 254 small- and medium-sized members of regional tourism networks in Minnesota to test several hypotheses, some of which focused on the relationship between friendship, trust, loyalty and commitment. Their results showed that there was no relationship between trust and friendship, but there was between trust and loyalty, as well as commitment. However, loyalty and commitment are found to be important elements for trusting relationships in other studies (see Mavondo and Rodrigo, 2001; Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998), so it could be argued that friendship eventually facilitates the development of trust between parties. More recent studies, adopting a qualitative approach, have also suggested that intimate interpersonal relationships have a positive impact on trust development (Beitat et al., 2013; Lewin and Reeves, 2011). The analysis of the data here supports the latter studies and confirms a close relationship between friendship bonds and trust. Building on this literature, the current study sheds light on the specific dimensions of personal relationships that facilitate the development of trust, such as hospitality and the inclusion of family in these relationships.

In the context of the study here, interpersonal relations take the form of friendships, often including the whole families of partners. Friendship is developed gradually between partners and is manifested through various practices: partners meet regularly, they spend time together attending both professional and non-professional events, they meet each other's family and they host each other in their respective countries. The historicity of the friendship and the family bonds here are considered as an index (Silverstein, 1976) of good personal relationships. Long-term personal relationships seem to facilitate the development of understanding and tolerance between partners, qualities that prove valuable in cases of mistakes during the delivery of goods and services. At the same time, long-term relationships allow partners to check each other's behaviour in different occasions and contexts and decide whether they can trust them or not to do specific things (see also Lewicki et al., 1998). I will show how intimate relationships affect decision-making empirically when discussing interactional data elicited from meetings in Chapter 6.

The following quote by Bill illustrates the form that friendship takes in this context.

Excerpt 4.13

Context: Bill is the general manager of Artibag and this excerpt was elicited during the first interview we had together.

1. B: It’s me and my father who communicate with them (the
2. Turkish partners), we are almost every 15 days
3. in Turkey and we have very good relations with
4. them, at a friendship level. To understand how close
5. we are, imagine that my father goes there and stays
6. at their house.

Bill talks about the relationship that he and his father have developed with their Turkish partners. The frequency of their visits, although hedged (almost, line 2) is also emphasised by the booster every (line 2) and is used as indicative of the closeness of their relationship, which is explicitly described in a positive light (very good relations, line 3). Very good relations are explicated as friendship (line 4). Emphasis is put on the intimacy of the relationship (to understand how close we are, lines 4-5) which is indexed by the act of hospitality. The concept of hospitality has a special role in the Greek context and is highly esteemed. Hospitality was considered a virtue in ancient Greek mythology, where Zeus, the king of Olympian Gods, was considered to be the protectors of guests and for this reason was also called Zeus Xenios (xenia: ξενία, translated. xenía, meaning "guest-friendship", was the ancient Greek term for the concept of hospitality). Tales of hospitality are also included in the classic work of Homer and over time hospitality has come to be associated with discourses of ‘Greekness’. Hospitality is important in the context of the study here, since it implies a reciprocal relationship between host and guest, which also requires the existence of trust. Hospitality, thus, is turned into a practice of trust.

The following excerpt elaborates on the value of hospitality and shows how this is further boosted when there is interaction with the family.

Excerpt 4.14

```
Context: This excerpt was elicited during the second interview with
Nick at his office in his factory premises in Greece. My
interaction with Nick always takes place in Greek.

   1. N:  Many times people ask me, as you also did, about trust.
   2.     What trust guys? I trust them with my life and they trust
   3.     me with their lives. What are we talking about now (…)
   4.     I slept at their house, I was fed by their wives
   5.     and children. For Muslim people this is sacred.
   6.     Eating at their place is a great honour, opening
   7.     their house to you, is a great honour. Things
   8.     that are very small, but also very very big’.
```

Insights from Pesämaa and Hair’s (2007) work on personal relationships and trust indicate that long-term friendship facilitates the development of loyalty and commitment, which are vital components of trust and discourage opportunistic behaviours between partners (see also Zaheer et al., 1998). Shared experiences among partners facilitate the development of emotional ties and affect between them, which have been related to the development of trust in literature (Koskinen and Pihlanto, 2007; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; McAllister, 1995; Rousseau et al., 1998). What this excerpt adds to the above insights, is the critical role of family in such situations. The concept of family has been associated in previous research with altruism (Schulze et al., 2003) and unconditional trust (Luhmann, 2000). Hence, family bonds among partners index relationships of support and care and altruistic intentions. In this context, hospitality in its various forms (hosting someone at your house, spending time with them, preparing food for them) acquires a ‘sacred’ (line 5) dimension when the whole family of a partner is involved. Thus, spending time with one’s family, meeting their intimate relatives and being hosted by them, creates emotional ties between partners and affects trustworthiness perceptions.

In this example, Nick, while talking about his partners and their specific behaviours, projects onto them a certain religious identity (for Muslim people, line 5). He places them in the group of Muslims and explains their behaviour based on his understanding of the features that members of this group share, implying the existence of this group in the first place but more importantly its homogeneity. Membership in this group then prescribes how they think, feel or behave (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). The mobilisation of the Muslim identity category here serves certain interactional functions. Reference to a Muslim identity is supposed to provide explanations about the behaviours described. More specifically, the mobilisation of a Muslim identity seems to stress the significance of the partners' actions. Stressing the fact that inviting someone to their house is a great honour for Muslims, Nick encourages recipients of his message (me in this case) to perceive their behaviour as really significant and as an action that indexes his good relationship with them. The force of his statement is further intensified by the use of the booster very, repeated twice (line 8).

The analysis indicates that personal relationships are critical when it comes to handling crisis situations. There is a general tendency in the data to associate good personal relationships with a higher level of understanding in the business relationship. This understanding applies to cases where there is deviation from what is agreed, such as mistakes, including faulty products and delays in the payment. The latter has been a critical issue for Greek businesses, given the state of the Greek economy over the last few years and more specifically the capital controls enforced in the summer of 2015 on the Greek banks, affecting the payments of Greek companies to their partners abroad. Three of the interviewees have mentioned that personal relationships played a major role and affected the reaction of their Turkish partners, who showed understanding of these difficulties. The following fragment illustrates this position:

Excerpt 4.15

Context: This interview with George, the owner of Artibag, a Greek company that imports paper and raw materials from Turkey, took place at his office in his factory in Greece.

1. G: There are also personal relations with the people
2. there and this is a central element for trust between
3. the two countries and the people, which helps the
4. commercial side of the collaboration.
5. R: Yes.
6. G: And Turkey is one of the countries, which during
7. the economic crisis.. (interruption)(..)We visit them,
8. but they also come. (…) and they take good care of us
9. when we go, especially the ones I am talking about,
10. the friends now. Our collaboration is very good. Ehm,
11. once again I am telling you, it was the only country,
12. which showed understanding and trust.
13. R: Yes.
14. G: I mean, from all the other countries, trust was
15. gone. They continued to show, even a bit less, to
16. show trust in the collaborations they had.

Literature on trust suggests a close relationship between trust and risk. Luhmann (1988, 2000) argues that trust depends on risk and can only be an option when something is at stake. Luhmann (2000) also suggests that familiarity becomes relevant to the discussion on trust, but the two concepts should not be confused. He defines familiarity as a fact of life, and trust as a solution for specific problems of risk. The two concepts are linked in the sense that ‘trust has to be achieved within a familiar world’ (Luhmann, 2000:99). The analysis here suggests that the Greek financial crisis provided the conditions of risk within which trust could arise/be proven or tested. Trust was placed despite the risk of losing money, due to the existent familiarity between partners. Personal relationships are considered to be an influential factor in this direction, as denoted by the adjective ‘central’ George uses (line 2).

George makes a strong statement in this excerpt about the supportive and trustful reaction of his Turkish partners in the economic difficulties his company faced due to the financial crisis. He builds up this statement throughout this excerpt. He introduces briefly the topic in lines 5 and 6, but he is then immediately interrupted by a phone call. After this, he shifts the focus again to the frequent visits and the intimacy of his relationships with the partners but decides to go back to the main argument and re-introduces it in line 11. His statement opens with the hesitation marker 'ehm', which signifies a change of topic in this case and is followed by the emphatic marker 'once again' (line 11). This time George makes his statement even stronger, by using the intensifier 'only' (line 11), when talking about Turkey. In the following lines he offers an elaboration of his point, introduced by the mitigation marker 'I mean' (line 14). Although hedged (even a bit less, line 15) this time, his main argument is generally emphasized through the employment of repetition (I am telling you once again, line 11) and the booster 'all' (line 14), which compares and contrasts Turkey favourably to other countries in a definite way.

The favourable stance of the Turkish partners towards their Greek partners was positively perceived by participants and was considered an index of morality, something which reinforced trustworthiness towards their face too. The following quote illustrates this association of equating trust with ethicality:

Excerpt 4.16

```
Context: This interview with John, the owner of Piediland, a Greek
company that imports shoes from Turkey, took place in John's
office in Greece.

   1. J:    Especially now, with the capital controls, they did
   2.       not.. they did not say anything, nothing. They knew.
   3.       You could not do much. Despite this, there was no
   4.       problem. Instead, other partners said 'we are sorry,
   5.       the evaluation for Greece is really bad, we cannot do
   6.       business with you anymore'. Instead, they continued
   7.       normally. Blindly. (…)The personal relationship helps
   8.       a lot. It is not obvious under good economic
   9.       conditions, but when there is an economic crisis, and
```

there will be at some point, it is then that personal
relationships become important.
R: Yes. If I understand well, you see personal
relationships as associated with trust in this part.
J: Much. Very much. Very much. Because when the market
is alright and everybody is cool, they all go there
under the same terms, they are equal for the supplier
or the customer. But when the market is under crisis,
the one who has a good name, this is the one who
stays. Not..
R: Yeah.
J: You have established a contact, the other person
trusts you because he knows you, he says ok, I know
him, I won't lose him. You have a relationship with
him, so you cannot get lost, he will find you. Now,
the random guy who came, even if he has money, it
doesn't matter, they are afraid.

Issues of reputation (line 18) and intimate relationships (7, 10, 21, 23) seem to be critical in unstable conditions, such as the ones shaped/caused by the Greek financial crisis. Trustworthiness under these conditions is related to familiarity, or in other words to knowing someone well, to be able to get in touch with him/her easily (line 24). Close personal relationships imply frequent interaction of the parties involved, which results in knowing each other well and this provides a solid basis for deciding whether someone is trustworthy or not. Similarly to the previous quote, we notice empirically how unstable conditions that include risk (here the risk of losing one's money) provide the means and constitute opportunities for demonstrating, or not, trust. As Luhmann (2000:99) argues, 'trust is required if a bad outcome would make you regret your action'. And this is illustrated by John's position (lines 14-19). Hence, going back to the concept of risk, the data show that trust depends on risk, but familiarity can play a central role in eliminating the level of risk involved in business transactions. The latter aspect is emphasised in the quote through the repetitive use of the intensifiers much/very much (line 14). John's line of argument follows a similar line to George's above, since he also employs comparison to stress the favourable and supportive stance of his Turkish partners in difficult times. More specifically, in lines 4-7, he explicitly compares Turkish partners with ‘others’ (line 4). The comparison is made stronger through the use of instead, which signals an upcoming contrasting action (Schiffrin, 1987) and the inclusion of direct reported speech (lines 4-6). Reported speech adds to the veracity of a statement (Holt, 1996; Schiffrin, 2003), but also provides the space for indirect evaluation (Myers, 1999). Here, it conveys in an indirect way feelings of negative assessment and disapproval of the other partners’ behaviour. The contrast between different partners’ reaction is made sharper through the use of the adverb blindly (line 7), which adds emphasis.

The next excerpt builds on the salience of personal relationships in the given context and adds to the discussion the historicity of relationships. Long-term orientation in relationships is positively valued in the data and when these include the whole family, they then affect and bonds developed can be so strong as to overcome even religious beliefs.

Excerpt 4.17

Context: The excerpt is drawn from an informal interview between me and Nick after a family dinner at Mehmet’s house in Turkey during my first fieldtrip. Present at the dinner are Nick, his wife, Mehmet with his wife and their 3 children, Mehmet’s mother and sister, called Esra and me. The informal discussion took place in Greek between me and Nick and his wife, with some interruptions in English from Mehmet.

(1)	Nick	As you understand, we don’t have secrets about these things.
(2)		We don’t have to hide something.
(3)	Res	Yes. A meal shows a lot about the relationship between you.
(4)	Nick	Yes, indeed. For example, see now. The mother of Mehmet (his
(5)		partner) when we were sitting there now, you did not hear
(6)		that, said when your father came here she(he points to the
(7)		sister of his partner) was 6 months old.
(8)	Nick’s wife	With my mother in law first time.
(9)	Nick	She was 6 months old.
(10)	Res	Yes. She was older when you went there though, she was
(11)		bringing you the cherries.
(12)	Nick	Yes exactly, the cherries. She was 5 years old when I went. In
(13)		general, Muslim women who are religious and wear the hijab,
(14)		they normally don’t even give their hand to men. But these two
(15)		hug and kiss me. Their mother as well, everybody, right? it is
(16)		the family friendship that we talk about with its full
(17)		meaning. Right? To understand, I don’t feel as a guest here.
(18)	Res	Yes.
(19)	Nick	I could leave my soul, how else to say that. For these people
(20)		I can do everything. To a question someone made to me in the

(21) past, what if there is war between Greece and Turkey, I said I
(22) wouldn’t go to the war.
(23) Mhm Aubergine (in Turkish)? Cheese pie? (Mehmet is offering me
(24) some food)
(25) Res Aubergine?
(26) Nick Aubergine. Did you get it? I am not going to get involved in
(27) the war, because in front of me I don’t have the enemies, but
(28) my friends.

Nick reflects on his family relationship with Mehmet’s family and suggests a strong friendship bond between the two families. He presents their case as a rare and unique one and he achieves this through certain discursive choices. Nick projects to Esra and her mother the identity of religious Muslim women (line 13) who wear the hijab and associates this identity category with certain behaviours. One of these is that Muslim women are not allowed to interact with men, other than their husbands and family members. However, Esra and her mother transcend the boundaries of what is considered appropriate, as socially acceptable in their society and their religious group, when they interact with him, they ‘even’ hug and kiss him (line 15). Given that this behaviour is considered unacceptable for their religious group, their behaviour signals the intimacy of their personal relationship with Nick. Nick presents himself as different from ordinary men; he is presented as a special case of a man. He makes a strong identity claim for himself as a person who belongs to this family. The significance of their special relationship is stressed also by the fact that it is not only Esra who transcends the boundaries of contact with men with him, but also her mother. Nick puts particular emphasis on the fact that this is also a behaviour of their mother, a woman now at the age of 80. This is considered significant here, since the role of mother is highly valued in Turkish society, especially within Pontic people. Family, and the figure of mother especially, are perceived as ‘sacred’. This is something proposed by participants throughout the data. Furthermore, I make this claim also by drawing on personal knowledge of the Pontic cultural context. More specifically, I draw here on personal knowledge of Pontic songs that refer to the critical role of the mother (i.e. I mana en kruo nero, which means Mother is like cold water), which shows the symbolic significance that the figure of mother acquires within this particular group.

Family friendship in its 'full meaning' is openly foregrounded and emphasised by Nick in line 16. Nick devotes the next lines (17-22), in order to make his point about his special relationship with Mehmet's family clearer. He exploits the use of metaphor (I could leave my soul, line 19), which has been argued to be indicative of a speaker's attitudes and emotions (see Cameron and Masden, 2009; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and here denotes the intimacy of their relationship. Additional emphasis is put on this by the statements 'how else to say that, I could do everything' (lines 19-20), which acts as intensifiers to his statement. Nick chooses to refer to his position in the case of a potential war between the two countries and he claims that he would stay out of this war since he has his friends opposite him and not enemies. By stating this, Nick creates an in-group for himself and his partners and an out-group for those who perceive Turks as enemies. Belonging to the same friendship group here is presented as prevailing over stereotypical representations of Turks as the national enemies of Greeks.

Close personal relationships provide the space for partners to develop shared past histories, which are often circulated and used as grounds for assessing one's trustworthiness. I discuss the topic of interactional histories next.

4.5 Interactional histories

An important aspect of interpersonal relationships is the interactional histories it creates between partners, which were found to provide the grounds for judging someone's trustworthiness (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010; McKnight and Chervany, 2006; McKnight et al., 1998; Peräkylä and Vehviläinen, 2003). Following Lewicki et al. (1998), rich or mature relationships require frequent interaction between people across different contexts and provide the grounds to get to know the other partner in depth and across different situations. This long-term experience with the partner is useful for assessing their dispositions, intentions and motives afterwards (Kramer, 1999). Participants have often referred to incidents drawn from their past histories with their partners to illustrate how they came to form a certain picture of their partners' trustworthiness.

An illustrative example is provided here by Nick, while talking about his partner Adem:

Excerpt 4.18

```
Context: This interview with Nick, the Greek of the SforSteel
partners, took place in his office in Greece after the first fieldtrip
in Turkey.
(1)   N:     It has to do with someone’s character, right? When they
(2)          came, this was one of the most defining moments, when
(3)          Mehmet came here with Adem, the rich guy today, at that
(4)          time he was not that rich yet, and he first met my
(5)          father, he wanted to buy some machines from Greece,
(6)          there were some good opportunities at the time. He
(7)          took out of his pocket 500,000 German marks, which is
(8)          250,000 euros, and he told my dad ’keep them with you
(9)          because I am staying at the hotel’.
(10)  R:     Yes.
(11)  N:     My dad told him, ‘Adem, you just met me, do you trust
(12)         me with so much money. These could challenge even the
(13)         most decent man in the world’. And Adem said ‘if I am to
(14)         save you with these money, take them and save yourself.
(15)         But because you are Mehmet’s friend, I don’t think that
(16)         you can think like that, right? So, I sleep without
(17)         second thoughts, don’t worry.’
(18)  R:     Yes.
(19)  N:     This is, every one of us, we have passed informal
(20)         exams between us, if you like, right? These things did
(21)         not happen in one day. These thing got shaped over all
(22)         these years, right? I can tell you this in other words
(23)         too. God forbid us if we stop being human.
```

In this excerpt, Nick narrates a story drawn from the shared past of his family and two of his partners, Mehmet and Adem. He uses this narrative in order to justify his claim that he trusts his partners blindly, making the story one of an argumentative nature (De Fina, 2008; Schiffrin, 1996). In line 2 Nick introduces the story (this was one of the most defining moments) and claims extended floor holding rights (Van De Mieroop, 2018). The story is immediately ascribed significance by being characterised as representing ‘one of the most defining moments’ (line 2), which calls for attention from the listener. Nick provides contextual information about Adem, stressing for one more time (see discussion in section 4.1) his social status today and his social status at the time, as this information is important for making sense of the meaningfulness of the incident that is going to be described. Once again, we notice here a tendency to relate trustworthiness with one’s stance in situations that include the risk of losing money. Nick refers to the exact amount of money in the transaction (lines 7-8), which is measure in monetary value, to put emphasis on the significance of Adem's behaviour. The main story is told in the form of direct reported speech (lines 8-17), something that adds vividness, but also truthfulness to it (Schiffrin, 2003). In the story told, Nick projects the identity label of decent men to both his father and Adem. In lines 13-17, Nick ascribed a heroic performance to Adem, who is positioned as a genuine and innocent person, who trusts others in the name of friendship. The identity category of friends seems to come with certain expectations about each other's behaviour, such as not acting against each other's interests. By acknowledging the importance of this incident, and by reproducing it, Nick makes an identity claim for himself too as a moral person, who respects behaviours that index generosity, authenticity and prioritise personal relationships. This identity claim is further intensified by the direct statement in line 23 (God forbid us if we stop being human), which is characterised as a moral statement. Through this statement, Nick comes across as a religious person, something that previous research has shown to be associated with claims about one's morality (Fernando and Jackson, 2006; Miller, 2007; Longenecker et al., 2004). Noticeable also is a collective identity claim towards the end of the excerpt. In lines 19-20 Nick is once again (see discussion in previous sections) referring to his group of partners using the first person personal pronoun in its inclusive way (every one of us, we have passed), marking the existence of a close-knit in-group for himself and his partners. The sense of belonging to the same group is very strong in this partnership and affects the development of trust. I am not elaborating further on this here, as more emphasis on that will be put in the next chapter.

The important role of interactional histories between partners will be further illustrated by the discussion in the next section, where I examine how the above factors, i.e. expertise, morality, personal relationships, social identification, and interactional histories, interact with each other and affect judgements of others' trustworthiness.

4.6 Interrelation between the different themes, micro and macro connections

Although presented and discussed separately for reasons of clarity, the various factors talk to each other and are mutually reinforced. While all of them were found to influence perceptions of trustworthiness, in different contexts some of them might seem more important than others, depending on the group's values and priorities. Indeed, previous research has shown that different groups, depending on the particular vulnerabilities they face, tend to ascribe more significance to certain factors than others (Fuoli et al., 2017; Pirson and Malhotra, 2011). In this last section, I intend to show how the different factors come together and interact in a single narrative event to form perceptions of trustworthiness. I will present and discuss two excerpts drawn from the data gathered from the SforSteel case study, more specifically from interviews with Nick and his Turkish partner Mehmet.

The excerpts are selected firstly on the basis of their content, as they focus on the conditions under which the SforSteel partnership was formed. The most important reason for choosing them though lies in the fact that the excerpts include the reiteration of a story that seems to be significant for the relationship of the two partners and the way they do business. The story regards an agreement that SforSteel partners made at the beginning of their collaboration. This is not the only case of reiteration of a story in the data. Across the data collected from the SforSteel case study, there are stories that keep coming back in different instances from participants. These stories draw on the partners' shared past and illustrate critical moments of their relationship. Partners are familiar with these stories and seem to include them in their everyday talk when they are all together. By doing this, they claim abidance to the group's norms and rules, and express their affinity and emotions towards their partners. All these then add to their perceived trustworthiness. Given that different workplaces develop their own ways of doing things (Angouri, 2012), I consider these stories as local resources for doing trust in the given context.

My analysis here focuses on the main themes identified above and aims to illustrate how participants use discursive resources to claim and negotiate trustworthy personas for themselves and their partners. The stories here are analysed within an interactionally oriented framework (De Fina, 2015). I am looking at the positions proposed by participants in the stories and the identity categories these index. I am particularly interested in how participants position themselves and others inside and outside of these identity categories and accomplish social actions (De Fina, 2015). In order to achieve that, I employ interactional tools. Following De Fina (2013), I examine the stories, looking for discursive phenomena such as: direct and indirect references to categories assisted by the concept of indexicality, repetition, emphasis, logical reasoning to accomplish locally relevant action, and emerging patterns across data and participants. The use of personal pronouns is considered to be particularly useful in this direction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011).

In the following excerpt, Nick is asked to talk about his relationship with his partners and he explains how their partnership started.

Excerpt 4.19

Context: This interview excerpt is drawn from my first interview with Nick in his factory in Greece.

1.	N	Ok? (..) After having built this relationship through all these years,
2.		in 2000-2001 I had an idea of making this partnership in Turkey. I had
3.		a lot of money at that time. I mean I had so much money that I was
4.		thinking 'let's make an investment even if I lose the money'. The guys
5.		were not that prosperous, but with my financial support I could make
6.		it work. I sat down then with the older of the three brothers.
7.	Res	Yes.
8.	N	And I told him 'Demir I want to make a business'. 'What business?'
9.		'The same business I have in Greece, to do it here as well'. We were
10.		very busy at that time. He said, 'you know, I don't have a lot of money'
11.		Never mind, I told him. He asked 'do you trust me'? I said 'if I didn't
12.		trust you, I wouldn't do this now'.
13.	Res	Yes.
14.	N	At some point of the discussion, while walking, talking, a saying came
15.		to my mind, that it was the money that betrayed Jesus Christ. I asked
16.		Demir, what do you make of all this we have talked about? And he said,
17.		'look Nick I want, but I'm afraid.Do you know what I am afraid of'? I
18.		said 'I know, the same thing I am afraid of. You are afraid that we
19.		will quarrel'.
20.	Res	Oh.
21.	N	'It is the only reason I will say no. I am afraid we will quarrel.
22.		Because', he said 'money, if you work to make money, for the money,
23.		like your main goal,we will definitely quarrel.If you work because you
24.		want to, you love to work, we will never quarrel'. And I told him, 'ok
25.		let's leave it for now and we will talk again about it when the time
26.		comes. I don't forget about it'. 'Neither do I'.
27.	Res	Ok.
28.	N	And some years later, before the crisis hit Greece, I went again
29.		there, after having taken the consent from my father,who told me 'they
30.		are good people,there is no chance,give your wife to sleep with him,
31.		and he won't even touch her'. We are talking about such things.
32.	Res	Yes.
33.	N	And I went to Turkey, I talked to them and Demir told me, he had
34.		already started a business, he told me we will also include my best
35.		man, we will put another one.And I told him 'include whoever you want'
36.		And we are five Pontics, and we speak all five the Pontic dialect, we
37.		speak the Pontic dialect and we have an agreement that we might lose
38.		the money we invest. Right?
39.	Res	Yes.
40.	N	We have invested 2.5 million euros. Ok? We might lose them. I tell
41.		you, nobody is going to be sad in the sense that he lost money.He will
42.		be sad in the sense that we did an effort and it did not succeed.
43.	Res	Yes, yes.
44.	N	However, in all these years, the management is on Demir's brother,
45.		who is an engineer, speaks English, is hard-working, everything, and
46.		he is also a religious Muslim. He believes strongly in God (…) and a
47.		person who believes in God there is no chance that he will deceive you
48.	Res	Hm..
49.	N	But, above all, precedes the trust that we show to them, ok? For
50.		example, at a critical moment, my friend Adem took me aside and asked
51.		me, 'tell me how much money you need in order not to be under pressure'.
52.		And I started crying. Me, 57 years old man now, I started crying.
53.	Res	Yes.
54.	N	And he asked me 'why are you sad'? And I told him, 'I am not sad. I
55.		am happy, and the tears you see are due to happiness'.And he asked me
56.		why. And I told him 'because I was not mistaken about people'.
57.	Res	Indeed.
58.	N	'So, you don't need to give me money. The fact that you even asked
59.		me about it,is as if you have given the money to me.This is enough.
60.		For this reason, many times people ask me, like you did, about trust.
61.		Which trust are we talking about guys? I trust them my life and

```
        they trust me theirs. What are we talking about now?
Res     Yes.
N       I slept at their place, I was fed by their wives and children.
        For Muslims this is sacred. To go and eat at their house is a great
        honour, right, to open their house to you is a great honour. Small
        things, but at the same time very big.
```

This excerpt offers a wealth of information about the beginning of the SforSteel partnership and the intimate relationship between some of the partners. A theme that comes up as prominent is the prevalence of interpersonal relationships over professional ones, which is related to morality and defines working relationships and ways of doing business in this case. Nick claims for himself and his partners the identity of people with high moral values, which is translated in this context as people who place their personal relationships over potential monetary loss. He achieves this identity claim, through relevant positioning in the context of stories, which draw on the partners' past histories. More specifically, Nick chooses to refer to the first discussion he had with his Turkish partner Demir (lines 1-26), their subsequent one after some years, which led to their collaboration (28-42) and one critical incident between him and another Turkish partner called Adem (49-67). In all three stories, positioning of the protagonists in relation to money is indicative of their moral values, which successively seems to act as a component of their trustworthiness. SforSteel partners seem to be aware of this and perform morality and, subsequently, trustworthiness through prioritising personal relationships over economic gains. In this context, the initial agreement between partners to end their collaboration if their friendship is risked (see lines 37-42) could be interpreted as an action that illustrates morality and hence creates trust. This agreement seems to affect the way they perceive their relationship and the terms under which they do business.

Perceptions of trustworthiness permeate the above excerpt. They become relevant for the first time in lines 11-12 in order to justify Nick's decision to propose the partnership to Mehmet in the first place and are presented as a prerequisite for doing so. Trustworthiness becomes critical also in line 29 when Nick mentions the fact that his father also trusted his future partners and was the one who granted his permission for this partnership. Nick's reference to his father's opinion is perceived as a strategic choice here for justifying his decisions and actions, since the role of father in the given context is highly valued. More specifically, the figures of elderly people of the family in the Greek and Turkish societies are associated with wisdom and command respect (see also the discussion on the role of mother above). As a result, the father's opinion acquires symbolic weight and affects decision-making. Here, it is indicative and confirmatory of the close relationship between the two families that pre-existed their partnership. By including his father's words (lines 29-31) Nick makes his narration more vivid and puts emphasis on the main point he wishes to deliver, i.e. the fact that the two families were bonded by a special type of trust. The perceived trustworthiness of the partners and their families is presented throughout as a motive for forming the partnership in the first place. Its presence seems to have shaped the way they negotiated the terms of this partnership, since, as Nick admits, that he agreed to Mehmet taking up critical initiatives about the constitution of their partnership without his further involvement. This practice shows that he perceived him as a trustworthy person.

Interactional history between partners becomes relevant also later in the interview (line 50) where Nick narrates an incident with another SforSteel partner, Adem, who offered him money at a difficult moment in his life. In this case, the gesture of offering money without returns is perceived as an index of morality and generosity, which are qualities associated with claiming a trustworthy persona. But what seems more interesting about this statement is the way it is enacted and its sequence. It comes up in the interview just after Nick talks about the formal qualifications and skills of Mehmet, the other partner and general director of the company, and is introduced with the term 'but' (line 49), which signifies a contradiction with the previous contribution (Schiffrin, 1987). It could even be argued that the trust/interpersonal relationships and shared histories/morality here are juxtaposed to the formal qualifications and skills of the partners. Lexical choices are not random. The fact that this gesture happened at a 'critical' (line 50) moment according to Nick, along with his emotional reaction (I started crying, line 52), stress the high symbolic value of this gesture and make the contradiction between this incident and formal qualifications and skills more striking. Following the narration in lines (61-62) where Nick openly discusses his trusting relationship with his partners, trust seems to be indexed by certain behaviours oriented towards the interpersonal side of the partners' relationship, rather than the purely professional one. Such behaviours include: supporting each other at difficult moments, lending money in an informal way just on the basis of trust, interacting with one's family, being hosted and fed by them. Hosting somebody and interacting with one's family are perceived as enactments of a trusting relationship. Nick brings up these examples and uses them as indexes of the trusting relationship that already existed between him and his partners, and which successively led him to collaborate with them.

The narrative here has an emotional character, pointing to an emotional connection between partners. Emotional connection has been associated in previous research with the type of trust that develops between two parties when they are involved in close personal relationships. Different scholars have referred to this type of trust as relational (Rousseau et al., 1998), identification-based trust (Koskinen and Pihlanto, 2007; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996) or affective trust (McAllister, 1995), but the common argument in these works is that frequent, long-term interaction leads to the development of attachments between parties involved in the trusting relationship. When emotion enters the relationship, it then affects professional practices and trust decisions (Kramer, 1999). The findings here build on this literature, since SforSteel partners have developed, through close personal relationships, interpersonal trust that also involves emotional investment from the involved parties. This emotional investment also affects the way of doing business and becomes apparent through certain practices, such as the agreement they made in order to protect their personal friendship over economic disputes, and the general stance of placing personal relationships and friendships over professional activities. Expressing one's emotions, although often perceived as denoting weakness, seems to be a legitimate practice in the given context and participants do identity work through it. What the study here adds to this literature is the critical role of narratives in this direction, since participants often resort to them to illustrate the emotional connections with their partners. Stories that draw on the common past of partners are used as a resource for participants to showcase and justify their affinity, and contribute to building affect.

Perceptions of trustworthiness seem to be tied to the historicity of the partners' relationship. Judgements about others' trustworthiness are formed over time, as a result of frequent interaction between the parties. Already in line 1, Nick foregrounds the long-term character of his relationship with the partners (through all these years). He even presents their long-term relationship as a prerequisite for suggesting this partnership initially. In addition, throughout the excerpt Nick defines his relationship with his partners by drawing on narratives from their past histories. Nick uses these stories as points of reference for his relationship with his partners and brings them up to illustrate the gradual process of entrustment that took place between them over time. Trust, thus, is constructed in the excerpt through the memories and shared experiences of the partners. This finding seems to be in line with relevant literature on trust. For example, Koskinen and Pihlanto (2007) suggest that personal trust builds incrementally between parties. In a similar vein, Rousseau et al. (1998) identify different forms of trust, one of which is called relational, and is argued to develop over time. More specifically, Rousseau et al. (1998:40) argue that after 'repeated cycles of exchange, risk taking and successful fulfilment of expectations' the trusting parties become more willing to expand the resources brought into the exchange and rely upon each other more heavily. The relational character of trust in the excerpt is also evidenced by the fact that Nick argues that he trusts his friends and partners but at the same time he also feels trusted by them (lines 61-62, 64-66). The 'game' of trust thus seems to be reciprocal and maintained by both parties.

All in all, following Nick's argumentation, the trustworthiness of a person can be assessed on the basis of specific practices that index moral values, such as: prioritising personal relationships despite financial risks that this might entail, letting someone else take critical decisions about a partnership, offering money without returns, or hosting someone in your house. These behaviours seem to have been turned into shared practices for the SforSteel partners and form part of their workplace culture.

The picture drawn above by Nick is confirmed also by excerpt 4.20, drawn from an interview with one of Nick's partner, Mehmet, which took place at a completely different time and space. In this excerpt we find the second reiteration of the agreement story.

Excerpt 4.20

Context: This interview took place between me and Mehmet, one of the Turkish partners of Nick, during our first fieldtrip in Turkey. This was the first time I met with Mehmet. The interview took place in the office of Mehmet at the SforSteel factory in Turkey. Also in the office is Nick, who speaks on the phone when the discussion was initiated and then joins in. The discussion took place in the English language.

Mhm The job did not play a big role. The friendship of course is more. When Nick came to explain this business we had a meeting. We are 5 partners. Altogether we had a meeting. And after the meeting Nick told us first he told us, I can keep a sign to leave this business if our friendship is going to be damaged because of the business. I will leave everything. And believe me all of our partners, the other partners, is the same.
Res Yes.
Mhm The same mentality. We are the same. So business is only business for us. Before we were doing textile, now we do iron business. In the future we can do another one, no problem. But for us, the most important one is to be together.
Res Together. So you get the power from this coalition.
Mhm And in this business, if Nick was not the partner of us in this business, I think I couldn't succeed in this business. Sure. Because my partners are from Turkey, the other partners, but nobody knows this business. Nick is from Greece, from 500 kilometres, but he is, he was always with me.
Res Yes.
Mhm Believe me if I was feeling bad, if my motivation was not good, first I call Nick.
Res Okay.
Mhm Yes of course.
Res Because you think he is the expert?
Mhm Yes, for everything. Not only for business.
Res Ah ok. So you see Nick as a person that can give you advice and you can discuss everything.
Mhm No need to find some words about it, he is like my father.
Res Like your father. Nice.
Nick Abi (translation: brother). Not father.
Res Ahahha, don't make him feel old. (laughs).

Mehmet in excerpt 4.20 takes a similar position to Nick regarding their relationship and the terms under which they collaborate. He refers to the same agreement that all partners made at the beginning of their partnership, which points to the significance of this narrative beyond the local context. Different workplaces may develop their own practices and norms (Angouri, 2012; Schnurr and Zayts, 2017) but this story seems to have been turned into a shared repertoire for the members of

SforSteel group on which they draw in order to define their professional relationship and identities. Indeed, this agreement and the values on which it was based seem to act as a guide for their work ethics and as providing the grounds for the trustworthiness of SforSteel partners.

The use of personal pronouns in this excerpt plays a crucial role in defining the relationship between partners. Mehmet uses the first person plural pronoun 'we' (lines 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13), with its inclusive meaning, when referring to himself and his partners, a fact that points both to identification with them and a shared group identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Bull and Fetzer, 2006; De Fina, 2011; Helmbrecht, 2002). In the same way, the statement that all partners are 'the same' and share 'the same mentality' (lines 6, 8) by Mehmet, foregrounds similarity between partners and thus contributes to the construction of a homogeneous in-group for SforSteel partners and consequently a shared group identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

Another illustrative feature concerning the partners' relationship is the use of the metaphor 'like a father' (line 27) that Mehmet employs when talking about Nick. Metaphors have been argued to act as indexes of a speaker's emotions and attitudes (see Cameron and Masden, 2009; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) and this one could signify Mehmet's emotions regarding Nick. Identifying with each other using family roles is perceived to be significant and honorary, and is illustrative of the intimacy and significance that personal relationships acquire. Given that the figure of father is associated with wisdom and respect, the attribution of the label 'father' to Nick, is then considered a practice that denotes respect for him and indexes a trustworthy person. Nick, who is present in this discussion, accepts the attribution of a family role that was given, but employs humour to respond to Mehmet that he is like a brother, instead of a father, implying that he is not much older than him. The use of humour has been associated in workplace discourse literature with well-established teams that have been working closely for a long time (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003) and has been argued to serve multiple and diverse functions, among which is to signal co-membership and create solidarity between a group (Van De Mieroop and Schnurr, 2018; Wolfers et al., 2017). In this instance, it indexes once again the familiarity and intimacy that characterises the relationship between the two men. Nick and Mehmet in this instance co-construct their relationship as one of family members. Relationships are not given, they need to be constantly re-worked and sustained, and the two men seem to know how to do this.

Based on the analysis above, perceptions of a partner's trustworthiness are embedded in a network of social relations and interpersonal moral obligations between partners. Trustworthiness is claimed on the grounds of a partner's qualities and track of personal relationships, but trustworthiness is also presented as affecting these relationships and business decisions and practices. The circulation of stories of the shared past of partners emerges as important for trustworthiness claims. More specifically, I have shown how participants in the interviews circulate stories drawn from their past histories, such as the story of the initial agreement, and use them as resources for illustrating, but also defining and reproducing, their trusting relationships. The sharing of such stories within the community and their reproduction by different members can eventually turn these into shared repertoires for the community and a 'tool' for trust building.

Summary

This chapter examined interview data with the aim of identifying elements that participants perceive as influential with regard to forming perceptions about their partners' trustworthiness, or what previous research has called trustworthiness cues (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010). Partners were found to base their assessments of their partners' trustworthiness mainly on perceptions about their morality and expertise. Professional expertise was linked to the official skills and qualifications of a partner, as well to his/her prior experience in the field and economic status. Flexibility in working times, as well as approachability were found to be equally important and influential for the quality of services offered, which then added to a partner's perceived expertise and trustworthiness. Professional expertise was found to be important, but more critical for participants is the perceived morality of a partner. This was found to be related to certain values that partners demonstrate, such as generosity, religiosity, modesty and specific behaviours, including showing respect for the concept of family and prioritising personal relationships over economic gains.

Perceptions of one's expertise and morality were then found to be affected by the personal relationships developed between partners. Communicating with a partner outside working hours, as well as meeting and interacting with each other's families were found to be important factors for developing affinities between partners, which was in turn found to help the purely professional side of the relationship. Shared group membership plays an equally important role in this context. Participants in the interviews created in-groups for themselves and their partners, either through open reference or more indirectly through the strategic use of personal pronouns, and in this way claimed collective identities. They tended to downplay differences within the group and praise their similarities. Collective identities became relevant and were mobilised when participants talked about their relationship and trust. More specifically, it was shown that participants developed an identity-based trust in members who belong to the same group, be it national, regional, friendship or family. The historical dimension of Turkish-Greek relationships was found to be relevant here. Refugee identities formulated during the population exchange of 1923, were shown to have been preserved over time and affect partners' relationship today. The collective memories of partners' families seem to create feelings of affect and proximity which affect trust levels in their relationship (Kramer, 1999). In one particular case, the SforSteel partnership, shared group membership in a regional group emerged as critical for the development of trust between partners. I focus on and explore this case in detail in the next chapter.

Another theme that emerged from the interviews' analysis was the interactional histories of partners. Long-term relationships between partners create interactional histories between them. Stories/critical incidents drawn from their shared past were mobilised in the interviews and were found to be influential for trust development as participants often resorted to them to justify why they trust their partners. In the SforSteel case, specific stories were found to be repeated across contexts. I have shown how these recycled stories that draw on critical moments of partners' past can become a resource for redefining relationships and claiming emotional bonds within partners, which all affect trustworthiness claims and perceptions.

I have already discussed in this chapter a set of recycled stories. Another set is going to be discussed in the next chapter, where I discuss how SforSteel partners identify each other as members of a specific regional group, which they associate with claims about morality.

Chapter 5: 'Avoutoi en emon emas: they are like us': doing trust by doing regional identity

Introduction

In Chapter 4, among other elements, I showed that perceptions of a partner's trustworthiness are affected by social categorisation processes, which builds on the argument that shared group membership acts as a basis for presumptive trust (see Brewer, 1981; 1996; Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; Loh et al., 2010). In Chapter 5, I shall elaborate on the role that shared group membership plays in the development of trust by focusing and discussing in detail the case of the SforSteel partnership. This partnership makes a good candidate to study as the SforSteel partners identify with each other on the basis of a shared regional group membership, namely as all being Pontic. This regional identity is proposed to be the distinctive feature of this partnership (see section 4.3) and defines the partners' trusting relationship. As Nick put it in our very first interview (see section 4.3), partners are all Pontics and have a relationship of 'blind trust' that is very rare in other partnerships between Greeks and Turks (original quote: We have founded a business in Turkey, we are five partners, all of us are Pontics and we have a relationship of blind trust. You won't find any other Greek to do business with a Turk and to have this type of trust, what you find in my case). Membership of the Pontic group has multiple identity implications. Firstly, participants construct the identity category Pontics as linked to certain category features, such as pureness, authenticity and morality. Being cast in the category of Pontics then, implies that one also carries these features, which then contributes to building trust, as morality is a major element for one to be deemed trustworthy (see Chapter 4 and Mayer et al., 1995). Secondly, partners construct a bonded in-group with all the benefits that membership to a close-knit group implies, such as emotional ties, loyalty, support and solidarity, which all ultimately facilitate the development of trust (Beitat et al., 2013; Lewin and Reeves, 2011; Pesämaa and Hair, 2007; Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998).

Work from a conversation analytic approach, more specifically, basic principles of membership categorization analysis (MCA) as developed by Sacks (1992), becomes relevant in this context. MCA studies the way people make sense of their world by making categorisations and attributions. Membership categories are meaning-making resources as the classification of a person to a category provides ways to interpret, classify and assign meaning to actions and utterances (Sacks, 1992). Being cast in a category thus provides a warrant for further inferences. With these principles in mind, the aim of the chapter is twofold. First, it intends to shed light on the specific features associated with 'Pontos' as a material and imagined place in the given context. It then aims to explore how partners make their membership to the group legitimate. In doing the first, I will also show how partners construct the region as an imagined place vested with pureness, authenticity and morality. Following from earlier discussion in Chapter 5, special attention is also paid to the role of recycled stories in this context. I will show how participants circulate stories that draw on critical moments of their common past to perform social actions, such as to make their membership to the group legitimate and to create familiarity, affinity and emotional ties between themselves and their partners. I discuss the above by drawing on different datasets. More specifically, I discuss data elicited through interviews, everyday talk, and dinner talk, as well as from photographs.

The chapter is structured in two main parts. In the first part, I discuss how participants construct the region of Pontos and I then move to discuss ways of claiming membership to the given group.

5.1 Part A: Constructing the qualities of Pontos

In this section I draw on interview and everyday talk data to illustrate how SforSteel partners construct and claim belonging to the region of Pontos and, more specifically with the province of Trabzon, which is the area where the partners' ancestors used to live. Partners attribute to the area features such as holiness, authenticity, pureness and morality and they subsequently order their identities around it. In analysing the data I draw on the influential framework developed by the human geographer Paasi. Paasi (1996, 1999, 2002, 2009) suggests that territories are not given entities with a specific essence, but rather social constructs shaped by economic, political, cultural and institutional practices, rituals and discourses (see 2.2.3 for a more detailed discussion). Following this line of thought, regions are also perceived as social constructs that carry their own identities, while also defining the identities of people who come from there. Narratives play a central role in the construction of territories (Paasi, 1999). In what follows, I intend to focus on the narratives that partners circulate about the region of Pontos and the province of Trabzon, focusing on the features they attach to the area and the identity work they do through these.

Pontos and Trabzon are mobilised frequently in partners' talk. They keep referring to the physical territory, its landscape and beauty. But they also refer to the personae of people who live there, their habits and moral attributes. People from Trabzon, especially those who come from the villages of the area, are presented as being friendly and hospitable, as valuing the role of family and showing respect to family figures and the elderly. This type of talk is often embedded in the narratives partners circulate. These narratives draw on memories of the place partners have gained through first-hand experience or they can be narratives that they have heard from older family members who lived in the area and constitute part of their family legacy. It is in this context, where the historical past of Greece and Turkey, and more specifically the effects of the population exchange of 1923, becomes relevant to the discussion of identity and trust. Family narratives were found to be prominent in the case of the Greek partner, Nick and some other colleagues, who are also based in Greece, and have a refugee Pontic background.

Previous work on Pontics who relocated to Greece has shown that the specific refugee group preserved its refugee identity for many decades after its relocation to Greece and hold an idealized memory of the lost lands, or in other words of patridha (fatherland), which acted as a symbolic context for identity-making (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011: 425). Pontic Greeks, like other refugees exchanged under the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, were treated by hostility by local Greek populations who tended to challenge the ethnic identity by calling them 'Turks' or 'Turkseeds'. Within this hostile environment, they sustained the ‘rhetoric of paradise lost in respect to their places of origin, lost properties, and constructed concepts of homeland for decades after their relocation’ (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011:425). The documents, images and narratives refugees brought from the area of Pontos with the population exchange in many cases were turned into ‘precious symbols’ that worked as ‘places of memory’ (ibid.). This becomes relevant to the present study too and shows how historic facts have contemporary significance.

The next excerpt is elicited from everyday talk between Nick and a man he just met through his friends in a cultural club all partners attend in Istanbul. Nick presents himself and his relationship with Turkey.

Excerpt 5.1

Context: This excerpt is elicited from an informal discussion between Nick and a Turkish man he just met in the cultural club he attends with his partners. The discussion here took place in English after an initiative by the Turkish man.

```
1.   Nick   And was one of my dreams, of my grandma, to step to the
2.          land of our homeland. You know, when I’m going there,
3.          every year I’m going to Trabzon.
4.   Fr     Really?
5.   Nick   Yes, every year. You know, every year I am crying not
6.          like normal people do, because they lost the land.
7.          I am crying from happiness. I am feeling happy there.
8.          The people are very friendly, very warm, you know. I
9.          remember my childhood years, let’s say when I was small
10.         in the village, the people, the old people, they were
11.         acting. They were kissing the hands.
12.  Fr     So you lived in Trabzon.
13.  Nick   No, I went to Trabzon.
14.  Fr     But they were living in Trabzon.
15.  Nick   No, I stayed for one week or ten days, like that.
16.         So, you know, let’s say the blood throw us. The
17.         blood is throw us. It is the music, the people
18.         they are talking our dialect, Rumza. I am speaking
19.         very perfect Rumza, they are speaking also. My
20.         major problem is that I cannot learn the Turkish
21.         language because they  always want to speak with me in
22.         Rumza(laugh)
```

Right from the beginning of this segment Nick establishes a close relationship with Trabzon. He calls Trabzon his ‘homeland’ (line 2), positioning himself as a person who comes from this area. He refers to the figure of his grandmother (line 1) to establish a direct relationship with the place through the process of indexicality. Referring to his grandmother, he calls the recipient of his message to attribute him a refugee background, which links him to the area and contributes to claiming an authentic Pontic identity/belonging. Claiming a Pontic identity is further foregrounded by the argument that he visits Trabzon every year, a practice that denotes a close attachment to the area. Building relations with the area of Trabzon is an important way of claiming the Pontic identity. Through the direct reference to strong emotions (crying, happiness, lines 5, 7), he establishes an emotional frame for the account that follows.

In line 6, Nick distances himself from the 'normal' case of people who visit Trabzon. He presents himself as a particular type of person, who takes pleasure from his visit to the area because it reminds him of the life in the village in Greece he grew up in. Trabzon here is presented as having an emotional dimension for Nick, who associates it in a nostalgic tone with memories from his childhood (lines 8-11). He constructs his village as a miniature of Trabzon, as a place where people were behaving like the people from Trabzon. Trabzon does not represent just a physical space, but rather a lifestyle. The local practices that make up the identity of the place are presented in a positive light, representing moral values. People from Trabzon are presented in their 'moral versions', as people who show respect to others, especially to older people, who are often perceived as wise figures that younger generations need to respect. Nick's village in Greece is presented as a de-territorialised Trabzon with all the local cultural practices of Trabzon.

Trabzon is also associated with a local type of music and a local dialect, called in Turkish Rumza (the language of Rums, the Turkish word for Greeks living in Turkey) which Nick claims that he speaks fluently. The boosters in lines 18-19 (very perfect Rumza) puts additional emphasis on this fact and intensifies the force of his statement; at the same time, they contribute to claiming belonging to this group. Belonging in the specific group is bounded to certain behaviours/practices, such as those presented in the excerpt, such as being warm and friendly and carrying moral values. Claiming to be part of this group, then, leads Nick to claim the above attributes (friendly, warm, moral) for himself too and as the analysis in the previous chapter has shown, morality is one of the two most important factors affecting perceptions of one's trustworthiness (see also Mayer et al., 1995; McKnight et al., 1998).

I turn now to the next excerpt, which is elicited from an interview with Nick after our first visit to Istanbul. This excerpt builds on the previous one as it offers a list of practices that partners associate with people from Trabzon, but also shows how these practices are performed in other contexts too. More specifically Nick comments on our visit to the Trabzon club there and he provides me with an overview of the club's activities.

Excerpt 5.2

Context: This excerpt is elicited from an interview with Nick, after our first fieldtrip in Turkey. The interview took place at Nick's office in Greece.

(1)	Nick	You know what is happening there. Just for you to understand
(2)		(..)it is a 5-storey building. We went to the x floor where
(3)		there is the café. On the x floor is the restaurant.
(4)	Res	Yes
(5)	Nick	From where we got the honey. We could have sat there and eaten
(6)		dishes that are mainly served in Trabzon.
(7)	Res	Yes.
(8)	Nick	If we go there to eat at a time where many people are gathered
(9)		you will see the people gathering there, you will see habits
(10)		that we have forgotten. For example, you will see someone
(11)		coming in and saying hello to everyone, one by one. He will
(12)		say hello to one by one by giving his hand. He saw them in the
(13)		morning or the day before, but he will give again his hand.
(14)		Us for example, we will do a handshake if we have not met for
(15)		a month let's say. If I see you again tomorrow, I won't do
(16)		it again. Because I saw you yesterday. What I want to say
(17)		for us is a common thing. (..short interruption) So. You will
(18)		see the youth, when I say youth I mean 20/23 years old, to
(19)		kiss the hand of the elderly, right. Either the hand or the
(21)		forehead. And in general, to gather like that. You will
(22)		see the Turks, the Turks..anyway, go outside to smoke.
(23)		They respect one another. For sure.

The Trabzon club is an important reference point for partners and is recontextualised in the stories the core informants share with the supportive and encouraging interviewer. The club is represented in the excerpt as bearing a resemblance to Trabzon and as vested with the values of the region. People who attend the club are presented as belonging to the Pontic regional group, or as cast in the category of 'Pontics', and carrying the traits associated with it by practising habits associated with it. As in the previous excerpt, these habits are presented in a nostalgic and positive tone (line 10), as forgotten and as resembling an older, past era. Similarly to the previous excerpt, there is repeated reference to specific behaviours, such as the hand kissing of the elderly, which indexes respect, and the tendency to strive for socialisation and interpersonal contact.

Lexical choices are significant in this excerpt. In line 22 there is an implicature when Nick describes the people in the club as 'Turks', but he immediately challenges this term, implying that these people are better characterised under another label than the national one. Regional identity in this instance is foregrounded and gains ascendancy over national categorisations. Nick feels more comfortable casting his partners and the people in the club in the category of 'Pontics' or people from the area of 'Trabzon', rather than 'Turks'. He then associates this category with positive features and behaviours. Showing respect to the elderly and sticking to traditions is positively valued by participants and, as shown in Chapter 4 (see section 4.2), these behaviours are often linked to the concept of a partner's morality. It could be argued then, that by being cast in the category of Pontics, the people who attend the club are also attributed moral attributes, which then adds to their trustworthiness.

This positive representation of Trabzon is further illustrated in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 5.3

```
Context: This excerpt was elicited during everyday talk recorded in the car
with Nick and Mehmet after a meeting they had in Istanbul. The discussion
took place in English and the regional dialect.

(1)   Mhm    Muslims say for Mecca area, holy place. But those who are from
(2)          Trapezounta we say we go to..
(3)   Nick   Mecca (laughter)
(4)   Mhm    To the holy place, like this (laughter)
```

Mehmet places emphasis on the significance of Trabzon in line 1 where he compares Trabzon to Mecca. Through this statement Mehmet constructs himself as being religious and Mecca as a holy place for Muslims. Trabzon then acquires a holy dimension for partners and becomes an important point of identification. Literature has shown that specific sites or places can symbolize specific sets of values and beliefs around which groups can form identities and Trabzon here seems to act in this way for partners, as a 'shrine' around which they construct and perform their regional identity (Hetherington, 1998:106). Much more importantly, Trabzon seems to be vested here with a notion of holiness, authenticity and purity, which can be closely associated with claims about morality. It could be inferred that people who identify with the area, claim these attributes and sets of values for themselves too. Coming from Trabzon, then, becomes associated with being pure and moral, and these attributes then complement and support claims about being trustworthy (Mayer et al., 1995).

Strategic use of personal pronouns is illustrative in this case and contributes to identity work. Mehmet refers to two different groups of people, Muslims and those from Trabzon and he uses the inclusive 'we' (Bull and Fetzer, 2006) when he talks about the second group. The pronoun 'we' in its all forms has been argued to be a strong way to establish group membership and proximity (Hausendorf and Kesselheim, 2002; Helmbrecht 2002). By referring to people of Trabzon and himself using the pronoun 'we', Mehmet here positions himself as an in-group member of the group of 'those people from Trabzon'. This is particularly important here, given that Mehmet is Muslim. People can simultaneously carry many different identities and in each interaction some facets may become more prominent than others (Meyerhoff and Niedzielski, 1994). In the given context, it seems that the most prominent identification for Mehmet as well as other SforSteel partners is the one with the regional group. Membership in this regional group seems to surpass religious and national identifications.

Up to this point, I have shown how partners construct the region of Pontos and particularly Trabzon as vested with holiness and morality and how they claim to belong to the area. Identification with the particular area seems to have identity implications as participants appear to attribute positive characteristics to people from there, often ascribing to them authenticity, friendliness and morality. Claiming, thus, that belonging to the particular area affords participants the ability to construct positive identities for themselves, something that successively also affects trustworthiness perceptions. Claiming and being granted membership to the Pontic group is intertwined with doing business within this context. I illustrate this further in the next part of the chapter where I discuss in detail additional ways through which partners systematically claim membership of this group.

5.2 Part B- Claiming Ponticness

Espousing De Fina's argument (2007:377) that 'there is an important connection between being and doing', I argue that partners do regional identity directly through labelling and open referencing (i.e. my name is x and I am Pontic), but also in more indirect ways through a range of practices. Looking across the data, such practices include: strategic use of Pontic dialect, storytelling related to the area of Pontos/heritage narratives, establishing connections with ancestors who lived in the area, decoration of spaces with regional maps and symbols, preparation and consumption of traditional regional food, support of the regional football team called Trabzonspor, listening and dancing to traditional Pontic music, the choice of the Trabzon regional club in Istanbul for their meetings and Pontic restaurants for their breaks, and visiting the Black Sea region and talking about it. These practices become an arena for partners to enact Ponticness and construct a collective regional identity. Being part of the same regional group then affords them to develop affinities between them, as well as a type of presumptive trust for members of their in-group (see Brewer, 1981, 1996; Loh et al., 2010). I discuss how participants enact the above practices, drawing on evidence from different datasets. More specifically, I discuss data elicited through interviews, everyday talk and dinner talk. In the last part of the section I also include and discuss photographs collected during the fieldwork. These photographs are treated as a complementary source of data to further support the claims about claiming regional identity.

Spoken interaction is analysed from an interactional sociolinguistic perspective (De Fina, 2015; Gumperz, 1982), with a particular interest in categorisation processes (construction of in-groups and out-groups) and indexicality, direct and indirect references to the concept of Ponticness. There are linguistic and pragmatic devices that partners employ within the above practices to take up relevant positions and claim identities. These devices can be characterised as contextualisation cues and previous sociolinguistic research has shown that they are instrumental in achieving identities in talk (Auer, 1992; Gumperz, 1982). Such devices also identified in the data here include: lexical choices, including strategic use of personal pronouns to construct in-groups and out-groups (Van De Mieroop, 2007) as well repetition and emphasis (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; De Fina, 2011), code-switching and code-mixing, and enforcement of dialect use on certain occasions (De Fina, 2007; Stubbe et al., 2003), use of metaphors, constructed dialogue (see Tannen, 1986), words and meta-pragmatic verbs that convey evaluations (De Fina, 2015), selective translation strategies that denote construction of exclusion and inclusion patterns/to stress difference (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008), use of regional symbols in the decoration of spaces (De Fina, 2008). I am going to discuss the above in light of the data.

I start the discussion by focusing on storytelling practices. I discuss two reiterations of a story with regard to the first acquaintance between the families of Nick and Mehmet, two of the SforSteel partners. I argue that these stories serve two interactional purposes. First, they help participants claim Ponticness and stress the historicity of membership to the group. Second, they help participants define their relationship as one of support, loyalty and trust. These stories seem to be well known by participants who have turned them into shared resources on which they draw to illustrate their relationship.

5.2.1 Story-telling

In the previous chapter (section 4.6) I showed how participants circulated the story of their initial agreement to define their professional relationship. In this chapter I focus again on the recurrence of stories in the data. This time, I focus on a story that is circulated by Nick as regards the first acquaintance of his family with the family of Mehmet. By narrating this story, I argue that Nick builds affinity and redefines his close relationship with Mehmet's family, while also making his membership to the Pontic group legitimate by stressing its historicity.

Literature on trust has shown that interactional histories of partners provide the grounds to assess one's trustworthiness (Kramer and Lewicki, 2010). Here I show how narratives can prove helpful in identifying perceived critical moments of partners' past. The recurrence of a story at different points and by different participants, points to its significance for the community under discussion beyond the local interactional context (Georgakopoulou, 2013). The story's about-ness and the ways these stories are told can prove useful for identifying aspects of participants' identities that seem to be important and relevant for them (Georgakopoulou, 2013). In what follows, I discuss two reiterations of a story to show how narratives from their common past are important resources for partners, who draw on them on different occasions in order to express loyalty and affinity, and define their relationship and terms of doing business. Narratives can be legitimate means of studying trust for other reasons too. Biographical stories told by participants can incorporate notions of connectedness and temporal unity (Gregg, 2011), which could help the analyst build connections of how specific episodes in one's life affect present interpretations of experience. Narratives have been argued to be a good resource for organising interpretations of the past and plans for the future (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004). This could successively prove useful for a study of trust. Indeed, previous scholars of trust have called for studies that can shed light on the relationship between trust and time. I will return to that in the concluding discussion in Chapter 7.

The story of the first acquaintance seems to consist of common reference points for the participants who mobilise them at different points in order to illustrate their strong family bond, the latter being linked to the historicity of their relationship. Ponticness becomes intertwined with the story of family friendship and affects their relationship. The two reiterations of the story discussed here were elicited in different contexts. The first version was elicited during my second interview with Nick in November 2015. The second instantiation of the story comes from my interview with Nick's partner, Mehmet, at the premises of their factory in Turkey during my first fieldtrip there in December of the same year. Part of this story was narrated again during a family dinner at Mehmet's house during the same fieldtrip (this excerpt was discussed earlier in Chapter 4, see section 4.5). Here I discuss the two first reiterations since these are more relevant to the focus of this chapter.

In discussing these stories, I focus on how participants create in-groups and out-groups and negotiate belonging to the Pontic group. A core linguistic strategy that helps them achieve this is code-mixing. By the latter I mean the instances where participants use only some phrases or words in another code while talking (De Fina, 2007). I am interested in the code-mixing practices *per se*, but also in the functions these practices serve.

The next excerpt was elicited at a formal interview with Nick in his office in Greece. Only Nick and I were in the room and the interview was conducted in Greek. Nick narrates the story of the acquaintance between him and his partners and justifies through the story his trusting relationship with them. Regional identity plays a central role in this excerpt.

Excerpt 5.4: Story of first acquaintance first reiteration

Context: This excerpt was elicited at a formal interview with Nick in his office in Greece. In the room it was only me and Nick and the interview was conducted in Greek.

```
(1)   Res   I would like you to tell me a bit more, the other time you told
(2)         me that there is blind trust between you and your partners. I
(3)         would like you to explain this.
(4)   Nick  Look. Blind trust, right? These friends and partners are not
(5)         random people.Each one of us has his own history.One of us is a
(6)         millionaire.
(7)   Res   Yes.
(8)   Nick  He is the person that when the business is under economic
(9)         pressure, he puts the money and we move forward. But this is
(10)        not the purpose.
(11)  Res   Of course, it is the company to be able to..
(12)  Nick  Exactly. Many years ago, thirty-five years ago, when my father
(13)        met the father of Mehmet and he went to Istanbul and he stayed
(14)        at his house, not at a hotel, and they were speaking the
(15)        Pontic dialect, they were talking about Pontos, for the way
(16)        people live there and here, and they started to come and go,
(17)        he told me one time: You will go to Istanbul to meet this
(18)        family. And he told me this in the Pontic dialect: Avoutoi
(19)        en emon emas (dialect). They are like us (he translates).
(21)  Res   Ohh
```

Nick And I went. At the airport Mehmet was waiting for me, this was
the first time we met. And I went, I stayed for 12 days at
their house. His sister who today has two children, this girl
here (he shows a picture of her to me, was like this (he
shows me her level of height with his hand) and she was
bringing me the cherries,as an offering.My beloved Esra. Who is
the Muslim woman with the hijab, you know, the scarf. And when
she saw me again at the village, the first time I went to
Pontos, she ran spontaneously to me and hugged me in front of
her husband. Something that is prohibited by all means there.
Res yes
Nick Her husband, then, seeing me for the first time, a stranger, he
became red (upset). And his father in law kept him and told
him: he is the older brother
Res Ohh
Nick Ok? You don’t have the right to feel bad, he is her older
brother. He is even higher from Boran(the oldest brother of
the family)because he is older. Agrabey’ means older brother.
Once we had built this relationship over all these years, in
2000-2001 I had an idea of doing this business in Turkey.

This story’s primary function is to establish familial bonds between the two partners and stress the historicity of their relationship. Nick presents himself as part of Mehmet’s family (lines 35, 37 and 38), which becomes significant for trust, given that family contexts have been argued to be characterised by unconditional trust (Luhmann, 2000). The discourse of family is associated with altruism, support and relations of loyalty (PAD paper, 2016; Schulze et al., 2003) and so identifying with each other in family terms becomes an important means of doing trust. In this context, hospitality emerges as an important factor that indexes intimate relationships. Nick makes relevant hospitality and the duration of stay when talking about the visits in Turkey (lines 13-14, 23-24). The long-term character of the visit (line 23) is not arbitrary. It shows the intimacy of the relationship and makes the importance of the act of hospitality even bigger. The story provides the space for Nick to express his emotions towards Mehmet’s family as signified by the lexical choice ‘beloved’ when talking about Esra (line 27). Affective relationships have also been related to trust (Kramer, 1999).

The first significant point for regional identity construction is found in lines 12-16, where Nick places special attention on the fact that his father and Mehmet’s father were talking to each other in the Pontic dialect and about topics in connection with the area of Pontos (Black Sea area). By choosing to stress the fact that the two men were speaking a specific dialect and not Greek or Turkish, Nick here projects to his father and the father of Mehmet (and thus to their families) a Pontic regional identity. The basic assumption behind this argument is that the linguistic choices of speakers act as tokens of particular social identities for them (De Fina, 2011; Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). The use of Pontic dialect in this context, thus, is taken to be an act of a particular regional identity for speakers, that of Pontic people. Speaking the Pontic dialect becomes an index (Silverstein, 1976) of 'Ponticness' in this group, something which also emerged in the interviews. The use of that specific dialect and the claim to a group membership that it implies by the way it is used in context, is of importance here. The two men are presented as overcoming national categorisations and identifying with each other on the basis of their shared regional identity. Claims about the association of language and group memberships have also been well backed up by previous research (De Fina, 2013; De Fina and King, 2011; Gumperz, 1982). Nick's attribution of a Pontic regional identity both to his and Mehmet's father is also supported by his presentation of the two men talking about the area of Pontos and the life of people who belong there. Talk about specific places can become a powerful means of doing identity. For example, previous work by De Fina (2008) has demonstrated how members of an Italian club in the US used travel narratives about Sicily in order to demonstrate their Italian origins and the fact that they still have ties and are acquainted with the place, something which also supported their legitimacy of membership in the particular club. In the case here, Nick by presenting his father talking about Pontos (lines 15, 16), claims a Pontic identity for his father, but also shows that his own Pontic identity is something that he inherited. The historicity of this membership could be argued as making the membership itself more legitimate and authentic.

Another practice of doing regional identity is found later in the excerpt, in lines 18-19, where Nick chooses to reproduce the exact words of his father, after his visit to Turkey, in their original form, in the Pontic dialect (Avoutoi en emon emas, lines 18-19), which he then translates for me (they are like us, line 19). Note here that I am quite familiar with the Pontic dialect, which is based in ancient Greek language, and Nick knew that, which meant that it was not necessary for him to translate simple phrases of the dialect for me. However, Nick here and at other points in our interactions (see next excerpt too) chooses to provide me with the translation of the dialect, a practice that excludes or at least marginalises me and signals me as linguistically limited in relation to the regional dialect (see Bucholtz and Hall, 2008 on translation as an exclusion practice). In this way, Nick achieves an identity claim for himself as a person with exclusive knowledge of the dialect. His choice of code-switching here denotes a strong identity claim for his father but also for himself, as he shows that his father talked to him in this dialect and that he also speaks it. Furthermore, the content of his father's words comprise a clear act of positioning. The statement of Nick's father 'They are like us' formulated in the regional dialect clearly proposes a common group membership for the two families. The use of the personal pronouns 'us/they' is illustrative at this point. Previous research on identity has shown that self and other positioning, manifested in talk, mainly though us/them comparisons, are powerful means of constructing identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Bull and Fetzer, 2006; De Fina, 2011; Hall, 1996). Nick here constructs his family (us) and the family of Mehmet (they) as similar, i.e. as groups of people who come from the region of Pontos and speak the same dialect, and as people who carry the same regional identity. By highlighting shared attributes between the two families Nick claims a collective identity for himself and his partners, which has been argued to be related to what has been termed as identification-based or identity-related-based trust in previous work (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

I now move to the next reiteration of the same story on another day and time. The transcription presented below starts just after I explained to Mehmet that I am interested in the relationship that develops between business partners in cross-border collaboration settings. This triggers him to clarify his relationship with Nick in line 1. He then links his relationship with Nick to their fathers' friendship and their suggestion to make this partnership in the past. And this is where the same story becomes mobilised in the interaction.

Excerpt 5.5: Story of first acquaintance- second reiteration

Context: This excerpt is elicited from a conversation that took place between Nick, Mehmet and me at the premises of their factory, in Mehmet’s office. Our conversation here takes place at the beginning between me and Mehmet in English (with some interruptions in Turkish and Pontic Greek) and then between me and Nick in Greek. This was the first time I had the chance to talk in person with Mehmet and explain to him my project.

Mhm Actually we are not partners, we are friends with Nick. For a long time. From my father and his father maybe he told you about it.

Res Yes he did

Mhm I was child. Maybe 5,6 years old I was. And we were living in Istanbul. (……)So I think his father liked my father and after a while he told them, to George and to Nick, in the future you will make a partnership with this family. Right Nick?

Nick Na eftate douleias (dialect:Do business together)

Mhm Na eftate douleias. (dialect:Do business together)

Res I want to write this.

Mhm This is the bit why we are partners now.

Res So you are first friends and then partners.

Mhm In fact my uncle opened this way.

Nick I told them, how my father met your uncle. And after this meeting his uncle said I have a brother in Istanbul, who is a dentist, you should meet him. And my father came..they came at that time when his sister, Esra..Esra, how old is she now? We came when his

Mhm 33 (in Greek)

Nick Now she is 33 years old, she has two children. When they went there she was 5,6 years old. When my father came, how old was she (dialect)

Mhm Even younger, because I was 6-7 years old

Nick Two years old

Res Oh only two years old, a baby.

Mhm Baby

Nick Thirty-two years ago, imagine. So, when my parents came here for the first time, it was the time there was a dictatorship in Turkey. At that time, Pontics could not speak the Pontic dialect. Only in the villages. In the city, they were afraid. And when my mum was going with his mother in the market and she was telling her: let’s talk now, she was answering back: ‘kai ta ntouvar otia exoune naoum’(dialect). The walls have ears (he translates). When they were going somewhere where there were other Pontic people they were saying ‘temeteros einai’,dialect) there is no problem. He is one of us they were saying (he translates for me). When they came back to Greece he told me one day you will go and meet this family. They are like us. And when I came here, I remember this as if this is happening now, her image of bringing me a plate with cherries and next to it a wet towel to clean my hands. I remember her very young. And I found her again, a married woman with a child. And we also had a scene. When she saw me she ran and spontaneously hugged me. Her husband stood like ice cube. And her father explained to him, he is my older son. And now we are friends. He is a well-educated man, he was raised in Germany, he learnt his job there too. And now he lives here. So, our family relationship is very very deep. This is why I

told you, we are not the typical example of a relationship
between a Greek and a Turk, we are something particular,
different, weird and rare.
Res Yes (…)
Nick Here we have the ethos of the Three Musketeers. One for all and
all for one. Here we have the ethos of we are doing a job and
if it succeeds, it succeeds. If it doesn’t succeed,
it doesn’t matter. But if it succeeds it is good also
for our children, because it can bring together people of the
same race, of the same root, to bring them close to each other
again.

Similarly to the previous example, the embedding of the story in this interaction serves to stress the historicity and the affinity of the relationship between partners. The story Nick narrates after line 28 is re-produced in almost identical ways with the story presented in the previous excerpt. Nick refers to the same incident, the acquaintance of the family and the scene with Esra bringing the cherries and hugging him, presenting the episodes in similar ways and paying attention to the same concepts. The similarities in the way the story is reproduced indicates that this story has been told several times by Nick and has become part of his linguistic repertoire (Coupland, 1980; Georgakopoulou, 2013; Ochs and Capps, 2001). What is more, the story seems to be a common resource for both partners (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2008) to reproduce their relationship. Mehmet and Nick both reflect on the same incidents, paying attention to the same concepts, i.e. the historicity of their relationship and its familial character. In certain parts, they seem to co-tell the story, something which points to the fact that they are both familiar with it and have reproduced it multiple times. Their stories do not offer new information to one another, but rather contribute to relational work (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003). The two partners use these stories as an arena for showing adherence to the same values, thus foregrounding similarity and claiming membership to the same groups (family and Pontic). This is further intensified by the use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ in its prototypical way (lines 49, 50, 51, 54, 55), which contributes to claiming proximity and shared group membership (Hausendorf and Kesselheim, 2002). At the same time, through this story they reproduce their familial relationship, generating emotions and building affinity between them. Their stories, thus, are important tools for generating affect, loyalty and proximity between partners, which are important factors for developing trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003).

The special tie between partners is their shared regional identity. By narrating the story, the two partners claim Ponticness too. Pontic dialect is central in this direction. It is first introduced in line 9, where Mehmet turns to Nick and asks him to confirm the statement that their fathers first suggested their partnership (line 8). Nick instead of saying yes chooses to reply with an expression that is supposed to reproduce the exact words of their father using the Pontic dialect 'Na eftate douleias' (do business together), which is then ratified by Mehmet (lines 9-10). The exact words in Pontic dialect do not add new information in the discussion; rather they repeat what is already known from earlier contributions. This adds to the emotive tone of the narrative and team bonding as the two men echo each other. Code-switching here is considered of analytical value since it can be read as an identity claim. By choosing to speak in the Pontic dialect, Nick here claims a Pontic regional identity for their fathers, but also for themselves (De Fina, 2013; see also discussion above). At the same time, Mehmet's decision to repeat the same words in the same dialect re-affirms that identity claim. The uptake shows that Mehmet here accepts Nick's identity claim and positions himself as a person who belongs to the same regional group and speaks the same regional dialect with him. It could be said that the two men here, by choosing to repeat the same words using the Pontic dialect, echo each other and re-affirm their shared Pontic identity. Speaking the Pontic dialect, thus, becomes an index of their Ponticness. In lines 34-35 and 36-37, Nick once again constructs boundaries regarding who is legitimate to use and understand the dialect, and creates exclusion and social differentiation between myself and him (Bucholtz and Hall, 2008). He translates the phrases 'Kai ta ntouvar otia exoune' and 'temeteros einai' from the Pontic dialect to Greek for me, something that again is not necessary, given the fact that I can follow him in either.

Both stories discussed here bring to the fore the historical dimension of Turkish-Greek relationships. A discourse of common past is prominent, as both partners express their delight for being re-connected and identify themselves as people of the same root, who were separated during the population exchange. The trauma of separation is relevant to both sides, but seems to be more prominent for the Greek side, which had to face also the problem of relocation (see Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011). The affective relationship developed between partners of the SforSteel case underlines the diachronic relevance of the Turkish-Greek past and traumas associated with it. The feelings of proximity and familiarity stemming from it, affect successively the development of trust (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

So far, I have shown how partners circulate specific stories drawn from their interactional histories to build affinities and claim membership to the Pontic group. Following De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2008), and their view of narrative as a practice, the stories presented here seem to act as significant interactional resources for SforSteel partners (Georgakopoulou, 2013). Partners are familiar with these stories and mobilise them in different instances and contexts to achieve social actions, here to reaffirm a close friendship, build affinity and claim belonging to the common group, which all then affect the development of trust (Beitat et al., 2013; Lewin and Reeves, 2011; Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998). These stories then seem to be part of the shared repertoire of the specific community of practice and can be understood as 'sense-making' processes in the given context (Ochs and Capps, 2001:15).

5.2.2 Claiming authenticity

Issues of authenticity and legitimisation of group membership became important in the context of the above stories, with participants arguing that they have inherited this identity from their parents. The legitimisation of Pontic identity via reference to older generations is also illustrated in the next segment, which brings to the discussion the use of Pontic dialect. By discussing this excerpt, I aim to elaborate on the use of dialect, the symbolic inferences it carries for identity and its interactional functions. Code-switches can serve different functions (De Fina, 2008); in some cases, they might index particular identities, while in other cases they might serve interactional functions, making the communication between less fluent speakers more effective, as I will show below. Attention then is paid to the interactional context in place before any claims are made.

The extract below is drawn from informal everyday talk that took place during the exhibition the partners attended during my second visit to Turkey. The discussion involves Nick, Mehmet and George, an external contractor of their company, who is a Greek person with a Pontic background.

Excerpt 5.6

Context: The interaction takes place in a small room behind the stand that partners had set up for the exhibition. The room served as a storage place, but also as an informal meeting room for partners to prepare their hot drinks during the day and have lunch during their breaks. The interaction analysed here was recorded during a lunch break.

(1)	Grg	Where are you going to sit? Are you standing? No! sit down
(2)		mate!(in dialect)
(3)	Mhm	George, George..
(4)	Grg	You are here since 6 o’clock in the morning.(in English)
(5)	Mhm	Yes ok, that’s fine. This is different(in English)
(6)	Nick	If I listen to Pontic people speaking to each other in English
(7)		I go crazy man. (Greek)
(8)	Grg	Me and Mehmet whenever we face difficulties with Rumza (the
(9)		name of the dialect), we switch to English. I didn’t meet
(10)		grandpa and grandma. Nick, the only image I have from my
(11)		grandpa, was on the day, you know how I remember him, do you
(12)		listen to me? When he died I was three years old. I remember
(13)		him lying dead. (Greek)
(14)	Nick	Christina bring a glass.(Greek)

This excerpt constitutes a mixture of Pontic dialect, English and Greek language and is a typical example of the variety the partners use. Code-switching takes place in lines 4 and 5, where Mehmet and George use English instead of the Pontic dialect. Code-switching is multi-functional and in this instance (lines 4-5) switching to English cannot be characterised as guided by identity-related claims. Rather, this code-switch could be labelled as functional, since it helps the interaction at hand and helps partners who are not equally fluent in the dialect to communicate more effectively. This further emphasises the importance of context for the analysis of identity.

However, Nick’s reaction shows how Pontic dialect use is enforced within the group and becomes a vehicle of identity legitimisation. Nick in line 6 intervenes in the discussion between George and Mehmet by making a derogatory comment and trying to impose the use of Pontic dialect between the two men, who both have a Pontic heritage background. Nick's stance indicates that there is social pressure for group members to use the dialect whenever they can, in order to showcase their origins and re-create their relationship. This seems to be an important aspect of the partners' relationship and there also seems to be an expectation in their group regarding dialect use, which partners are reminded of in cases of non-compliance. Taking into consideration Nick's statement in line 6 (If I listen to Pontic people speaking to each other in English, I go crazy man), it seems that the use of the local Pontic dialect is seen as part of the identity kit of doing being Pontic in the group and is a marker of Ponticness and a symbol of group membership. This element goes unquestioned by participants, which shows that it constitutes a common presupposition for them that is not an object for reflection. This points to shared language ideologies, according to which ethnicity is closely related to language use (see also De Fina, 2008).

The interrelation between language use and ethnicity is further supported by George's reaction to Nick's comment (lines 8-13). George seems to be offended by Nick's remark and rushes to justify himself and his behaviour. What is worth mentioning here is the fact that he relates his poor proficiency skills in the dialect to the fact that he did not spend enough time with his grandparents, since he lost them at a very young age. This is a common pattern for people with Pontic background in Greece, but also in Turkey. Partners have memories of their grandparents, they have met these people who experienced the population exchange and some of them came to Greece as refugees. Speaking the Pontic dialect in most cases is a skill inherited and taught orally by them (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011). Having 'inherited' this dialect from their grandparents makes their belonging to the group more legitimate and allows them to claim that they carry this identity from a long time ago. Being a quality inherited by their grandparents, who came from the area of Pontos as refugees, dialect has become a symbol of Ponticness and carries important associations with concepts of authenticity and legitimate group membership. Dialect also relates to a notion of collective memory, a matter of paying honour to their families' history and trauma. In this context, the Pontic dialect is turned into a marker of regional authenticity.

So far I have shown how partners mobilise stories from their shared past and use the regional dialect as a means to legitimise their membership of the Pontic group, but also to build affinities between themselves and their partners. Being part of a close-knit group contributes to developing emotional bonds with one another and affects the development of trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998). I now turn to discussing the non-verbal behaviours of SforSteel partners, which are also directed at claiming to belong to the group, which successively affects their trusting relationships.

5.2.3 Non-verbal ways for claiming identity

Non-verbal behaviours can act as strong contextualisation cues (Schiffrin, 1996) and contribute to claiming identities and performing group membership (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012). The data collected include a range of non-verbal practices through which SforSteel partners claim Ponticness (decoration of spaces, choice of meeting places, preparation and consumption of regional food, listening and dancing regional music). I accompany the discussion where possible with interview extracts where participants reflect on the specific practices and their significance for them.

Meeting at the Trabzon club

SforSteel partners reside in Greece and Turkey, but meet frequently, most of the time in Turkey, where the premises of their company are located. Apart from the offices in their factory, they tend to meet very frequently in a regional club of Trabzon in Istanbul. The club is mainly frequented by men, the majority of whom are middle-aged. The men's social background is varied. When partners meet there they play a regional game with a specific type of marbles, dance regional dances, watch football matches of their regional team and eat traditional food. The club is decorated with symbols of the Black Sea region, including objects brought from the area and photos of its landmarks. The choice of the specific place for the majority of the partners' informal meetings also underlines their Pontic origins. Membership of the club becomes associated with membership of the Pontic group. The club in the data is constructed as a recontextualisation of Trabzon and is an important point of reference for participants. Previous work by De Fina (2008) has studied narrative activity within an all-male Italian-American card playing club in the Washington area and found that card players who attended it, became involved in symbolic practices that helped them to claim ethnic identities, re-negotiate social relations and also claim a positive image and symbolic power for their immigrant group. In a similar vein, apart from providing SforSteel partners with a space to meet and spend time together, the club constitutes an arena to reproduce their relationship and practice Ponticness. They achieve the latter by meeting other people from the area, practising the local dialect, dancing traditional dances, eating regional food and buying products from the region. Nick devoted a lot of time during our interviews to talking about this club.

Food

Previous work has shown that food practices can be an important arena for constructing individual and group identities (Lakoff, 2006). De Fina (2007:379) in her study of an Italian card-playing club in Washington, found that food was at the centre of discourse for the club members and food practices were 'lived as traditional', enabling the club members to display ethnic and regional identities and negotiate their legitimate membership to the club. Talking about food is a common practice for the SforSteel partners too. They often choose to meet in restaurants serving regional specialties, they comment on the quality of the food served and its origin from specific parts of the Black Sea area. The next excerpt draws on a retrospective commentary from Nick on the role of the specific club in their social life.

Excerpt 5.7

Context: This excerpt was elicited during an interview with Nick, which took place in his office in Greece, after our first visit in Turkey.

(1) Nick You know what is happening there. Just for you to understand.
(2) (..)it is a 5 storey building. We went to the x floor where
(3) there is the café. On the x floor is the restaurant.
(4) res Yes
(5) Nick From where we got the honey. We could have sit there and eat
(6) dishes that are mainly served in Trabzon.(…)
(7) nick I have been there with other friends and their wives. And we
(8) went. We went there to eat. Right? For example, we go there
(9) to eat haslama. Haslama is our stew. But we make this one
(10) a bit nicer. We will eat goulia. Goulia is the black cabbage
(11) with beans. It is like a soup. To eat beans.
(12) Res Yes.
(13) Nick Right? But our bean soup it is not like ours, dense. It is
(14) not a soup. It is cooked beans, they put rice and beans.
(15) And there is not oil in them. They are dry. But in terms
(16) of flavour, let's not talk about it. You cannot imagine. To
(17) eat dolma, but dolma not with wine leaves, but with black

(18)   cabbage. Because you know what is happening. Every place has
(19)   whatever is produced in the area. For example, in Trabzon,
(20)   in the Black Sea region generally, in Trabzon they produce
(21)   green beans, sweetcorn. There is no wheat. There is no
(22)   wheat. The bread in Trabzon was made by sweetcorn.
(23) Res   Bobota (the Greek name for this type of bread)
(24) Nick Bobota, yeah. (…) in general, this is a good part for you
(25)   To study.

In this except the emphasis is on the role of food, as shown by the amount of talk, detailed references to the different local specialties and their ingredients (lines 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22). The food associated with the area is always presented in positive terms, as shown in lines 10 and 16, as being fresh, traditional and made up by natural and healthy ingredients produced there. Nick in the excerpt above offers specific details about the regional food and the way it is prepared, displaying good knowledge of the traditional recipes and their origin. This contributes to claiming belonging to the Pontic group, which is further supported by the strategic use of the pronoun ‘our’ in line 9. Nick uses the pronoun ‘we’ in its inclusive form and positions himself as part of the Pontic/Trabzon group and me as an outsider (Bull and Fetzer, 2006; De Fina, 2011).

Becoming involved in the activities of the club constitutes an important part of the socialisation of partners. During the fieldtrips, considerable time was spent within the club and many of the activities were audio and video recorded. The data collected include numerous photographs as well. The following pictures depict some instances of partners’ activities within the club (eating regional food, playing marbles, playing, singing and dancing regional music of the Black Sea).

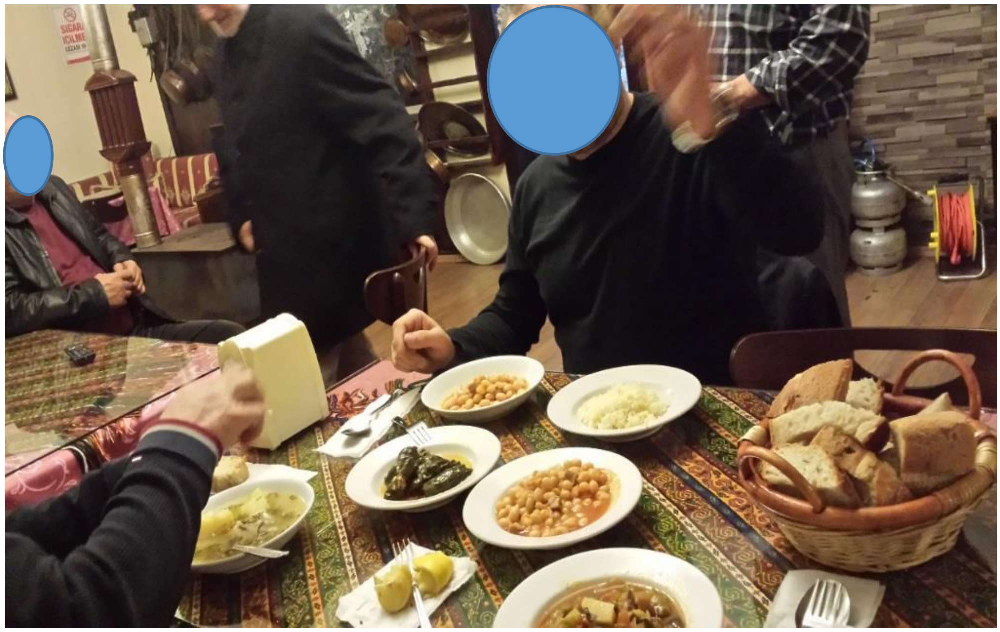


Image 1: Eating traditional regional food in the restaurant area

This photograph is taken at the restaurant area within the club and depicts Nick and one of his Turkish partners, Tolga, eating traditional regional food, such as haslama, dolma, beans and pilaf (rice). The restaurant area within the club constitutes an informal meeting point for partners, who meet there to chat over food. Many times the discussion revolves around the food *per se*, but also around the different ways of preparing it in Greece and in Turkey. This practice denotes that food (consumption, preparation, talking about it) provides a common reference point for participants and a means for constructing similarities and differences between them. The place itself is not luxurious or posh, but is reminiscent of a home kitchen. Partners choose to meet and spend their time there as the practices they are involved in have special meaning for them, reinforcing their Pontic identity and their social relations. Special attention should be also given to the decoration of the restaurant, which consists of typical traditional items of Pontos. The following photos depict the decoration of this part of the club.

Image 2: Aspect of the main wall of the restaurant

Image 3: Aspect of the wall in the main dining area

Image 4: Aspect of the wall in the main dining area

The way the restaurant area is decorated resembles the typical traditional houses of the Trabzon province. The walls feature photos of the region as well as cooking pots and original traditional items brought from the region’s villages. These items are only used for decorative purposes in the club (i.e., the cooking pots) and thus become identity markers/markers of Ponticness. The next photo depicts Nick with two of his partners, Tolga and Mehmet, playing marbles, a regional board game.

Image 5: SforSteel partners playing a regional board game called marbles

Partners play this game in the board game room of the club. Playing marbles is an important part of partners' routine when in the Trabzon club, so knowing the rules of playing the game is important for their socialisation. While playing the game, partners tend to tease each other, tell anecdotes featuring characters from the Pontic region and singing regional songs. As the photo shows, partners sit in close proximity to each other and are dressed informally. During our visits to the club, partners spent their time either in the play room playing marbles, or in the restaurant, eating, playing and listening to Pontic music. All these activities contribute to establishing familiarity and proximity with one another and this supports the development of trust as well (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998). I discuss the role of Pontic music and dance in the next section.

Music and Dance

Regional music and dance is an important part of Pontic identity. The area has been associated with a particular type of music, with a distinctive rhythm, produced by the typical regional instrument known as a kemetze (Turkish word) or lyra (Greek word). Partners show attachment to the music of the area and demonstrate this by listening to this type of music while in the car, but also playing the music during their informal meetings. They often attend shows devoted to this type of music and also use social media to mark their attendance at them. The following pictures depict Nick with his partners playing the kemetze in the restaurant area.

Image 6: Nick with an external SforSteel contractor playing Pontic music in the restaurant

Image 7: SforSteel partners listening to and singing regional music

Image 8: SforSteel partners entertaining themselves by playing traditional music

The pictures denote a friendly and informal climate between the interactants. Partners are sitting in close proximity to each other and their body posture could be characterised as relaxed and indexing familiarity. The photos were taken on the last day of the exhibition partners attended during the second fieldtrip in Turkey. After they had closed down their stand, they went to the club to have a ‘mouhabeti’, which means a Pontic gathering with food, music and dance, and is their preferred form of entertainment.

The music is often accompanied by dancing the traditional horon (the regional name for dance). Dance practices have been shown to be closely related to claims about membership to a community (Buckland, 2010; Davida, 2011; Turino, 1999). Dance as a way to legitimise identity emerges as really important especially in migratory contexts (Novaro, 2018) and this seems to be the case also for Pontic Greeks. The preservation of regional dances has been critical for displaced Greek Pontics and a marker of their ethnic identity. Regional dance was often used by displaced Pontics to materialise their difference from the local population of Greece. Through this process of differentiation, the Pontic population managed to establish itself as a distinctive group within Greek society and maintain and reconstruct its identity (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011).

Dance is an important reference point for SforSteel partners. Partners spend time talking about the different types of Pontic dances and attend dance classes when in the club. The following snapshots are drawn from videos of the dance practice in the club.

Image 9: Snapshot from a dance class at the regional club (including two SforSteel partners)

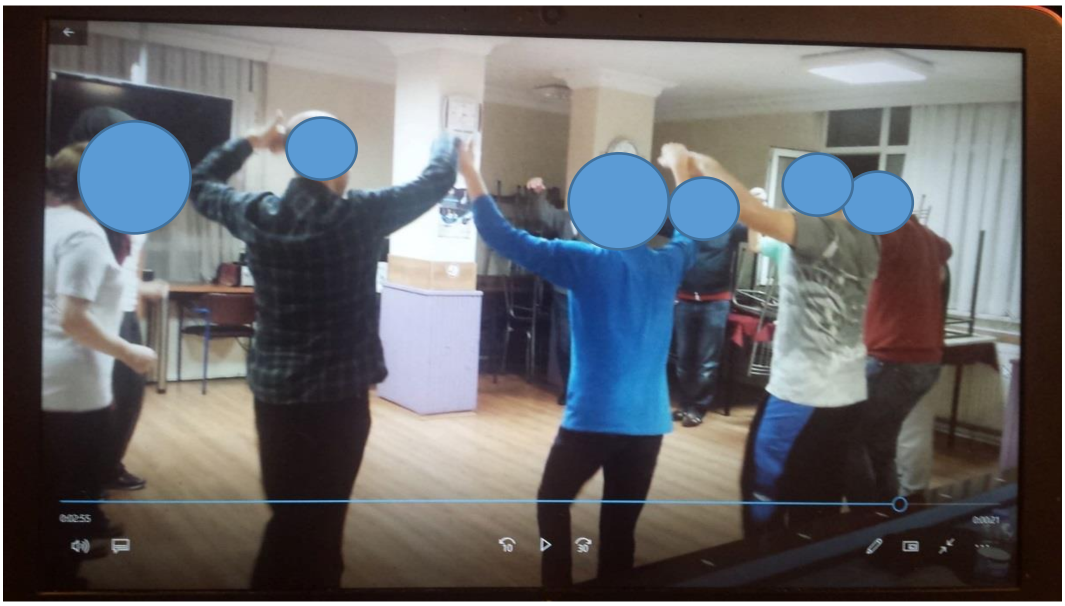


Image 10: Practising regional dances at the club

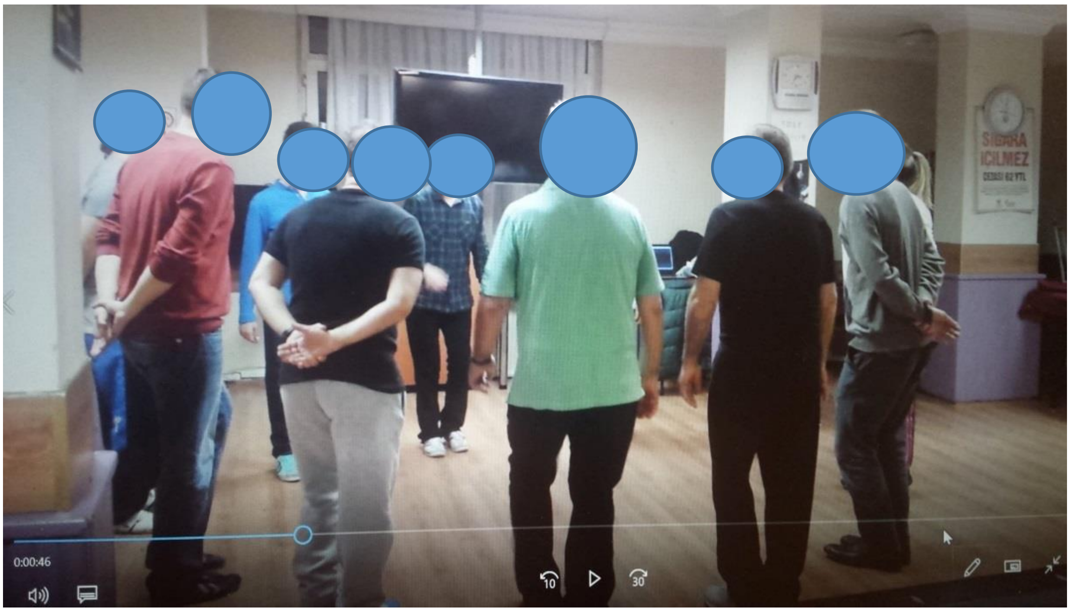


Image 11: Attending the dance class at the regional club

Dancing the horon is something partners associate with strong emotions and a feeling of pride. Based on the observation notes, having good dancing skills is something partners showcase for themselves, but also for their children, via showing photos of them dancing in regional festivals dressed in traditional costumes. Claiming a good knowledge of the dances becomes a means of legitimising their Pontic identity. Regional dances are an important part of the identity 'kit' (Gee, 1999) of being Pontic (Zografou and Pipyrou, 2011). Discussions about dances are frequent between partners and in one of the conversations recorded within the club, Nick's Turkish partners asked him to arrange for a Greek teacher of dance to visit their club and teach them some of the less popular dances, which have been preserved only in the close-knit refugee communities in Greece.

Image 12: SforSteel practicing regional dancing in the restaurant area

This photo depicts SforSteel partners dancing together in the restaurant area of the Trabzon club. Pontic dances require the dancers to hold hands firmly in a circle. There are more than 80 different types of dance, the most popular of which include tik, serra, pyrechios, kotsari and omal. Pontic dances are known for their brisk pace and sharp movements and often require emotional involvement from the dancers' part. Dancing the regional dances in the given contexts allows partners to develop emotional bonds and attachments and thus build affinities.

Spending time in the regional club, sharing regional food and dancing traditional dances are all practices with emotional symbolic significance for partners. By being involved in these practices, they claim belonging to the same group, which generates feelings of similarity and proximity and allows them to develop emotional bonds. Co-membership (Erickson and Schultz, 1982) of the Pontic group allows them to develop identification-based trust (see Lewicki and Bunker, 1996 on trust typologies).

Regional symbols on display

The demonstration of attachment to local regional symbols is recurrent in the datasets. The most visible ones include the number 61 and the use of colours and slogans associated with the area of Trabzon. I show how my core informants display attachment to these symbols.

Claiming the regional identity of people from Trabzon comes with a certain identity ‘kit’ (see Gee, 1999). One such practice is building attachment to the number 61. This specific number denotes that a car comes from the area of Trabzon and has become a symbol of regional identity for people from there. Partners in the SforSteel case have stressed the significance of this number and have purposely used it in their car registration plate (see photo of Nick’s car). Nick, for example, resides in Greece, but made a special request for these numbers to be in his car registration number, denoting a strong willingness to be identified as a person from the Trabzon area. The investment (material and emotional) in maintaining these symbols, can be further read as an identity claim and a determination to make belonging to the group legitimate.

Image 13: Snapshot of Nick’s car

This photo depicts Nick's car, on top of which specifically for my photo shoot, Nick has placed a flag with various markers of Pontic identity. The flag is coloured in blue and dark red, which are the colours associated with the area of Trabzon and the colours of the local team, called Trabzonspor. At the bottom of the flag, we see the slogan of the Trabzonspor fans 'Bize Her Yer Trabzon', which translates into: Wherever we are, is Trabzon for us. This slogan, known as the slogan of Trabzonspor fans, is associated with people from the area of Trabzon and has become a marker of identity for partners. The same slogan is also featured at the top right side of the flag, while on the left the space is filled with the number 61 depicted within a red heart. In a close up view of his number plate, one can see the same slogan written underneath the car sign number (see photo below). This is a special label Nick has bought in Turkey and placed there.

Image 14: Snapshot of the registration plate of Nick's car

The symbolic significance that this act of identity acquires for Nick is illustrated in the next excerpt.

Excerpt 5.8

Context: This excerpt is drawn from the first interview I had with Nick in his office in Greece. The office walls were full of photographs and souvenirs from his trips and Nick was talking me through some of them.

(1)	Nick	If they ask you what is written on that scarf..
(2)	Res	Oh, yes. What does it mean?
(3)	Nick	Bize Heryer Trabzon. Which means for us wherever we are it is
(4)		Trabzon.
(5)	Res	Oh..
(6)	Nick	It is the motto of the supporters of Trabzon. The same thing,
(7)		the same motto, is written in my registration plate.
(8)	Res	Unbelievable
(9)	Nick	If you go out and take a photo of my car, it is below the
(10)		registration plate
(11)	Res	So you are from Trabzon?
(12)	Nick	The one family yes. My mother’s is from Trabzon. The other
(13)		from Giresun.

This excerpt is significant for its performative rather than referential dimension of discourse (Freeman, 1993; Mishler, 1986). Nick points out to me the things he would like me to pay attention to (lines 1, 7, 9, 10) which is significant as a practice on its own. Nick performs an identity for me and decides which parts of himself to foreground. I am aware that he is foregrounding the Pontic identity more strongly because he knows I am interested in identity issues (on observer’s paradox see discussion in the methodology chapter). But still, the fact that he decides to overplay this identity for me, conveys meaning and is analytically significant. Nick wants to be perceived as Pontic and works hard and systematically to achieve this interactionally. He intentionally puts emphasis on the fact that the slogan of the Trabzonspor fans is written on his car signs (lines 7, 9, 10). In this way, he makes a strong identity claim for himself as a person who identifies with the specific slogan and hence with the specific regional group. The photo of his car was sent to me by Nick himself. What seems more interesting, is the fact that Nick performs this identity to a number of other people while on business trips in Turkey. More specifically, he was displaying the same photo of his car to the people he was meeting during the exhibition and at the regional club and identified with the same group.

I now turn to discuss how these symbols are displayed in the decoration of personal and professional spaces.

Decoration of personal spaces

Regional identity claims are manifested also through the decoration of personal spaces with symbols associated with the Black Sea region. The following provides a prime example of this practice.

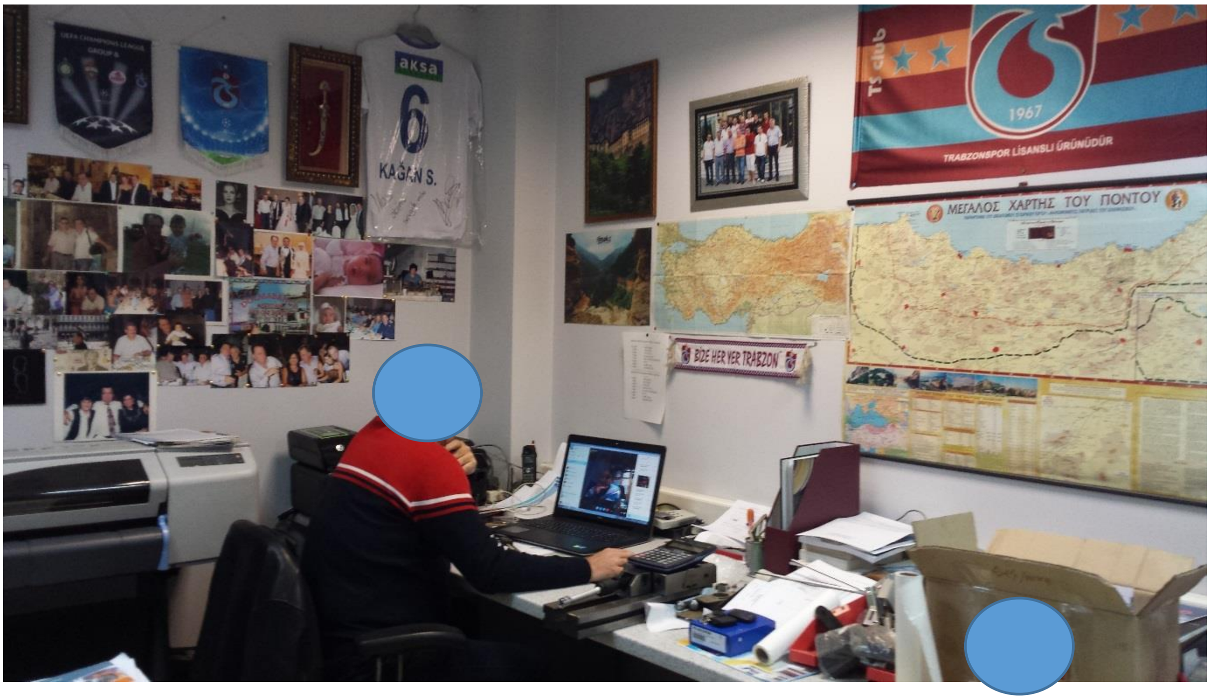


Image 15: Aspect of Nick’s main office in Greece

The photo depicts Nick’s office in Greece and it was taken during my first visit there. Markers of Pontic identity are rife in the office. Their function and position in the space is important and indicate that they do not just carry decorative value. Flags and maps of Pontos take up the space of a big wall in the room and cannot go unnoticed by the visitor. The maps and flags of the area are placed at the centre of the biggest wall of the office, and are the first thing that a visitor who enters the room sees. This wall can also be seen by Nick when working from either desk in the room. The regional symbols are placed on the most central part of the office, something that points to their significance for Nick. Even from a quick look in the space, it becomes obvious that Nick has a special attachment to the area and wants this to become obvious to whoever enters his space. The decoration of his office indexes his regional identity.

The decoration with symbols of Ponticness extends to other parts of the factory as well. In the following two photos we see the official meeting room of the factory. The first photo depicts the main entrance to the room, while the second one shows the objects decorating the main desk.

Image 16: Aspect of the main entrance to the meeting room in Nick's factory in Greece

Image 17: The decoration of the meeting room table at Nick’s factory in Greece

In the first photo, we see a scarf again with the hallmark of the regional team featured on it and the slogan of the TrabzonSpor fans. The scarf is placed right at the centre of the door, so that it cannot go unnoticed by the visitor. Symbols associated with the Black Sea region are also placed on the main discussion table. The table is decorated with presents Nick has received from customers and partners. Between them is a wooden model of a traditional Pontic house. The fact that these symbols are placed in central areas of the rooms again denotes an identity act. Nick intends to be attributed the identity label Pontic by prospective colleagues and customers. The existence of these regional symbols in the professional space reinforce belonging to the Pontic group and affords Nick the opportunity to foreground shared attributes and similarities with his partners, when they visit him in his factory premises in Greece. By highlighting common points of reference and similarities with his partners, he constructs their shared membership to the Pontic group and facilitates the construction of identification-based trust (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996).

Summary

In this chapter I have focused on a specific company and examined the role that regional group membership plays in partners' trusting relationships. Bearing in mind that identity work is done in different modes and channels (PAD group paper, 2016) I have analysed mainly spoken discourse drawn from interviews and everyday talk, but also included other sources of data, including photos, to further support my claims.

I have argued that Pontic regional identity takes prevalence over national identifications and is a fundamental aspect of the SforSteel partnership that defines relationships. I have shown how partners construct the region of Pontos and the province of Trabzon, their homeland, as a mythical place that represents morality, pureness and authenticity. Having constructed Trabzon in this way, they do interactional work to claim belonging to the area and claim positive identities for themselves, which then adds to their perceived trustworthiness. Moreover, belonging to the same regional group means that partners can construct collective identities and develop trust. More specifically, by feeling they are part of the same group, spending time together, and highlighting their similarities, partners build affinities, emotional bonds and close friendships, which are all critical for establishing trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998).

I have argued that participants are aware of the importance of their Pontic regional identity for their relationship and for this reason strategically and systematically claim and foreground regional identity on every occasion through engaging in certain symbolic practices. These practices include: use of local dialect, strategic use of personal pronouns, translation strategies that construct in-groups and out-groups, circulation of stories related to Pontic heritage, attachment to regional symbols, arranging meetings in places associated with the particular region and being involved in practices typical of the area, such as singing and dancing regional songs, preparing and eating regional food and decorating personal spaces with symbols of the region. Shared group-membership and morality have also been argued to be important factors for trustworthiness claims in previous work (Brewer, 1996; Loh et al., 2010;

McKnight et al, 1998), but here I empirically illustrated how these factors interact with each other to achieve trustworthiness via identity work taking place in various modes and channels.

Building on section 4.6 of the previous chapter, I also paid attention to the role of recycled stories drawn from the shared past of partners. I have shown how partners circulate stories including their whole families in their everyday talk, not to offer information, but rather to build affinities and claim membership of the Pontic group. These stories are well known within the group and partners co-tell them in some instances, a practice that indicates that these stories have been turned into shared repertoire for partners.

In the next and last chapter of data analysis, I illustrate how partners claim trustworthy personas in business meetings, through discursively performing expertise, morality and solidarity towards in-group members.

Chapter 6: Trust as interactional achievement: claiming trustworthiness in business meetings

Introduction

As shown in chapter 4, perceptions of trustworthiness in the given context are affected by perceptions of one's expertise and morality, which are influenced by situational factors, such as the relationships, interactional histories and group identities of partners. This chapter, like Chapter 5, discusses data collected from the SforSteel company (see 3.3.3 for more information). The chapter draws on authentic workplace discourse, more specifically on meeting talk, and looks at how trustworthiness is claimed and negotiated within the meeting event. It adds to the previous discussion by showing how trustworthiness is discursively done in everyday interaction at work.

6.1 Doing meetings

Meetings comprise a core business activity and have attracted much analytical attention in workplace discourse studies (Angouri and Marra, 2011; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). A common point in recent work is that different workplaces develop their own ways of 'doing things' and this applies also to doing meetings (Angouri, 2012; Marra, 2012). Another point of convergence is that people in meetings, apart from doing task-oriented work, also negotiate their professional roles and identities, and manage their interpersonal relationships (Angouri and Locher, 2012; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999). It is this latter dimension of meetings that is relevant to the discussion of claiming trustworthiness.

6.2 Meeting analysis

In analysing the following excerpts I show how, in negotiating business decisions, participants do identity work that contributes to claiming trustworthy personas. More specifically, I show how, via discursive means, partners take up positions that enable them to claim expertise, morality and demonstrate solidarity to their in-group members, which all contribute to their coming across as trustworthy. Interactional histories of partners also become relevant to the discussion of the excerpts. My analysis draws on interactional sociolinguistic tools to identify contextualisation cues (De Fina, 2015; Gumperz, 1982), i.e. the linguistic and pragmatic choices of speakers that lead to claiming identities related to trustworthiness. I focus particularly on words and meta-pragmatic verbs that convey evaluations (De Fina, 2015), use of metaphors and constructed dialogue (see Tannen, 1986), as well as on mitigation markers. All this contributes to answering how partners do trust in interaction.

In what follows, I analyse six excerpts, all drawn from a strategic meeting between the SforSteel partners. The excerpts were chosen on the basis of their content. In these, partners negotiate blame and responsibility in relation to incidents that include misplacement of trust due to false assessment of others' trustworthiness. The discussion of such incidents provides the context for partners to make judgements about each other's decisions, claim expertise and morality for themselves, and showcase their solidarity towards their colleagues, practices that are all important to claiming a trustworthy profile. At the same time, since the topic of discussion is the (mis)placement of trust, participants also provide accounts of what counts as trustworthiness cues for them, something that sheds light on their values and contributes to shaping their profile.

The excerpts presented and discussed here are all taken from the annual meeting of SforSteel partners at their factory in Turkey. It is an annual event for the SforSteel partners who all reside in different parts of Turkey and Greece; it has a decision-making function and this particular one is concerned with the distribution of their profits and the acquisition of a piece of land on which to build some factory premises. There are seven people in the room, the five partners and two accountants. The excerpts presented here are not part of the official meeting agenda and they would be better described as pre-meeting talk, which takes place mainly between two partners, Adem and Demir. Parallel talks by other partners can also heard in the background, but are not very clear.

Excerpt 6.1 features the beginning of the discussion between Adem and Demir. Trust and trustworthiness become relevant and negotiated in the context of a disagreement between the two men. More specifically, the two men negotiate responsibility for Adem's decision to trust and lend money to a third person, who is not present at the meeting, and who after taking his money decided to leave his position at Adem's business and start his own business. In the context of negotiating Adem's decision, the two men also negotiate their professional roles, by claiming and projecting certain identities to themselves and to others and this is where trustworthiness becomes relevant in their interaction.

Excerpt 6.1

```
A   He placed it on my desk, then, how much is my debt, if you don't
    know your debt, what will I tell you?
D   Whatever...close the deal and do whatever you want.
A   Why do you bother?
D   I was in between, but you did a lot of things to me, you did say
    much, like he was your man and so.
A   Of course he was your man.
D   Now wait I'll ask you something, I brought a friend of
    mine to his place, and I placed him there for a job, he worked
    there for 15 years, then he left the place after 15
    years, no matter good or bad, it's not that important how you
    left, there wasn't anything embarrassing for 15 years, is he
    my man?
S   No, he is not your man any more.
A   Well, we didn't say that because he was your man, now you, I
    mean the things and behaviours your man display..
```

While the excerpt opens with Adem discussing the third partner's behaviour, the discussion after line 4 takes the form of an open confrontation between Adem and Demir. Opposing views are expressed through explicit requests (line 3), complaints (line 5) and direct questions (line 4), which, coupled with the complete absence of mitigation, all contribute to the sense that the two men are involved in a heated discussion, which as the interaction unfolds seems to become more aggressive. This is further intensified by the fact that both partners raise the tone of their voice as the discussion develops.

The matter of dispute is the fact that Adem indirectly accused Demir for the behaviour of his disloyal partner, since Demir was the one who introduced the two men in the past. What is at stake in this instance is the attribution of blame and responsibility for the misplacement of trust, something that can affect perceptions of trustworthiness for the two partners. If Demir accepts responsibility for his friend's untrustworthy behaviour, then he runs the risk of being perceived immoral and thus untrustworthy. Demir though explicitly rejects any blame ascription for the ex-partner's behaviour and association with the incident and openly expresses his irritation about it. Demir seems to be offended by Adem's stance, which indirectly challenges his morality. His irritation is denoted by the general character of his statement, which takes the form of a complaint (line 5). While Adem at the beginning seems willing to take up and continue the direct confrontation, as exemplified by the use of direct questions (line 4) and declaratives (line 7), after Demir's complaint he successively tries to tone down the tension. Through the use of the minimiser well (line 15) and hedging (line 16), he attempts for the first time to soften the blow of the discussion and to create a friendlier climate between him and Demir. His statement 'we didn't say that because he was your man' (line 15) illustrates nicely his concern not to personally offend and challenge Demir's moral character, which would be harmful for his overall trustworthiness and would definitely harm good working relationships.

The next excerpt shows the development of the above discussion. This excerpt complements the previous one and offers further insights on how partners claim expertise and morality in the meeting event.

Excerpt 6.2

A: I do as much as I can for everybody, I try to approach with
compassion, I try to give. I mean after the difficulties I
experienced, not giving..
D: Didn't I tell you once upon a time that you were making
a mistake, did I tell you or not?
A: He himself told me that he wouldn't be like the other man,
that's it. I told him, I paid the cost of what I did one time,
now if I do the same with you, I would pay another cost.

He said no, he swore in the name of Allah, and said
it won’t happen.
D: And you believed.
A: And I believed, 15 years or I believed like a fool, what can I
do?
D: But I warned you myself. However, 15 years is not a short period
of time. But he wasn’t my man, I mean, if you can’t get to
know someone for 15 years, how can I know that person?
A: It is hard to get to know people. You know what you see, they
walk with you, but they stab you in the back. You
don’t realise that.
D: Come on mate, he didn’t try to stab you in the back.
A: He was preparing something bad, he went on this way and he
planned against me, then he quitted and eventually he was
punished. He left, and I hope he finds better, I don’t want
anyone to be punished.
D: He chose to do his own business, people can do their own
business, he chose it.
A: He could have gone and done his own business on his own,
then he could even get my support, but..
D: He couldn’t do it on his own brother..

The negotiation of blame and responsibility with regard to the wrong decision to trust the third man is still evident in this excerpt. The two men comment on the conditions under which the decision to lend money to the ex-partner was taken and in this context they shed light on elements that seem to affect perceptions of trustworthiness and successively decisions of trust placement in this context. The excerpt is rife with judgements. Judgements and assessments acquire particular significance in professional contexts (Sarangi and Clarke, 2002) and result from the interplay of professional knowledge and experience (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999), which are linked to perceptions of professional expertise. I argue that the two men negotiate the decision taken to claim professional expertise and come across as trustworthy.

Demir claims a trustworthy persona for himself and achieves it through strategic choices throughout the excerpt. In line 4 he openly challenges Adem’s decision to trust the man and lend him money and presents himself as more capable of judging the situation. He chooses the lexical term ‘mistake’, which along with the rising pitch in which he delivers this turn, make his statement sound like a personal attack on Adem, a practice that has been associated with challenging good working relationships (Angouri, 2012). This statement, along with the employment of irony (lines 11 and 14-15) can be perceived as a personal challenging of Adem’s decision-making skills. Misplacing trust seems to challenge one's decision-making skills and is associated with being naïve and vulnerable (Kramer, 1999), which are characteristics not compatible with the role of a competent businessman and can thus challenge Adem's expertise. Challenging his decision-making skills, thus, leaves Adem exposed and constitutes a major threat to his trustworthiness. The importance of this act becomes even greater considering that Adem is the oldest, most experienced and richest partner of all in the room. Also, as derived from my experience in the given community, Adem is often perceived as a role model and his opinions and actions work as an example for the rest. Considering that identity is a relational construct that emerges from the positioning of self towards others (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), it could be argued that by challenging Adem's decision-making skills, Demir compares himself favourably to him and claims for himself the identity of a confident businessman, who is able to read intentions and judge critically risky situations. These qualities are associated with professional expertise and add to his perceived trustworthiness.

Assuming the responsibility for a wrong decision poses threats with regard to the perception of one's skills. Adem in this excerpt seems to be aware of this and attempts to deflect responsibility about misplacing his trust in order to save his face and defend his professional standing/status. His concern is illustrated in line 12, where Adem positions himself as a fool (line 28) and through the use of a rhetorical question (lines 28-29) tries to cause feelings of empathy towards his face. The choice of the term 'fool' is quite revealing regarding what is at stake in this interaction, i.e. the risk that he runs to be perceived as a fool or naïve for misplacing his trust. In an attempt to reject the ascription of the label of naïve, Adem provides an account of the reasons that led him to believe in the trustee's good intentions and lend him money. He provides the excuses in a row, one after the other, something that puts emphasis on the multiplicity of the reasons he had and could justify his decision. He refers to certain practices that affected his decision, such as promising loyalty and swearing in the name of God (lines 9 and 10), in this context Allah. Adem ascribes religiosity to the trustee (line 9) and attempts through this to justify his decision to trust him. Faith and spirituality have been linked to ethical behaviour in previous research due to their association with codified value systems (see Fernando and Jackson, 2006; Longenecker et al., 2004; Miller, 2007) and Adem's stance here is a manifestation of this relationship. His stance shows empirically how religiosity affects decision-making and control processes. Religiosity in the given context is associated with morality and hence adds to perceptions of one's trustworthiness (Mayer et al., 1995).

Adem also brings up the temporal dimension of his relationship with his ex-partner to justify his decision to trust him. The close relationship between trust and time has been raised in trust literature before (see Koskinen and Pihlanto, 2007; Kramer, 1999; Kramer and Lewicki, 2010; Rousseau et al., 1998) and has also been pointed out by participants in the interviews (see section 4.5). Here we see how time is related to the historicity of a relationship, how it is brought up and talked about in everyday interactions in the workplace and how it affects decision-making processes. Intimate knowledge, such as this among family members, has been shown to facilitate decision-making (Gersick et al., 1997). It could be argued that after 15 years of working with each other successfully, Adem had intimate knowledge of his partner, which affected his decision to lend money without securing his interests. We see here empirically how risk taking is related to the history of the relationship, and how this becomes relevant and topicalised by the participants.

By providing all these reasons that led him to trust the ex-partner, Adem claims that his decision was not ill-founded and rejects the label of naïve ascribed to him. Later in the interaction (lines 17-18), he even ascribes what happened to human nature. He argues that judging someone's trustworthiness is a risky task (line 17), since people tend not to show their real intentions when interacting with others. What happened, thus, was not his fault, but the result of the fact that people act viciously against each other. Through this practice, he attempts to save face for himself and deflect the responsibility for the wrong decision.

While defending his professional status, Adem systematically claims an identity of a generous and magnanimous person for himself. He achieves this through open references to it, by arguing that he has suffered a lot in his life and for this reason is very generous and likes to help other people (lines 1-3), as well as that he doesn't want anyone to be punished (lines 23-24). By doing this, Adem claims the identity of a moral and benevolent person for himself. Being compassionate is highly valued in the given community, as shown in Chapter 4. Through claiming these attitudes, he also claims morality and hence reinforces claims of trustworthiness.

It is worthwhile mentioning that explicitness, directness and disagreement amongst partners seems to be the norm in this workplace. Disagreements have been argued to perform multiple functions, from expressing and creating hostility to constructing solidarity between interlocutors (Angouri and Locher, 2012; Kakava, 2002; Locher, 2004; Sifianou, 2012). In the given context, participants seem to be happy with them and their use goes ‘unmarked’ in the particular context (Angouri, 2012: 1576). It could be even argued that being explicit and direct in this context is an index of familiarity and derives from the long past histories of participants. However, as the excerpts demonstrate, while participants are socialised in a climate of explicitness and directness, explicitness does not always characterise their economic transactions and agreements. For example, as Adem’s position in the above excerpts shows, when lending money to each other, participants do not seem to follow a formal procedure and sign contracts in order to secure their rights. Instead they seem to take the decision considering moral qualities of the trustee and the length of their relationship. Knowing someone for many years and having established a close personal relationship or friendship with them is an important factor for taking the risk and lending money to them. In general, maintaining good personal relationships and friendships seems to acquire particular significance in the specific context.

In the next excerpt, while Adem and Demir still negotiate the conditions of the incident, they move towards a more cooperative stance and seem to reach consensus.

Excerpt 6.3

```
1.    D     I think such things are normal, I mean, but if you
2.          suspected/noticed something else, if there is something
3.          else in this, then it is different.
4.    A:    No I didn’t catch anything else. If he did something
5.          else, may Allah...
6.    D:    I mean it is normal to come to your mind.
7.          I mean that I am wondering  whose interests he was
```

```
8.          serving while he was working for me and while
9.          he was working for others too. This is what anyone
10.         can think of.
11.   A:    Yes, that’s right
12.   D:    Anyone can wonder that.
```

In contrast to the confrontational tone of the 6.1 and 6.2 excerpts, right from the beginning of this extract the use of conditional clauses (lines 1, 2, 3, 4), hedging (1, 6, 7), repetition (lines 1-5) and back-channelling (line 11) denote that Adem and Demir are moving towards a more cooperative stance, in showing alignment to one another and starting to construct a shared understanding of the situation.

Once again, the role of religion becomes prominent in this excerpt and is mobilised by participants to make identity claims. Adem positions himself as not the appropriate person to punish others and he appoints this ‘task’ to God (Allah-line 26). In this way, he claims for himself the identity of a religious person who is afraid of God, i.e. having the identity of a moral person, who is generous and forgiving. A point worth making here is that Adem comes across as such within the group. As shown in Chapter 4, Nick talking about him, foregrounds the fact that despite being very rich, Adem is very generous and helps others in need. Thus, Adem’s attempts to come across as moral and generous are successful.

In contrast to the previous excerpts, Demir here takes a more supportive stance towards his partner Adem; he pays attention to his relational needs and tries to tone down the tension. Through hedging (lines 1, 2 6, 7), he mitigates the force of his statements and manages to make them not sound like a personal attack to Adem. He is careful not to project to Adem the label of being a suspicious person. Being suspicious and accusing others of doubtful behaviour is considered to cause tensions to harmonious communal relationships and make someone look spiteful. Being spiteful is not congruent with the ideal of a friendly and benevolent group of people that SforSteel partners claim to be and could challenge morality perceptions. This becomes evident in lines 6, 9-10 and 12, where Demir repeatedly attempts to depersonalise his statements and via this practice seems to protect Adem’s moral profile.

In a similar vein, in the next excerpt the two partners are more supportive of each other. The excerpt shows how the two partners shift the topic of discussion and orient towards future actions. In this excerpt we see how Demir claims expertise and shows solidarity towards Adem, something that contributes to his perceived trustworthiness.

Excerpt 6.4

```
D:   Well, don’t worry about him, you won’t lose that
     money from him, I made an agreement with him, he will
     come and bring the money to you.
A:   I told him, after giving the money. Otherwise, I don’t
     have anything against him, we have been meeting each
     other.
D    In dollars, you will be getting 2500 dollars. Until the
     end of this year, that money will come to you, that’s it.
     Well, after that, it’s up to you whether you talk to him or
     not.
A    We are talking already. We live in the same area, I don’t
     hold any grudge against him, whatever he did, it
     belongs to him.
D    I would prefer that you speak to each other. After
     all, you are colleagues.
A    If he did it, that’s up to him.
D    I don’t believe that he did that. But I can’t guarantee
     if he did or not. You never know what a human
     being will do, I don’t know.
A    Look, I’m not saying that he did it.
D    I know what you are saying, but you say that there is a
     doubt, you are right.
A    Look, that’s it, there isn’t anything else.
```

In this excerpt, although the topic remains the same, Adem and Demir change the focus of the discussion and focus on the resolution of the situation, in other words they discuss about future actions and relations. This change of focus is also accompanied by a change in Demir’s position. Demir (lines 33-41) clearly addresses the problem and acts as an intermediate person between Adem and the distrustful partner. He takes Adem’s side, by protecting his interests. This position indexes solidarity towards his partner and denotes a strong group-identity and trusting relationship between them. Acting on behalf of the other and protecting each other’s interests have been associated in previous research with the existence of ‘relational trust’ (Rousseau et al., 1998, p.40) or ‘identification-based trust’ (Koskinen and Pihlanto, 2007), which develops between two parties when they have established a close personal relationship and there is identification with the other’s desires and intentions. Demir's adoption of the role of agent for Adem (lines 28-35), thus, could be interpreted here as an index of relational or identification-based trust between them and as a practice that ultimately leads to the generation of trustworthiness. At the same time, by taking up the role of the agent, Demir builds an identity of an assertive and confident person, who knows how to deal with issues arising in the job and is tough in his negotiations, putting exact numbers and timescales for the goals he wants to achieve (lines 7, 8), in this case to receive the money back at a certain time. In the given context, these traits could be perceived as indexical of a competent businessman and adds to Demir's professional expertise. By giving this promise to Adem, Demir thus achieves two goals: he performs the role of a competent and skilful businessman for himself, while he also shows solidarity to his partner through protecting and serving his interests, which together point to a trustworthy person to interact and do business with.

The harmonious interpersonal relationship construct is again enacted in Demir's turns in lines 9-15 as the uptake shows agreement by Adem, who rushes to make clear that he still preserves his interpersonal relationship with the disloyal colleague. Treating interpersonal relationships independently from professional disputes and sustaining personal contacts, even when there is a professional break up in a relationship, is a concern that emerges as significant across contexts and datasets. Prioritising personal relationships over professional ones is considered to be an index of morality, as shown in Chapter 4, and is related to claiming trustworthiness.

Adem as in previous excerpts strategically claims an identity as that of a generous and magnanimous person for himself. More specifically, in previous extracts we saw him arguing that he does not want anyone to be punished and that he is trying to offer his help to other people, while in this excerpt he claims to have forgiven the man and to not hold any grudge against him (lines 4-5). Being generous and forgiving is positively valued in the group and contributes to being perceived as a person with good intentions and thought, i.e. moral and thus trustworthy.

The importance of being perceived as benevolent is further illustrated in the next excerpt, still taken from the same discussion at a later stage.

Excerpt 6.5

1. D I think you also need to see the situation this way,
2. my brother, I think everyone can find something
3. about the past. Secondly, you need to see how everyone
4. else is looking at you. Third, you back each other,
5. you are from the same community,you are a bunch of 10-15
6. people, I mean if there is a problem he is the person
7. who would support you. You need to think like that, you
8. shouldn’t despise, I know you don’t, I am generalising.
9. But I am also speaking for you and him
10. A No, no I’m not a hater.

The talk represented in this excerpt addresses relational issues and face needs of interlocutors. The two partners continue to work in the same direction, being cooperative and claiming trustworthy personas for themselves. More specifically, Demir advises Adem to show magnanimity and forgive the person who seems to have deceived him, for the sake of the community. By taking this position, Demir manages to present himself as a kind-hearted person, who is in a position to judge and think rationally about difficult situations, is not driven by his emotions and passions, and acknowledges and sacrifices sometimes his own interests for the sake of the community to which he belongs. At the same time, he projects a respectful identity to his interlocutor and shows his respect and solidarity towards him. All this contributes to claiming to be a moral and trustworthy person.

Demir in this excerpt pays attention to the relational needs of his interlocutor and this is manifested also in the way he delivers his last turn. More specifically, while he uses directives, a practice that has been associated with exerting power (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003), these are framed as suggestions or advice, as they are accompanied by pragmatic particles, such as I mean, I think (lines 1, 2, 6) and modal verbs, such as would and should (lines 7, 8), which act here as tension breakers (ibid.). The same effect also seems to have the choice of the address term ‘my brother’ in line 2, which mitigates the force of his utterances and helps to build affective ties and maintain their good personal relationship. The most striking way of managing the relational side of the talk comes in line 8, where Demir attempts to distance himself from projecting the label of a spiteful person on Adem. The projection of such a label on Adem could damage perceptions of Adem’s benevolence and challenge his profile in the group. Being perceived as spiteful seems to be highly undesirable in the given context and, as we see in line 10, Adem rushes to reject this label for himself. Through the discursive choices discussed above, Demir shows his solidarity with his partner Adem and as shown in Chapter 4, positive social identification of partners is an important factor affecting trustworthiness. Considering the more frequent use of mitigation markers and the general tendency to align with each other, it could be argued that Demir and Adem are trying to soften the discussion and repair their relationship at this stage of the discussion.

The next excerpt, 6.6, is drawn from a later stage of the meeting. It shows in more detail the risk that trusting somebody entails. The floor here is dominated by Tolga, another partner of Adem and Demir. Tolga in this extract is asking for information about another incident which involves Adem and another man who used to work with him and seems to have deceived him too. There is no evidence that the man Tolga is referring to is the same one as in excerpts 1 and 2, as the speakers do not make it explicit, but from the contextual talk it seems that this is a different case.

Excerpt 6.6

```
1.  T    Couldn't you solve it yet?
2.  A    They have some problems with the other shareholders.
3.  NI   Hasn't he called yet?
4.  T    There is nothing to do, you don't have any documents,
5.       any contract, or any cheque.. You are working with him
6.       only on the basis of trust. Just because you are doing
7.       this, he should have compromised, and he stabbed you
8.       in the back. That guy trusted you everything and you should
9.       have thought that you are dealing with a good guy..
10.      You should have said 'well I can lose some money, but it
11.      is okay if that guy is happy'.. That's a shame, won't
12.      you trust that (omitted name) dog…
```

Tolga's long turn introduced in line 4, is characterised by a rising volume, directness and explicitness, which all contribute to the sense that the speaker sounds assertive and confident. He opens his turn with a declarative (lines 4-6), which is made stronger by the incorporation of intensifiers such as 'nothing, any, only' (lines 4, 5, 6) and the direct address form 'you'. The content of the declarative and the direct way it is formed could be interpreted as rapport threatening for his relationship with Adem who is presented as being in a very difficult position, unable to do anything to solve the problem and take his money back. However, as it becomes obvious from how the interaction unfolds, Tolga does not intend to risk his personal relationship with Adem. On the contrary, he compares and contrasts the two men (lines 6-11), more specifically he presents the partner as ungrateful while Adem as a generous and benevolent person. He conveys his message with vividness and makes the contrast between the two men sharper through the use of intensifiers (only, just, line 6), deontic modals such as should (lines 7, 8, 10), swearing (line 12), metaphor (lines 7-8) and thought-imagined-hypothetical speech (Myers, 1999) (lines 8-11). Reported speech has been argued to provide the space for evaluation and comments (Myers, 1999) and Tolga seems to use it in this way here. More specifically, through the inclusion of imagined speech, he manages to evaluate the situation (Myers, 1999) and demonstrate his alignment with and support for Adem. This alignment becomes further evident by the ascription of the label of 'a good guy' to Adem (line 9), which indexes respect to Adem's face and also signals the disposition of Tolga to evaluate positively the members of his in-group, his business partners. The evaluative character of Tolga's talk becomes more profound by his comment 'that's a shame, won't you trust that dog' (lines 11-12). This evaluation takes the form of a directive to Adem, which is intensified by the use of imperative mode. Directives, especially those framed in imperative, seem to impose a to-do-list on recipients and are considered to be acts of doing power (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Portner, 2007). Although Tolga's directive is very explicit and uses imperative, in the context of this excerpt it could still be interpreted here as advice rather than an order.

The concept of trust plays a central role in this excerpt. This is the second time that trust is referred to explicitly during the same meeting (lines 6, 8, 12) and it seems to constitute a resource for participants in order to explain their business practices, here the fact that Adem lent money without securing his interests, i.e. asking for a contract. Although it is argued that showing trust places the trustor in a vulnerable position, considering that he runs the risk of losing money and being perceived as naïve in case the trust is misplaced, this vulnerability is not translated as lack of competence in this specific case. Rather, showing trust is associated with exerting goodwill and generosity, qualities highly valued in the SforSteel context, and is related to morality, a core component of trustworthiness.

Through declarative forms of speaking, use of imperative mode, explicitness, directness and complete absence of mitigation, Tolga builds up the position of expert for himself. He is in a position to know what happened, judge the situation and interpret the intentions of the partner. At the same time, he shows solidarity with his partner, Adem, and is able to recognise and appreciate his benevolence and generosity. It could be argued that he claims for himself the identity of a moral person who knows how to evaluate behaviours, appreciate one's generosity and act accordingly, in other words the identity of a competent and moral person, qualities that in this context seem to contribute to establishing trustworthiness.

Summary

In this chapter I focused on meeting talk, aiming to explore how partners 'do' trust in interaction. I chose to focus on incidents where partners negotiate trust decisions and I looked at how in negotiating blame and responsibility they claimed identities for themselves, which were relevant to their professional status and morality, and could affect their perceived trustworthiness. This was mainly achieved by taking up the positions of expert and experienced businessmen, who are at the same time generous and benevolent. Taking up the position of expert was found to be realised in discourse by employing imperatives, talking with directness and explicitness, providing assessment and offering advice, qualities that characterise a confident and knowledgeable businessman. Claiming moral identities was related to positioning oneself as a generous and benevolent person who values people more than money. In this direction, reference to religion was also found to be important. Reference to religious figures, such as Allah, allowed participants to claim religiosity and benevolence. Another strong tendency in the data was the solidarity exercised within the group of SforSteel partners. This was mainly played out by supporting each other, presenting each other in a positive light, protecting each other's interests. Showing solidarity to each other contributes to constructing a well-bonded in-group for

SforSteel partners which facilitates the building of close relationships and trust. All the above positions are relevant and contribute in one way or another to claiming a trustworthy persona for oneself.

An interesting point to make in relation to meeting talk in the specific partnership, is that explicitness, directness and disagreement amongst partners seem to be the norm and go unmarked in the given context. Disagreements can perform multiple functions, from creating hostility to constructing solidarity (Angouri and Locher, 2012; Kakava, 2002; Locher, 2004; Sifianou, 2012) within a workgroup, but here it seems to act as an index of the intimate relationship and familiarity between partners. It does not, thus, seem to challenge and endanger trusting relationships.

Chapter 7: Bringing it all together: Concluding remarks and discussion

7.1 Contributions and Discussion

Trust has been proposed to be a critical factor for organisation success and its positive impacts have been well documented by existing research (see Adler, 2001; Rawls, 2008; Solomon and Flores, 2003). However, issues concerning how trust gets constructed and maintained within and between organisations and how it evolves over time, are yet to be answered. In this context, Kong, Dirks and Ferrin (2014) have called for future research on the factors that contribute to building trust, as well as on the processes by which trust changes and evolves. Aiming to address some of the above gaps, this thesis has focused on interpersonal trust in cross-border collaboration contexts and aims to shed light on the elements affecting perceptions of trustworthiness, as well as ways that trustworthiness and trust are negotiated and performed in everyday interactions. In line with Lewicki et al.'s (2006) plea for more qualitative approaches to the study of trust, I have taken a purely qualitative, ethnographically informed approach.

The first part of the current study focused on the factors participants propose as affecting trustworthiness perceptions. Through the analysis of 20 semi-structured in-depth ethnographic interviews, trustworthiness was shown to emerge as a result of multiple factors, representing different orders: interactional, organisational and socio-cultural. The analysis suggested that trustworthiness judgements depend on the perceived professional expertise and morality of a partner. Perceptions of professional expertise and morality are intertwined with and informed by social identities formed on the basis of shared group memberships, by the interpersonal relationships developed between partners and the interactional histories that these relationships generate.

My analysis of trustworthiness factors partly confirms previous studies, but also adds new dimensions and factors. Professional expertise and morality have also been identified as important factors in previous research, mainly termed as competence/ability and integrity respectively (see Mayer et al., 1995). However, I have added to this literature by proposing specific practices that seem to index expertise and morality in the given context, shedding light on how trust is performed and enacted in everyday interactions. Enactments of trust in the given context include: prioritising personal relationships despite financial risks that this might entail, hosting someone in your house, introducing them to your family, lending money without signing contracts, letting others take important business decisions, trusting others with large amounts of money, and making business agreements on the basis of someone's word.

In relation to expertise perceptions, the analysis has confirmed the importance of previous professional experience, reputation, formal qualifications (see Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Fulmer and Gelfand, 2012; Howorth and Moro, 2006; McAllister, 1995; Zucker, 1986) and also suggested new parameters, the roles of which have been little illustrated in existing literature, such as the working style of a partner, his/her approachability and responsiveness to the needs of others.

In relation to morality, I have illustrated complex relationships between morality and factors that have not attracted proportionate attention in existing literature, such as religion and family. More specifically, the analysis has shed light on the role of religiosity in relation to trust, which has also not been widely touched upon by previous studies on trust. Being religious has been related to ethical behaviour in existing literature (see Fernando and Jackson, 2006; Longenecker et al., 2004; Miller, 2007), but the role of religiosity in trust studies has been overlooked. I have shown how participants refer to religiosity of their partners or make claims about themselves as being religious, in an attempt to claim morality. I have also shown how the concept of family can prove influential in this context. Expectations related to family roles have been widely studied within sociolinguistics and especially in conversation analytic studies doing membership categorisation analysis. Family has attracted interest also by organisation and management scholarship with an interest in family firms. My analysis here has confirmed previous arguments about the positive characteristics attributed to family contexts, such as support and altruism (Schulze et al., 2003) and has demonstrated how respect towards the family concept is associated with morality. The importance of family has been illustrated also through its association with personal relationships, which take the form of family friendships in the given context. The findings build on literature that has associated friendship with trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003; Zaheer et al., 1998) and has added to that, by stressing the role of family in personal relationships. The analysis suggested that building relationships with a partner's family adds a sacred and emotive dimension to the relationships, which then facilitate trust. Close personal relationships in the given context are indexed by meeting a partner's family, their wives and children, spending time together outside work, visiting their house and being hosted by them. Establishing family relationships has come to be associated with the generation of affect and loyalty, which has been suggested to be complementary to trust (Rosanas and Velilla, 2003).

Trustworthiness perceptions were found to be affected by social identification processes. Turkish-Greek history was found to play an important role in this context, as collective memory and traumas related to the common past and violent separation of the two populations in 1923 were shown to affect identity construction until today and create a climate of affinity between partners. Shared group membership has also been suggested to affect trusting relationships in previous studies (see Bacharach and Gambetta, 2001; Gambetta and Hamill, 2005; Kramer, 1999; Loh et al., 2010), but the ways this becomes relevant in professional contexts has not been adequately researched. My analysis has shown how regional group membership affected the trusting relationship between SforSteel partners and has defined their relationship as one of 'blind' trust, as one of the participants mentioned. This draws our attention to the importance of common points of reference for partners that surpass national identifications and provide them with common ground on which they can build trust.

Another dimension that the analysis has pointed out as important, in relation to trustworthiness perceptions, is the historicity of relationships. The shared experiences of partners are circulated in the data as explanatory sources for trustworthiness perceptions at present, i.e., participants often refer to the behaviour and reactions of their partners in the past to illustrate how they came to form their opinion about them. It is known from previous research that outcomes of previous interaction are important for assessing one's trustworthiness (Fulmer and Gelfand, 2012; Kerler and Killough, 2009; Peräkylä and Vehviläinen, 2003). The effect of time on the development of trust is a less explored issue though and previous research has stressed the need for future projects to focus and reflect on the relationship between time and trust (Lewicki et al., 2006). Previous work has suggested an association between time and different types of trust developed in a business relationship (Kramer, 1999; Lewicki and Bunker, 1996; Rousseau et al., 1998; Shapiro et al., 1992). For example, Lewicki and Bunker (1996) have argued that trust takes a different character in different stages of a business relationship (early, developing and mature stages). Kramer (1999) has talked about history-based trust, while Rousseau et al. (1998) have identified a form of trust called relational, which develops after repeated cycles of successful interaction between partners. However, existing literature lacks empirical studies illustrating these processes. Scholars have stressed the need for more longitudinal studies on trust that address this issue and expand on the relationship between trust and time (Lewicki et al., 2006). It has been suggested that future projects should address this via including qualitative data, including among other sources narratives (ibid.). My analysis addresses this plea, since I approached and examined the relationship between trust and time by focusing on narratives. I have incorporated in my analysis stories circulated by participants during interviews but also in everyday talk to showcase how trustworthiness perceptions are influenced by the shared histories and experiences of partners.

Narratives have been argued to provide the space for illustrating temporal dimensions in relationships and social phenomena (Bamberg et al., 2007) and thus constitute a legitimate tool for approaching the concept of time. In addition, every workplace develops its own local rules and resources (Angouri, 2018; Sarangi and Roberts, 1999; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). Teams that have worked together for a long time have established relationships between them and have developed their own local resources for doing things (Holmes and Stubbe, 2003). Narratives can be one of them (Declercq and Jacobs, 2018). Indeed, I have pointed out across datasets, reiterations of specific stories that draw on critical moments of partners' past and following Georgakopoulou's work on narrative iterativity (2013), I have argued that these stories have become a shared repertoire for the group under study, namely SforSteel. Partners draw on this shared repertoire to achieve actions such as: building rapport and (re)defining professional relationships and business practices and norms (such as prioritisation of personal relationships). All these then affect the development of trust in the business relationship. Narratives, thus, especially those that seem to be significant for participants across contexts, constitute a resource for doing trust and deserve closer investigation in scholarly work. The analytical significance of local narratives expands in other areas too. Local narratives can prove useful in providing a window for understanding the local context. Context is neither static nor given (Sifianou, 2012) and workplace scholars have stressed the need to understand the local practices that make up the workplace culture of the organisations under study (see Angouri, 2018). Recurrent stories that have been turned into shared resources for participants are an important part of the local context and should not be ignored.

Some previous studies on trust have suggested links between trust and shared group membership (see Brewer, 1996; Loh et al., 2010; McKnight and Chervany, 2006), but there has not been adequate research addressing the relationship between collective identity and trust. My study has addressed this gap and has empirically shown how claiming belonging to the same regional group has affected perceptions of trustworthiness and the development of trust between partners in the SforSteel case. Through an in-depth study of the SforSteel case study in the second part of the project, I have shown how partners in this group stress their regional identity and strategically work to claim this identity with all the positive connotations it entails. SforSteel partners were shown to spend considerable time in practising Ponticness and doing relational work to establish affinity between them, which facilitates the development of trust (Zaheer et al, 1998; Niven et al., 2012). Identity work took place in various channels and modes/verbal and non-verbal ways.

In relation to shared group membership, another contribution that this study has made and which could open new avenues for trust research is the relationship between trust and place. Previous research on place and space, mainly within the field of discourse studies and human geography, has focused on the role of place in relation to identity construction. This literature suggests that places can become important sources of identification for people around which they build their identities (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006; Hetherington, 1998; Paasi, 2009; Taylor, 2003). My study has looked into regional identity and the particular relationships partners have built within the area of Trabzon. The findings suggest that partners construct Trabzon as an imagined community vested with the notion of authenticity, purity, morality and trustworthiness. Trabzon becomes re-contextualised and talked about in everyday talk that draws on participants' lived memories of the place or on stories they have heard from others. Having constructed Trabzon in positive terms, as a mythical place where people behave in authentic moral ways, participants then do interactional work in various modes to claim both belonging to this community and positive identities for themselves. At the same time, by identifying themselves as members of the same in-group, of people who come from Trabzon, partners also construct a bonded in-group with all the benefits that membership of a close-knit group implies, such as unconditional loyalty and support, which are linked to trust (see Mavondo and Rodrigo, 2001; Rosanas and Velilla, 2003).

Yet, the present project also aimed to illustrate how trust is done by partners in everyday actual interactions at work and build on the fairly recent literature focusing on the discursive construction of trust (see Candlin and Crichton, 2013; Pelsmaekers, Jacobs and Rollo, 2014). Drawing on meeting talk, in chapter six I have shown how partners claim expertise, morality and show solidarity with one another while negotiating business decisions. Claiming expertise was shown to be related to taking up the position of an expert in talk, via using imperatives, talking with directness and explicitness, providing assessment and offering advice, qualities that characterise a confident and knowledgeable businessman. Morality was claimed mainly via performing the identity of benevolent and generous people who place personal relationships above economic dispute. Practising religiosity was also found to be related to claiming morality. Across the excerpts discussed, we saw a tendency for partners to resort to religion, by referring to Allah and presenting themselves as inferior to God in terms of judging others' behaviour and punishing them. Another behaviour that contributes to trustworthiness is showing solidarity towards in-group members – here SforSteel partners. Showing solidarity to in-group members is manifested through protecting each other's interests, supporting each other in times of crisis, showing respect to one another, and following the rules set as important by the community members.

In addition, with regard to the analysis of meeting talk, I have suggested that disagreements constitute a good area for the study of trust. Disagreements have attracted attention from workplace scholars and have been argued to be multifunctional (see Angouri and Locher, 2012; Kakava, 2002; Locher, 2004; Sifianou, 2012). In analysing meeting talk, I have shown how disagreements and, more specifically, negotiations of trust misplacement cases provide opportunities for claiming and negotiating trustworthiness for all parties involved in the (mis)trusting relationship.

7.2 Limitations of the present study

There are certain limitations in the current study. These can be mainly attributed to issues of access negotiation, limitations in time and funding, as well as limited proficiency in the Turkish language.

It would have been useful to conduct interviews with the Turkish partners of all the Greek participants included in this study and check their understanding of trust too. This would have provided insights from both parties included in the trusting relationship and would have facilitated a more holistic understanding of trust development in the partnership. This was not possible though, due to access limitations and language constraints. In some cases, I was denied contact with the Turkish partners of participants, while in other cases, the partners were based in remote parts of Turkey that were difficult and expensive to reach, or they did not speak English. My limited proficiency in Turkish posed additional limitations at the stage of organising and transcribing the data gathered from SforSteel partnership, the only company which allowed me to record their interactions. Assistance was needed at that stage from a Turkish speaking colleague within the department. To ensure data safety, I could not grant access to the recordings to third parties, such as transcribing companies. Instead, I asked my colleague to listen to the recordings from my computer and provide me with a translation, which I wrote down at the time. The help provided was considered invaluable for making sense of the data. However, the conditions in which this was done did not allow me to return to the recordings at later stages and check the transcriptions at certain points that did not make sense when analysing them. Due to this limitation, I had to exclude many parts of the meeting talk and include only those transcriptions which were more clear and meaningful. In addition to that, the transcription procedure did not allow for detailed transcripts following Jefferson's conventions. A more detailed transcription could have shed light on features such as intonation and pauses, and added to our understanding of the ways trustworthiness is locally negotiated in interaction. Last, time and funding limitations did not allow me to extend my stay for fieldwork or to return for successive rounds of data collection. This could have proved useful for checking interpretations with participants' understanding, but also for shedding further light on the relationship between trust and time.

7.3 Practical implications

The findings of the study include the development of a model of trustworthiness and identification of practices that have been found to contribute to the development of trust in the given context such as: having frequent communication with partners, developing a more personal and affective relationship with them by meeting their family and spending time with them, engaging with them in activities outside working hours, offering to host them and being open to be hosted by them. What both the model and the identified practices stress, is the requirement for businesses to invest in the building of the interpersonal side of the business practice. It has been well known within workplace discourse studies that good workplace relationships facilitate aspects of every-day work (see Holmes and Stubbe, 2003). This thesis builds on this and suggests that close interpersonal relationships, especially long-lasting ones, are directly related to trusting relationships in business partnerships and facilitate their longitudinal duration. This is a principle that could apply to several business contexts, despite their size. However, it becomes particularly relevant to family businesses, the management and operation of which follows more flexible models and is affected by informal agreements and affective relationships (Angouri, 2018). In such contexts, relationships of trust become a necessary ingredient for carrying out everyday practice.

To explore the practical relevance of my findings, as a first step, I have secured funding from the Venture Into Business Engagement (VIBE) programme run at Warwick University and plan to visit the companies involved in the project to present my findings and offer feedback with regards to their practices and their effect on trust development.

7.4 Future research directions

Trust has only recently attracted scholarly interest within discourse studies and definitely more research needs to be done in order to gain a better understanding of how trust is discursively performed in workplace contexts. There are many possible areas future research could address.

Groups that have worked together for a long time develop their own shared repertoires and ways of doing things. This also applies to the enactment of trust. The analysis has shown that partners associate the existence of trust in their relationships with the basis of specific practices, such as hosting someone in your house, introducing them to your family, lending money without signing contracts, letting others take important business decisions, trusting others with large amounts of money, and making business agreements on the basis of someone’s word. Future research could examine the manifestations of trust in different professional contexts.

Following the findings of the current study, future research on trust could also benefit from a closer look at the role of local narratives in workplace contexts. These narratives could provide a wealth of information about local practices and illustrate the role of time in the development of trust. Narratives were shown to be turned into local resources for doing trust in the given context. Yet, further research on the functions of narratives needs to be done before we reach safer results in relation to the role of narrativity for trust development.

Last, although previous trust literature has been concerned with identifying models of trust development, trust scholars still lack consensus regarding the factors affecting trust development in different contexts and the ways trust develops over time. Longitudinal ethnographic studies could prove insightful in this direction as they could shed light on how trust evolves over time and how it changes after critical incidents, such as those involving misplacement of trust. It would be useful if future research could examine trust in different stages of a partnership development, at the beginning when no prior experience between partners exists, as well as in later stages. In this context, future research also needs to address the effects of trust misplacement on the identity of the trustor, as well as on the partners' relationship.

In addition, in relation to the specific context of the study, additional research is needed to reach safer results with regard to trust in Greek-Turkish partnerships. The political context in both countries has changed rapidly in the last couple of years, i.e. since the beginning of this project. Future research in this context could focus on the effects of these changes for cross-border partnerships.

References

Abrams, D. & Hogg, M.A. (2006). *Social identifications: A social psychology of intergroup relations and group processes*. London: Routledge

Adler, P. (2001). 'Market, Hierarchy, and Trust: The Knowledge Economy and the Future of Capitalism'. *Organisation Science,* 12(2),215-234

Alessi, G. M. and Jacobs, G (2016) Reflections on the ins and outs of business and professional discourse research. In Alessi, G. M. and Jacobs, G. (eds.) The ins and outs of business and professional discourse research: reflections on interacting with the workplace, Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 1-12

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso

Angouri, J. (2018). *Culture, discourse, and the workplace*, Abingdon, Oxford: Routledge

Angouri, J. (2016). Studying identity. In Zhu Hua (ed.), *Research Methods in Intercultural Communication: a practical guide*, Malden, MA, Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 37-52

Angouri, J. (2012). 'Managing disagreement in problem solving meeting talk', *Journal of Pragmatics,* 44(12), 1565-1579

Angouri, J. & Locher, M.A. (2012). 'Theorising disagreement', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(12), 1549-1553

Angouri, J. & Marra, M. (eds.) (2011). *Constructing Identities at Work*. London: Palgrave

Antaki, C. & Widdicombe, S. (1998). *Identities in Talk.* London: Sage

Aries, P. (1962). *Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life.* New York: Vintage.

Aronson, J. (1995). 'A Pragmatic View of Thematic Analysis', *The Qualitative Report*, 2(1), 1-3.

Atkinson, P. & Silverman, D. (1997). 'Kundera's immortality: the interview society and the invention of the self', *Qualitative Inquiry,* 3, 304-325

Auer, P. (1992). Introduction: John Gumperz approach to contextualization. In P. Auer and A. di Luzio (eds.), *The contextualization of language*, pp. 1-38. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins

Averill, J. (1985). The social construction of emotion: With special reference to love. In K.J. Gergen & K.E. Davis (eds.), *The social construction of the person.* New York: Springer-Verlag

Baboulias, Y. (2018, April 18) Greece and Turkey Are Inching Toward War: Populists in both countries are deepening a rare military crisis between NATO allies. Retrieved from: https://foreignpolicy.com/2018/04/18/greece-and-turkey-are-inching-toward-war/

Bacharach, M. & Gambetta, D. (2001). Trust in signs. In K.S. Cook (ed.), *Russell Sage foundation series on trust*, Vol. 2. Trust in society, pp. 148-184

Bamberg, B. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). 'Small Stories as a New Perspective in Narrative and Identity Analysis', *Text & Talk - An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies*, 28(3), 377-396

Bamberg, M. (2006). Biographic-narrative research, quo vadis? A critical review of 'big stories' from the perspective of 'small stories'. In K. Milnes, C. Horrocks, N. Kelly, B. Roberts, and D. Robinson, (eds.), *Narrative, memory and knowledge: Representations, aesthetics and contexts.* Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield Press

Bamberg, M. (2004). Positioning with Davie Hogan: Stories, tellings, and identities, in C. Daiute and C. Lightfoot (eds.), *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*, London: Sage

Bamberg, M., De Fina, A. & Schiffrin, D. (2011). Discourse and Identity Construction. In S.J. Schwartz, K. Luyckx and V. Vignoles (eds.), *The Handbook of Identity Theory and Research.* New York: Springer

Bamberg, M., De Fina, A. & Schiffrin, D. (eds.) (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Barnes, R. (2000). *Losing Ground: Locational Formulations in Argumentation over New Travellers,* unpublished PhD thesis, University of Plymouth

Bauman, Z. (2005). *Work, Consumerism and the New Poor*. London: Open University Press

Baxter, J. (2010). Discourse-Analytic Approaches to Text and Talk. In L. Litosseliti (ed.) *Research Methods in Linguistics*. London: Bloomsbury

Beitat, K., Bentele, G. & Ledema, R. (2013). Trust after medical incidents. In C.N. Candlin and J. Crichton, (eds.), *Discourses of Trust.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Bell, A. (1984). 'Language Style as Audience Design', *Language in Society,* 13, 145-204

Bell, J. (2014). *Doing Your Research project: A Guide for first-time researchers in education, health and social science* (4th ed). Berkshire: Open University Press

Benwell, B. & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Berg, L.B. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th ed). London: Allyn & Bacon

Berger, P. & Luckmann, T. (1966). The social construction of reality. New York: Penguin Books

Berger, R (2015) Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research, *Qualitative Research 15(2)*, 219–234

Beyatli, D., Papadopoulou K. & Kaymak E. (2011). *An essay on the project: Cyprus 2015*. Interpeace and Project Cyprus 2015

Blommaert, J. & Rampton, B. (2011). 'Language and Superdiversity', *Diversities,* 13(2), 1-21

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Boyatzis, R.E. (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: thematic analysis and code development.* California: Sage

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006) Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3(2), 77-101

Brewer, M.B. (1996). In-group favoritism: the subtle side of intergroup discrimination. In D.M. Messick and A. Tenbrunsel (eds.), *Codes of Conduct: Behavioral Research and Business Ethics*, pp. 160-71. New York: Russell Sage Found.

Brewer, M.B. (1981). Ethnocentrism and its role in interpersonal trust. In D.T. Campbell, M.B. Brewer and B.E. Collins (eds.), *Scientific Inquiry and the Social Sciences* pp. 354-60. New York: Jossey-Bass

Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of Meaning*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Bruner, J. (1994). 'Life as narrative', *Social Research*, 54(1), 11-32

Bucholtz, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Nostalgia and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell

Bucholtz, M. (1999). 'You da Man: Narrating the Racial Other in the Linguistic Production of White Masculinity', *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 3(4), 443-60

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2008). 'Finding identity: Theory and data', *Multilingua* 27, 151-163

Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2005). 'Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach', *Discourse Studies*, 7(4-5), 585-614

Buckland, T. (2010). Shifting Perspectives on Dance Ethnography. In A. Carter and J. O'Shea (eds.), *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader,* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, pp. 335-343

Bull, P. & Fetzer, A. (2006). 'Who are we and who are you? The strategic use of forms of address in political interviews', *Text and Talk,* 26(1), 1-35

Burr, V. (2015). *Social constructionism,* 3rd ed. East Sussex: Routledge

Cameron, A.F. & Webster, J. (2011). 'Relational Outcomes of Multicommunicating: Integrating Incivility and Social Exchange Perspectives', *Relational Outcomes of Multicommunicating Organization Science,* 22(3), 754-771

Cameron, L. and Masden, R. (2009). *Metaphor Analysis: Research practice in applied linguistics, social sciences and the humanities.* Studies in Applied Linguistics. London: Equinox

Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage

Candlin, C. N. (2006). Accounting for interdiscursivity: Challenges to professional expertise. In Gotti, M., & Giannoni, D. S. (Eds.), *New trends in specialized discourse analysis* (Vol. 44). Peter Lang

Candlin, C.N. & Candlin, S. (2002). 'Discourse, Expertise, and the Management of Risk in Health Care Settings', *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 35(2), 115-137

Candlin, C.N. & Crichton. J. (eds.) (2013). *Discourses of Trust*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Cicourel, A.V. (1964). *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. New York: Free Press

Clark, B. (2006). *Twice a Stranger: How Mass expulsion Forged Modern Greece and Turkey.* London: Granta Books

Coleman, J.S. (1990) *Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press

Collins, C.J. & Smith, K.G. (2006). 'Knowledge Exchange and Combination: The Role of Human Resource Practices in the Performance of High-Technology Firms', *Academy of Management Journal,* 49(3), 544-560

Copland, F. & Creese, A. (2015). *Linguistic Ethnography*. London: Sage

Cortazzi, M. (2001). Narrative analysis in ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland and L. Lofland (eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography*, London: Sage

Council of European Union (2014). 12 Joint Communication to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions Neighbourhood at the Crossroads: Implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in 2013, Brussels, 27.03.2014

Council of European Union (2011). Joint Communication to the European Parliament, The Council, The European Economic and Social Committee and The Committee of the Regions New Response to a Changing Neighbourhood: A review of European Neighbourhood Policy. Brussels, 25.05.2011

Coupland, N. (2008). ‘The delicate constitution of identity in face-to-face accommodation: a response to Trudgill’. *Language in Society*, 37(2), 267-70

Coupland, N. (1980). ‘Style-Shifting in a Cardiff Work-Setting’, *Language in Society,* 9(1), 1-12

Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research*. London: Sage

Daiute, C. & Lightfoot, C. (eds.) (2004). *Narrative Analysis. Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*. Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications

Daly, J., Kellehear, A. & Gliksman, M. (1997). *The public health researcher: A methodological approach*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press

Davida, D. (ed.) (2011). *Fields in motion: Ethnography in the worlds of dance*. Waterloo, ON, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press

Davies, B. & Harré, R. (1990). ‘Positioning: The discursive production of selves’, *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20(1), 43-63

Declercq, J., Jacobs, G., (2018). “It's such a great story it sells itself”? Narratives of vicarious experience in a European pharmaceutical company, *Journal of Pragmatics* xxx, 1-14

De Fina, A. (2015). Narrative and Identities. In A. De Fina and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, pp. 351-368. Chicester: John Wiley & Sons

De Fina, A. (2013). ‘Positioning level 3 Connecting local identity displays to macro social processes’, *Narrative Inquiry,* 23(1), 40-61

De Fina, A. D. (2012). Discourse and Identity. In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, C. A. Chapelle (Ed.)

De Fina, A. (2011). Discourse and Identity. In T.A. Van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse Studies. A multidisciplinary Introduction*, pp. 263-282. London: Sage

De Fina, A. (2008). ‘Who Tells which Story and Why? Micro and Macro Contexts in Narrative’. Micro and Macros Contexts in Narrative. *Text & Talk*, 28 (3): 421-442.

De Fina, A. (2007). ‘Code-switching and the construction of ethnic identity in a community of practice’, *Language in Society* 36, 371-392

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2015). *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*. Chichester: Wiley

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2012). *Analyzing Narrative: Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

De Fina, A. & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Editorial. ‘Analysing narratives as practices’, *Qualitative Research*, 8(3), 379-387

De Fina, A. & King, K. (2011). 'Language problem or language conflict? Narratives of immigrant women's experiences in the US', *Discourse Studies,* 13(2), 163-188

Denscombe, M. (2010) *The Good Research Guide for small-scale social research projects* (4th ed.). England: Open University Press

Denzin, N.K. (2000). Foreword. In M. Andrews, S. Day Sclater, C. Squire and A. Treacher (eds), *Lines of Narrative: Psychosocial Perspectives*, London: Routledge

Denzin, N.K. (1997). *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Deschamps, J.C. & Devos, T. (1998). Regarding the relationship between social identity and personal identity. In S. Worchel, J.F. Morales, D. Paez and J.C. Deschamps (eds.), *Social identity: International perspectives*, pp. 1-12. London: Sage Publications

Deutsch, M. (1962). *Cooperation and trust: Some theoretical notes*. Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, pp. 275-320. Lincoln: Nebraska University Press

Deutsch, M. (1960). 'Trust, trustworthiness, and the F scale', *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 61(1), 138-140

Dixon, J. (2005). Homepage, available online: www.psych.lancs.ac.uk/people/JohnDixon.html

Dornyei, Z. (2007). *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Dossena, M. (2014). There is reason to believe however…: The construction of trust in late modern English correspondence and non-literary prose. In K. Pelsmaekers, G. Jacobs and C. Rollo (eds.) (2014). *Trust and Discourse: Organisational perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Du Bois, J.W. (2002). "Stance and consequence." Paper presented at Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, LA, November 20-24.

Eckert, P. & McConnell-Ginet, S. (1999). 'New Generalizations and Explanations in Language and Gender Research', *Language in Society,* 28, 185-201

Eckert, P. & Rickford, J.R. (eds) (2001). *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Edley, N. & Litosseliti, L. (2010). Contemplating Interviews and Focus-Groups. In L. Litosseliti (ed.) *Research Methods in Linguistics*. London: Bloomsbury

Edwards, D. (1997). 'Structure and function in the analysis of everyday narratives', *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7(1-4), 139-46

Emerson, R., Fretz, R. & Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Eralp, D.U. & Beriker, N. (2005). 'Assessing the Conflict Resolution Potential of the EU: The Cyprus Conflict and Accession Negotiations', *Security Dialogue* 36, 175-192

Erickson, F. & Shultz, J. (1982). *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: Social Interaction in Interviews*. Academic Press, New York

European Commission (2007). *The EU in the world: The foreign policy of the European Union*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities

Fereday, J. & Muir-Cochrane E. (2006). 'Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development', *International Journal for Qualitative Methods,* 5(1), 80-92

Fernando, M. & Jackson, B. (2006). 'The influence of religion-based workplace spirituality on business leaders' decision-making: An inter-faith study', *Journal of Management & Organization,* 12(1), 23-39

Fligstein N., Polyakova A. & Snadholtz W. (2012). 'European Integration, Nationalism and European Identity', *Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS*), 50(S1), 106-122

Frankland, J. & Bloor, M. (1999). Some issues arising in the systematic analysis of focus group material, In R. Barbour and J. Kitzinger (eds.), *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory & Practice*, London: Sage

Freeman, M. (1993). *Rewriting the Self: History, Memory, Narrative*. London: Routledge

Fulmer, A. & Gelfand, M. (2012). 'At What Level (and in Whom) We Trust: Trust Across Multiple Organizational Levels', *Journal of Management* 38, 1167-1230

Fuoli, M., Van de Weijer, J. & Paradis, C. (2017). 'Denial outperforms apology in repairing organizational trust despite strong evidence of guilt', *Public Relations Review* 43, 645-660

Fuoli, M. (2017). Building a Trustworthy Corporate Identity: A Corpus-Based Analysis of Stance in Annual and Corporate Social Responsibility Reports, *Applied Linguistics*, *39/6*, 846–885

Gambetta, D. (1988). *Trust: Making and breaking cooperative relations*. New York: Basil Blackwell

Gambetta, D. & Hamill, H. (2005). *The Russell Sage Foundation series on trust. Streetwise: How taxi drivers establish their customers' trustworthiness*. New York, NY, US: Russell Sage Foundation

Ganapati, N.E., Kelman, I. & Koukis, T. (2010). 'Analysing Greek-Turkish disaster-related cooperation: A disaster diplomacy perspective', *Cooperation and Conflict,* 45, 162-185

Gee, J.P. (1999). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method.* London: Routledge

Georgakopoulou, A. (2013). Narrative analysis of and for CMC. Insights from a social-interactional approach. In S. Herring, D. Stein and T. Virtanen (eds.), *Handbook of the Pragmatics of CMC*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). 'Thinking Big with Small Stories in Narrative and Identity Analysis', *Narrative Inquiry* 16, 122-130

Gergen, K. (1985). 'The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology', *American Psychologist,* 40(3), 266-275

Gergen, K.J (1994). *Realities and Relationships: Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Gersick, K.E., Davis, J.A., McCollom Hampton, M. & Lansberg, I. (1997). *Generation to Generation: Life Cycles of the Family Business*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk.* Oxford: Blackwell

Goodwin, C. (1984). 'Notes on Story Structure and the Organization of Participation', in J.M. Atkinson and J. Heritage (eds.), *Structures of Social Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Goodwin, M.H. (1997). 'Toward families of stories in context', *Journal of Narrative and Life History,* 7(1-4), 107-112

Gregg, G. (2011). 'Identity in life narratives', *Narrative Inquiry*, 21(2), 318-328

Griffin, C. (2004). 'The Advantages and Limitations of Qualitative Research in Psychology and Education', *Scientific Annals of the Psychological Society of Northern Greece,* 2, 3-15

Grigoriadis, I.N. (2012). 'The unripe fruits of rapprochement: Greek-Turkish relations in the post-Helsinki era', *International Journal,* 67, 112-133

Grigoriadis, I.N. (2008). On the Europeanization of Minority Rights Pretection: Comparing the Cases of Greece and Turkey. *Mediterranean Politics* 13(1), 23-41

Grigoriadis, I.N. (2003). The changing role of the EU factor in Greek–Turkish relations, Paper presented at the *Current Social Science Research on Greece, 1st PhD Symposium on Modern Greece* (Hellenic Observatory, London School of Economics and Political Science, 21 June)

Gumperz, J.J. (2005). Interactional Sociolinguistics: A Personal Perspective. In D. Schiffrin, D. Tannen, and H.E. Hamilton (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Blackwell

Gumperz, J.J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'? In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp. 1-17. London: Sage

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography: principles in practice.* 3rd ed. New York: Routledge

Harclau, L. (2005). 'Ethnography and ethnographic research on second language teaching and learning'. In E. Hinkel (ed.) *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

Hardin R. (1992). 'The street-level epistemology of trust', Politics and Society 21 (4), 505-529

Hardy, B. (1968). Towards a poetics of fiction. *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 2, 5-14

Harré, R. (1991). *Physical Being*. Oxford: Blackwell

Harré, R. (1987). The social construction of selves. In K. Yardley & T. Honess (eds.), *Self and Identity: Psychosocial perspectives*, pp. 41-52. New York: Wiley

Harré, R. & Moghaddam, F. (2003). *The Self and Others: Positioning Individuals and Groups in Personal, Political, and Cultural Contexts*. Westport: Praeger

Harré, R. & van Langehove, L. (1999). *Positioning Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell

Hausendorf, H., Kesselheim, W. (2002). The communicative construction of group relationships: A basic mechanism of social categorization. In: Duszak, Anna. *Link Us and others : social identities across languages, discourses and cultures*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 265-289.

Helmbrecht, J. (2002). *Personal Pronouns – Form, Function and Use*. University of Erfurt Habilitationsschrif

Hetherington, K. (1998). *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics*. London: Sage

Hewett, D.G., Watson, B.M. & Gallois C. (2013). Trust, distrust, and communication accommodation among hospital doctors. In C.N. Candlin and J. Crichton (eds.), *Discourses of Trust.* Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Hirschon, R. (2003). The Consequences of the Lausanne Convention: An Overview. In R. Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey. Studies in Forced Migration* Vol 1., pp. 13-20. New York: Berghahn Books

Holliday, A. (2012). ‘Interrogating Researcher Participation in an Interview Study of Intercultural Contribution in the Workplace’, *Qualitative Inquiry,* 18(6), 504-515

Holloway, I. (1997). *Basic Concepts for Qualitative Research*, Oxford: Blackwell Science

Holmes, J. & Stubbe, M. (2003). *Power and Politeness in the Workplace: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work*. London: Pearson

Holstein, J.A. & Gubrium, J.F. (1995). *The Active Interview*. London: Sage

Holt, E. (1996). ‘Reporting on talk: the use of direct reported speech in conversation’, *Researching Language and Social Interaction,* 29(3), 219-245

Hopkins, N. & Emler, N. (1990). Social network participation and problem behaviour in adolescence. In K. Hurrelmann and F. Losel (eds.), *Health hazards in adolescence,* Chapter 18, pp. 385-407*.* The Hague: De Gruyter

Hornberger, N. (1994). ‘Ethnography’, *TESOL Quarterly* 28(4), 688-90

Howorth, C. & Moro, A. (2006). ‘Trust within entrepreneur bank relationships: Insights from Italy’, *Entrepreneurship: Theory and Practice*, 30(4), 495-517

Hutchby, I. & Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation analysis: Principles, practices and applications*. Oxford: Polity Press.

Hymes, D. (1996). *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality. Toward an Understanding of Voice*. London: Taylor and Francis

Hymes, D. (1972). On Communicative Competence. In J.B Pride and J. Holmes (eds.), *Sociolinguistics*, pp. 269-293. London: Penguin

Hymes, D.H. (1961). The ethnography of speaking. In T. Gladwin and W.C. Sturtevant, (eds.), *Anthropology and Human Behavior*. Washington, DC: Anthropological Society of Washington. Reprinted in J.A. Fishman (ed.), (1968). *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, pp. 99-119. The Hague: Mouton

Jackson, H. (2014). Trust Work: A Strategy for Building organisation-stakeholder trust? In K. Pelsmaekers, G. Jacobs and C. Rollo (eds.), *Trust and Discourse: Organisational perspectives*, pp. 113-133

Jones, A. & Sin, S. (2013). Achieving professional trustworthiness: communicative expertise and identity work in professional accounting practice. In C.N. Candlin and J. Crichton (eds.), *Discourses of Trust*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Kacen L. & Chaitin J. (2006). The times are a changing: understanding qualitative research in ambiguous, conflictual and changing contexts. *Qualitative Report 11,* 209–228

Kakava, C. (2002). ‘Opposition in Modern Greek discourse: cultural and contextual constraints’, *Journal of Pragmatics,* 34, 1537-1568

Keating, M. (2004). *Regions and Regionalism in Europe.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar

Kerby, A.P. (1991). *Narrative and the Self.* New York: Basic Books

Keridis, D. (2001). 'Domestic Developments and Foreign Policy'. In D. Keridis and D. Triantaphyllou (eds.), *Greek-Turkish Relations in the Era of Globalization*, Dulles, VA: Brassey's

Kerler, W.A. & Killough, L. N. (2009). The Effects of Satisfaction with a Client's Management During a Prior Audit Engagement, Trust, and Moral Reasoning on Auditors' Perceived Risk of Management Fraud. *Journal of Business* Ethics 85 (2):109 - 136.

Kitzinger, J. (1995). 'Qualitative research Introducing focus groups', *British Medical Journal* 311, 299-302

Kong D. T., Dirks, K.T. and Ferrin, D.L. (2014). Interpersonal Trust Within Negotiations: Meta-Analytic Evidence, Critical Contingencies, and Directions for Future Research. *Academy of Management Journal*. 57, (5), 1235-1255. Research Collection Lee Kong Chian School Of Business.

Kontogiorgi, E. (2003). Economic Consequences following Refugee Settlement in Greek Macedonia, 1923-1932. In R. Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey. Studies in Forced Migration* pp. 63-77. New York: Berghahn Books

Koskinen, K.U. & Pihlanto, P. (2007). 'Trust in a knowledge related project work environment', *International Journal of Management and Decision Making,* 8(1), 75-88

Kotzias, K. (2000). 'Greek-Turkish relations', *Contemporary Review,* 276(1611), 190-196

Kouris, N. (1997). *Ellada-Tourkia, O Pentikontaetis Polemos*. Athens: Nea Sinora Livanis

Kramer, R.M. (1999). 'Trust and Distrust in Organisations: Emerging Perspectives, Enduring Questions', *Annual Review of Psychology* 50, 569-598

Kramer, R.M. & Lewicki, R.J. (2010). 'Repairing and enhancing trust: Approaches to reducing organizational trust deficits', *The Academy of Management Annals,* 4(1), 245-277

Kramer, R.M. & Tyler T.R. (eds.) (1996). *Trust in Organizations: Frontiers of Theory and Research.* London: Sage

Kuśmierczyk, E. (2014). Trust in action: Building trustthrough embodied negotiation in job interviews. In G. Jacobs, K. Pelsmaekers & C. Rollo (Eds.), *Trust and discourse. Organisational perspectives*. John Benjamins

Kvale, S. (2007). *Doing Interviews*. London: Sage

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing.* Thousand Oaks: Sage

Labov, W. (2001). 'Uncovering the event structure of narrative', in Georgetown University Round Table 2001 Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press

Labov, W. (1972a). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press

Labov, W. (1972b). *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*, Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelphia Press

Labov, W. (1966). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics

Labov, W. & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience. In J. Helm (ed.) *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press

Laclau, E. (1990). *New Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*. London: Routledge

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, London: Verso

Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Lakoff, R. (2006). Identity à la carte: You are what you eat. In A. De Fina, D. Schiffrin, & M. Bamberg (eds.), *Discourse and Identity* (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics, pp. 142-165). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*, Oxford: Blackwell

Le Page & Tabouret-Keller A. (1985). *Acts of identity: Creole based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press

Lewicki, R.J. & Bunker, B.B. (1996). Trust in relationships: A model of trust development and decline. In R. Kramer and T. Tyler (eds.), *Trust in organizations,* pp. 114-139. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Lewicki, R.J., McAllister, D.J. & Bies, R.J. (1998). 'Trust and distrust: New relationships and realities', *The Academy of Management Review,* 23(3), 438-458

Lewicki, R.J., Tomlinson, E.C. & Gillespie, N. (2006). 'Models of Interpersonal Trust Development: Theoretical Approaches, Empirical Evidence, and Future Directions', *Journal of Management,* 32, 991

Lewin, S. & Reeves, S. (2011). 'Enacting 'team' and 'teamwork': using Goffman's theory of impression management to illuminate interprofessional practice on hospital wards', *Social Science and Medicine,* 72(10), 1595-1602

Li, P.P. (2016). 'The holistic and contextual natures of trust: past, present, and future research', *Journal of Trust Research* 6(1), 1-6

Litosseliti, L. (2010) *Research Methods in Linguistics*. London: Bloomsbury

Litosseliti, L. (2003). *Using Focus Groups in Research*. London: Continuum

Locher, M.A. (2004). *Power and Politeness in Action: Disagreements in Oral Communication.* Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin

Lønsmann, D (2016) Negotiating Positionality in Ethnographic Investigations of Workplace Settings : Student, Consultant or Confidante?. In G. M. Alessi; G. Jacobs (eds.): The Ins and Outs of Business and Professional Discourse Research: Reflections on Interacting with the Workplace. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan, 13-36

Loh, J., Smith, J.R. & Restubog S.L.D. (2010). 'The role of culture, workgroup membership, and organizational status on cooperation and trust: An experimental investigation', *Journal of Applied Social Psycholog*y, 40(2), 2947-2968

Longenecker, J.G, McKinney, J.A. & Moore, C.W. (2004). 'Religious intensity, evangelical Christianity, and business ethics: An empirical study'*, Journal of Business Ethics, 55,* 373-386

Luhmann, N. (2000). Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives, In D. Gambetta (ed.), *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, electronic edition, chapter 6, pp. 94-107. Department of Sociology, University of Oxford,

Luhmann, N. (1988). Familiarity, Confidence, Trust: Problems and Alternatives. In D. Gambetta (ed.), *Trust: Making and breaking cooperative relations*. New York: Basil Blackwell

Luhmann, N. (1979). *Trust and power*. Chichester, England: Wiley

Manderson, L. & Warren, N. (2013). At the boundaries of the clinic: discourse of trust in amputee care. In C.N. Candlin and J. Crichton (eds.), *Discourses of Trust*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

Marra, M. (2012). Disagreeing without being disagreeable: Negotiating workplace communities as an outsider. *Journal of Pragmatics 44,* 1580-1590.

Martin, D.C. (1995). 'The Choices of Identity', *Social Identities*, 1(1), 5-20

Mavondo, F.T. & Rodrigo, E.M. (2001). 'The effect of relationship dimensions on interpersonal and interorganizational commitment in organizations conducting business between Australia and China', *Journal of Business Research,* 52(2), 111-121

Maxwell, J.A. (2004). 'Causal Explanation, Qualitative Research, and Scientific Inquiry in Education', *Educational Researcher,* 33(2), 3-11

Mayer, R.C. & Gavin, M.B. (2005). 'Trust in management and performance: Who minds the shop while the employees watch the boss?', *Academy of Management Journal*, 48(5), 874-888

Mayer, R.C., Davis, J.H. & Schoorman F.D. (1995). 'An Integrative Model of Organizational Trust', *Academy of Management Review,* 20(3), 709-734

McAdams, D.P. (1988). *Power, Intimacy and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity*. New York: Guilford

McAllister, D.J. (1995). 'Affect- and cognition-based trust as foundations for interpersonal cooperation in organizations', *Academy of Management Journal*, 38, 24-59

McCroskey, J. (2001). *An introduction to rhetorical communication*. 8th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon

McKnight, D.H. & Chervany, N.L. (2006). Reflections on an initial trust-building model. *Handbook Of Trust Research* (pp. 29-51). Edward Elgar Publishing

McKnight, D.H, Cummings, L.L. & Chervany, N.L. (1998). 'Initial trust formation in new organizational relationships', *Academy of Management Review,* 23(3), 473-490

Meyerhoff, M. & Niedzielski, N. (1994). 'Resistance to creolization: an interpersonal and intergroup account of the processes involved', *Language and Communication* 14

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook,* 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Miller, D.W. (2007). *God at Work: The History and Promise of the Faith at Work Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Miller, W.L. & Crabtree, B.F. (1999). 'Depth Interviewing'. In B.F. Crabtree and W.L. Miller (eds.), *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage

Mishler, E.G. (1986). *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Möllering, G. (2014) Trust, calculativeness, and relationships: A special issue 20 years after Williamson's warning, *Journal of Trust Research* 4 (1), 1-21

Morgenthau, H. (1929). *I Was Sent to Athens*. New York: Doubleday

Morse, J.B & Richards, L. (2002). *Read me First for a User's Guide for Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks. California: Sage

Myers, G. (1999). 'Functions of reported speech in group discussions', *Applied Linguistics,* 20(3), 376-401

Newman, D. and Paasi, A. (1998): Fences and neighbours in the postmodern world: boundary narratives in political geography. *Progress in Human Geography 22*, 186-207

Novaro, G. (2018). 'Dances in migratory, community and school contexts: identity marks and folklorised presences', *Ethnography and Education,* 13(3), 340-358

Niven, K., Holman, D. & Totterdell, P. (2012). 'How to win friendship and trust by influencing people's feelings: An investigation of interpersonal affect regulation and the quality of relationships', *Human Relations,* 65(6), 777-805

O'Grady, C. & Candlin, C.N (2013). Engendering trust in a multiparty consultation involving an adolescent patient. In C.N. Candlin and J. Crichton (eds.), *Discourses of Trust*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan

O'Reilly, K. (2009). *Key concepts in ethnography.* London: Sage

Ochs, E. (1992). Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialization in a Samoan Village. Pacific Studies, 15(2), 162-**1**68

Ochs, E. & Capps, L. (2001). *Living Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Oran, B. (2003). The Story of Those who Stayed: Lessons from Articles 1 and 2 of the 1923 Convention. In Hirschon R. (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey (Studies in Forced Migration*, pp. 97-115. New York: Berghahn Books

Paasi, A. (2009). 'The resurgence of the 'Region' and 'Regional Identity': theoretical perspectives and empirical observations on regional dynamics', *Review of International Studies* 35, 121-146

Paasi, A (2003). Region and place: regional identity in question. Progress in Human Geography 27 (4), 475-485

Paasi, A. (2002). 'Bounded spaces in the mobile world: deconstructing 'regional identity'', *TESG: Journal of Economic and Social Geography*, 93(2), 137-148

Paasi, A. (1999). The provinces go to Europe. In J. Tapaninen et al. (eds.), *Finland: The Northern Experience, New Europe, and the next Millennium*, pp. 122-127. Tammi Publishers, Helsinki

Paasi, A. (1996). Regions as social and cultural constructs: reflections on recent geographical debates. In M. Idvall and A. Salomonsson (eds.), *Att skapa en region - om identitet och territorium*, pp. 90-107. NordREFO, Copenhagen

PAD paper: Schnurr, S., Wharton, S., Alansari, S., Angouri, J., Chimbwete P.R., Chiriatti, T., Debray, C., Efthymiadou, C., Hah, S., Harrison, T., KedveÅ¡, A., Khamkhien, A., Kim, K., Mohd O., Nor, A., Nguyen, T. & Reissner-Roubicek, S. (2016). 'Not so 'innocent' after all?: exploring corporate identity construction online', *Discourse and Communication*, 10(3), 291-313

Pelsmaekers, K. Jacobs, G. & Rollo, C. (eds.) (2014) Trust and discursive interaction in organizational settings. In K. Pelsmaekers, G. Jacobs and C. Rollo (eds.), *Trust and Discourse: Organizational perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1-10

Peräkylä, A. (2005). Analyzing Talk and Text. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.), pp. 869-886. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd

Peräkylä, A. & Vehviläinen, S. (2003). 'Conversation analysis and the professional stocks of interactional knowledge', *Discourse & Society,* 14(6), 727-750

Pesämaa, O. & Hair, J.F. (2007). 'More than friendship is required: an empirical test of cooperative firm strategies', *Management Decision,* 45(3), pp. 602-615

Pike, K.L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior.* The Hague, Paris: Mouton & Co

Piller, I. (2010). *Intercultural communication: A Critical Introduction*. Edinburgh University Press

Pirson, M. & Malhotra, D. (2011). 'Foundations of organizational trust: what matters to different stakeholders?', *Organizational Science,* 22(4), 1087-1104

Polit, D.F., Beck, C.T. & Hungler, B.P. (2001). *Essentials of Nursing Research: Methods, Appraisal and Utilization.* 5th Ed., Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins

Portner, P. (2007). Imperatives and modals. *Natural Language Semantics 15*, 351–383.

Potter, J. (1996). Discourse Analysis and constructionist approaches: theoretical background. In J. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and Social Sciences*, pp. 125-140. Leicester: BPS Books

Potter, J. & Hepburn, A. (2005). 'Qualitative Interviews in psychology: problems and possibilities', *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 2, 281-307

Rawls, A.W. (2008). 'Harold Garfinkel, Ethnomethodology and Workplace Studies', *Organization Studies,* 29(05*),* 701-732

Rice, P. & Ezzy, D. (1999). *Qualitative research methods: A health focus*. Melbourne: Oxford

Richards, K. (2003). *Qualitative inquiry in TESOL.* London: Palgrave Macmillan

Richards, K., Ross, S. & Seedhouse, P. (2012). *Research methods for applied language studies*. London: Routledge

Riessman, C.K. (2003). 'Performing identities in illness narrative: Masculinity and multiple sclerosis', *Qualitative Research* 3(1), 5-33

Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative Analysis,* London: Sage

Ritchie, J. & Lewis. J. (eds.) (2003). *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers.* Sage Publications, London

Roberts, C., Davies, E. & Jupp, T. (1992). *Language and Discrimination: A Study of Communication in Multi-ethnic Workplaces.* London: Longman.

Robson, C. (2002). *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner Researchers*. Oxford: Blackwell

Rosanas, J.M. & Velilla, M. (2003). Loyalty and trust as the ethical bases of organizations, *Journal of Business Ethics,* 44(1), 49-59

Rousseau, D.M., Sitkin, S.B., Burt, R.S., Camerer, C., 1998. Not so different after all: a crossdiscipline view of trust. *Academy of Management Review 23 (3),* 393–404

Rumelili, B. (2007). Transforming Conflicts on EU Borders, *Journal of Common Market Studies,* 45(1), 105-125

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation*, Volumes I and II (edited by G. Jefferson with introductions by E.A. Schegloff). Oxford: Blackwell

Sacks, H. (1972). On the analyzability of stories by children. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of communication*, pp. 325-345. New York: Blackwell

Sarangi, S. (2007). 'The anatomy of interpretation: Coming to terms with the analyst's paradox in professional discourse studies', *Text & Talk,* 27(5), 567-584

Sarangi, S. and Hall, C. (1997). Bringing off `applied' research in inter-professional discourse studies. Paper presented at the BAAL/CUP Seminar on Urban Culture, Discourse and Ethnography. Thames Valley University, 24-25 March

Sarangi, S. & Roberts, C. (1999). Introduction. In S. Sarangi and C. Roberts (eds.), *Talk, work and institutional order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings,* pp. 1-60. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter

Sarangi, S.K. & Clarke, A.J. (2002). 'Zones of expertise and the management of uncertainty in genetics risk communication', *Research on Language and Social Interaction,* 35(2), 139-1

Schiffrin, D., De Fina, A., Nylund, A., (2010). *Telling Stories: Language, Narrative and Social Life.* Georgetown University Press, Washington DC

Schiffrin, D. (2003). 'We knew that's it: retelling the turning point of a narrative', *Discourse Studies,* 5(4), 535-556

Schiffrin, D. (1996). 'Narrative as self-portrait: Sociolinguistic constructions of identity', *Language in Society,* 25, 167-203

Schiffrin, D. (1987). *Discourse Markers*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Schneeberger, A.I. (2009). 'Constructing European Identity Through Mediated Difference: A Content Analysis of Turkey's EU Accession Process in the British Press', *Journal of Media and Communication,* 1, 83-102

Schnurr, S. & Zayts, O. (2017). *Language and culture at work*. Oxon, New York: Routledge

Schwandt, T. (1994). Constructivist, Interpretivist Approaches to Human Inquiry. *Handbook of Qualitative Research Thousand Oaks*, California: Sage.

Schulze, W.S., Lubatkin, M.H. & Dino, R.N. (2003). 'Toward a theory of agency and altruism in family firms', *Journal of Business Venturing,* 18, 473-490

Shapiro, D.L., Sheppard, B.H. and Cheraskin, L. (1992) Business on a Handshake. *Negotiation Journal, 8*, 365-377

Sifianou, M. (2012). 'Disagreements, face and politeness', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(12), 1554-1564

Silverman, D. (2010). *Doing qualitative research.* 3rd ed. London: Sage

Silverman, D. (2001). *Interpreting Qualitative Data.* 2nd ed. London: Sage

Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories, and cultural description. In K.A. Basso and H.A. Selby (eds.), *Meaning and Anthropology*. New York: Harper and Row

Six, F. (2005). *The Trouble with Trust: The Dynamics of Interpersonal Trust Building*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited

Sniderman, P.M., Peri, P., de Figuerido, R. & Piazza, T. (2000). *The Outsider: Prejudice and Politics in Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Solomon, R.C. & Flores F. (2003). *Building Trust in business, politics, relationships, and life*. Oxford Scholarship Online

Speer, S. (2002). '"Natural" and "contrived" data: a sustainable distinction?', *Discourse Studies*, 4(4), 511-525

Strauss, L.A. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory,* 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: California: Sage

Stubbe, M., Lane, C., Hilder, J., Vine. E, Vine. B. & Marra, M. (2003). 'Multiple Discourse analyses of a workplace interaction'. *Discourse Studies*, 5(3), 351-388,

Tajfel, H. (1982). 'Social psychology of intergroup relations', *Annual Review of Psychology* 33, 1-39

Tajfel, H. (1972). La catégorisation sociale. In S. Moscovici (ed.), *Introduction à la psychologie sociale* Vol. 1. Paris: Larousse

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J.C. (1979). An integrative theory of inter-group conflict. In W.G. Austin and S. Worchel (eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* pp. 7-25. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole

Tannen, D. (1986). Introducing Constructed Dialogue in Greek and American Conversational Literary Narrative. In F. Culmas (ed.), *Direct and Indirect Speech,* pp. 311-332

Tasiopoulos, P. (2017, July 19). The untold war: dogfights in the Aegean (blog post of the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies. Retrieved from: https://www.martenscentre.eu/blog/untold-war-dogfights-aegean

Taylor, C. (1991). The Dialogical Self. In D.R. Hiley, J.F. Bohman and R. Shusterman (eds.), *The Interpretive Turn: Philosophy, Science, Culture*, pp. 304-314. Cornell University Press

Taylor, S. (2003). 'A place for the future? Residence and continuity in women's narratives of their lives', *Narrative Inquiry,* 13(1), 193-215

Tedlock, B. (2000). Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* 2nd ed., Chapter 17, pp. 455-486*,* London: Sage

Temmerman, M. (2014). 'Trust us: Bootcamp Pilates does not sound half as hard as it is, but it works': The credibility of women's magazines. In K. Pelsmaekers, G. Jacobs and C. Rollo (eds.), *Trust and Discourse: Organisational perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company

The Guardian (2017, July 7). Cyprus reunification talks collapse amid angry scenes. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/07/cyprus-reunification-talks-collapse-amid-angry-scenes

Ting-Toomey, S. & Chung, L.C. (2012). *Understanding Intercultural Communication*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press

Turino, T. (1999). 'Signs of imagination, identity and experience: A Peircian semiotic theory for music', *Ethnomusicology,* 43(2), 221-255

Tzallas, T. (2018, May 8). Turkey vs Greece: Is war a real possibility? (LSE blog post) Retrieved from: http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2018/05/08/turkey-vs-greece-is-war-a-real-possibility/

Van De Mieroop, D. (2018). 'Implying identities through narratives of vicarious experience in job interviews', *Journal of Pragmatics,* pp. 1-15

De Mieroop, D. (2007). 'The complementarity of two identities and two approaches - quantitative and qualitative analysis of institutional and professional identity', *Journal of Pragmatics,* 39, 1120-1142

Van De Mieroop, D. & Schnurr, S. (2018). 'Candidates' humour and the construction of co-membership in job interviews', *Language & Communication: an interdisciplinary journal,* 61, 35-45

Van Teijlingen, E., Rennie, A.M., Hundley, V. & Graham, W. (2001). 'The importance of conducting and reporting pilot studies: the example of the Scottish Births Survey', *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 34, 289-295

Vergeti, M. (1991). 'Pontic Greeks from Asia Minor and the Soviet Union: Problems of Integration in Modern Greece', *Journal of Refugee Studies* 4(4).

Vryonis, S. Jr. (2005). *The mechanism of catastrophe: the Turkish pogrom of September 6-7, 1955, and the destruction of the Greek community of Istanbul*. New York: Greekworks

Wackers, W., Andeweg, B. & De Jong, J. (2014). Putting yourself down to build trust: The effect of self-disparaging humor on speaker ethos in educational presentations. In K. Pelsmaekers, G. Jacobs and C. Rollo (eds.), *Trust and Discourse: Organisational perspectives,* pp. 135-160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company

Walford, G. (2009). 'The practice of writing ethnographic fieldnotes', *Ethnography and Education,* 4(2), 117-130

Walford, G. (2005). Research ethical guidelines and anonymity. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education, 28(1)*, 83-93

Ward, J.L. (1987). *Keeping the Family Business Healthy: How to Plan for Continuous Growth, Profitability, and Family Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco, CA

Wenger, E. (1998) *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press

Wodak, R., Reisigl, M. & De Cillia, R. (1999). 'The Discursive Construction of National Identities', *Discourse Society,* 10, 149-173

Wolfers, S., File, K.A. & Schnurr, S. (2017). ''Just because he's black': identity construction and racial humour in a German U-19 football team', *Journal of Pragmatics* 112, 83-96

Yıldırım, O. (2006). 'The 1923 Population Exchange, Refugees and National Historiographies in Greece and Turkey', *East European Quarterly* XL, 45-70

Zaheer, A. McEvily, B. & Perrone, V. (1998). 'Does Trust Matter? Exploring the Effects of Interorganizational and Interpersonal Trust on Performance', *Organization Science,* 9(2), 141-159

Zografou, M. & Pipyrou, S. (2011). 'Dance and Difference: Toward an Individualization of the Pontian Self', *Dance Chronicle,* 34(3), 422-446

Zucker, L. G. (1986). "Production of Trust: Institutional Sources of Economic Structure, 1840-1920." ,p. 53-111 in *Research in Organizational Behavior 8*. Edited by Barry M. Staw and L. L. Cummings. Greenwich, Conn.: JAI

Appendices

Appendix 1- Information for participants and consent form

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

PhD Thesis Title: 'It's all about trust after all: Doing Trust in Cross-border collaboration'
PhD Student full name: Christina Efthymiadou
PhD Supervisor: Jo Angouri, J.Angouri@warwick.ac.uk

- ✓ **Information on the project**

Cross border collaboration and mobility is the norm for an increasing number of businesses. Although international trade is necessary for the growth of organisations and can contribute to strong ties between countries and individuals it has also been associated with challenges. My research focuses on organisations and professionals in Greece and Turkey and the opportunities and challenges associated with cross border collaboration.

- ✓ **What the researcher will do**

In order to understand the issues that arise in transacting across borders, data will be collected as follows: one to one interviews or focus groups (if appropriate) will be conducted by Christina Efthymiadou. Following the analysis of the data, the participants will be given the opportunity to provide feedback (if they so wish) or to be involved in further data collection.

All the data will be securely stored in a password protected PC and the files will be fully anonymised. Participants can withdraw at any time during the study. The data will be used for academic purposes only and to provide feedback and training to the participants.

- ✓ **Consent form**

I have read the *information for participants* about the thesis entitled 'Negotiating identities and the legacy of a troubled past: the case of Greeks and Turks' and I have had the opportunity to ask for details and/or clarifications. I am happy to participate in the project, as outlined in the participants' information section above and for anonymised data to be included in academic publications. I reserve the right to withdraw from the study at any time during the process.

Name:

Place:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 2- Guiding Interview questions

1. What is the form of your collaboration with Turkish companies?

2. How did you meet your partners and for how long have you been working together?

3. What are you looking for in a partner?

4. What do you think makes a collaboration successful?

5. Can you talk about the relationship between you and your partners? Do you get on well with each other?

6. How often do you meet your partners? Do you travel to Turkey/do they travel to Greece?

7. What form do your meetings take?

8. How do you spend your time when you meet? Do you have personal relationships? Is this important for you?

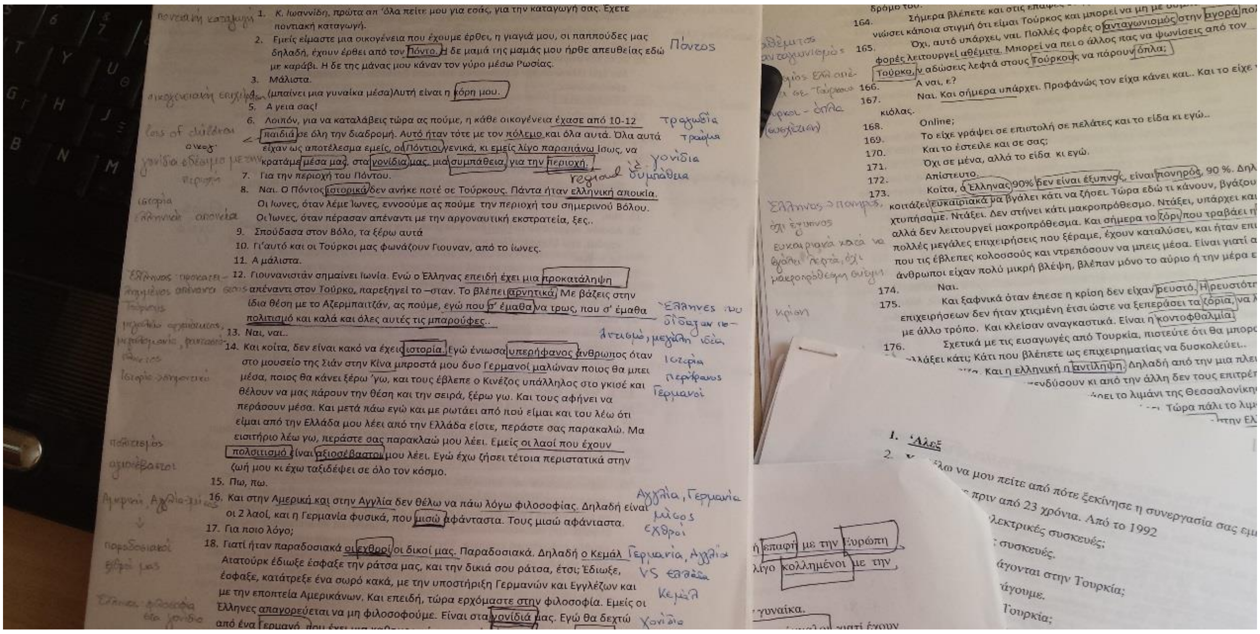
9. Are you overall happy with your so far collaboration? Were there any difficult moments in your collaboration and how have you dealt with them? Have you spotted any particular similarities or differences in the way you do things at work?

10. Do you have also other partners in Turkey or abroad? How is the relationship with them?

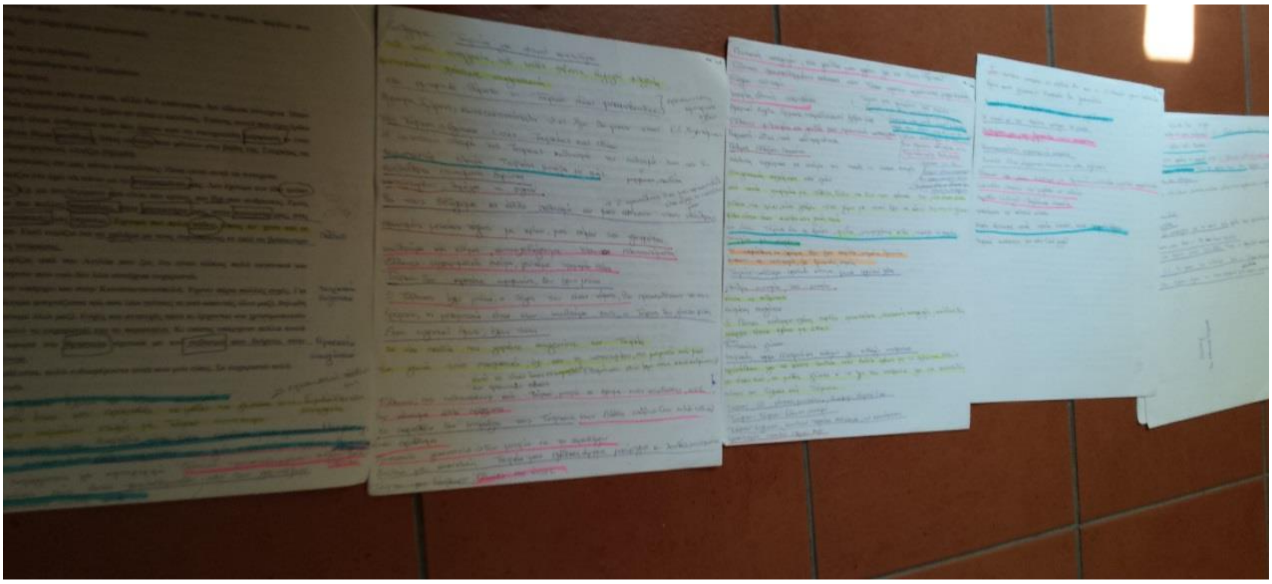
11. Is there anything else you would like to add with regards to your collaboration with your Turkish partners? Any feelings/thoughts/aspects I have not mentioned and you think are important?

Appendix 3- Sample of manual coding

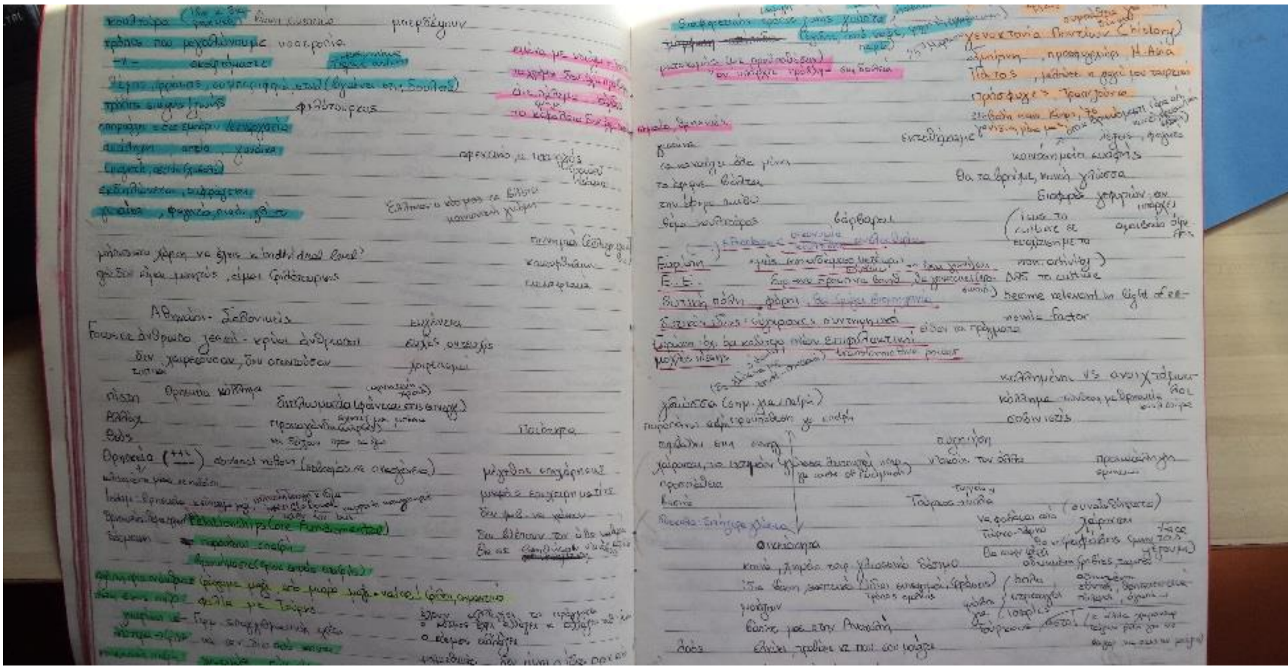
Instances of the coding process are captured by the following images.



Initial coding

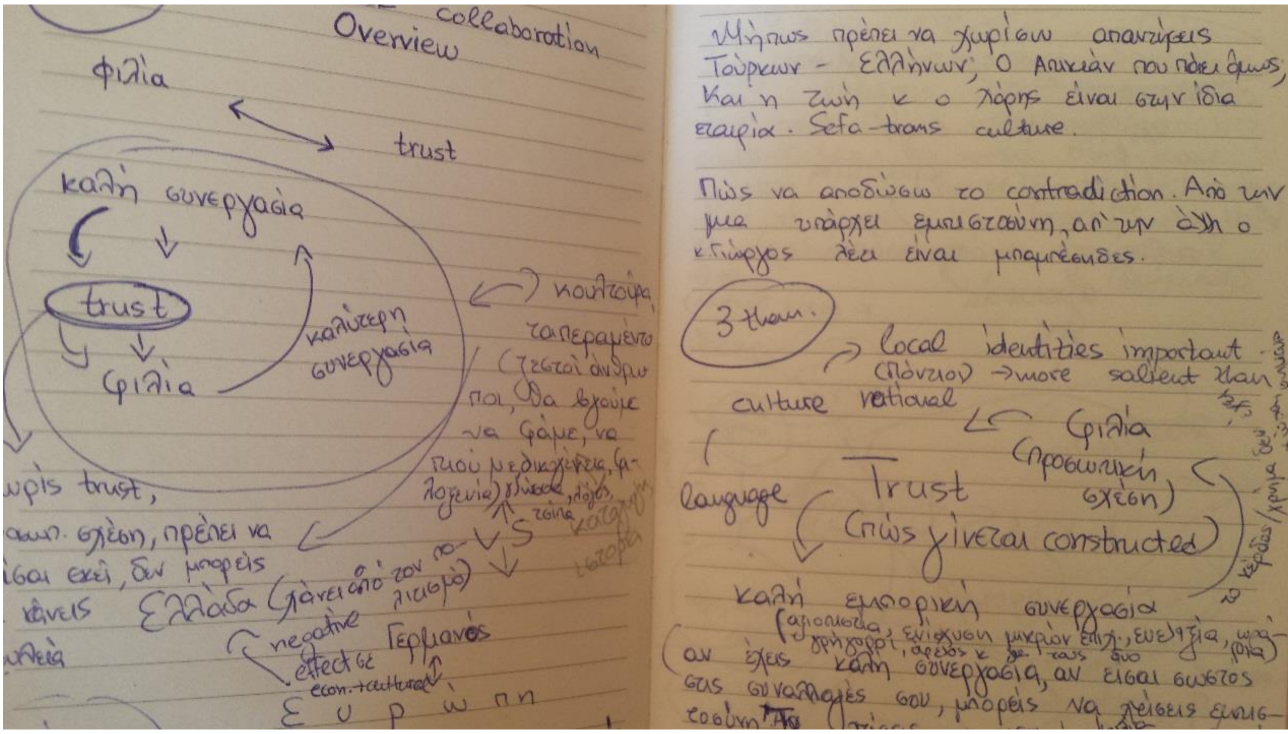


Identifying categories

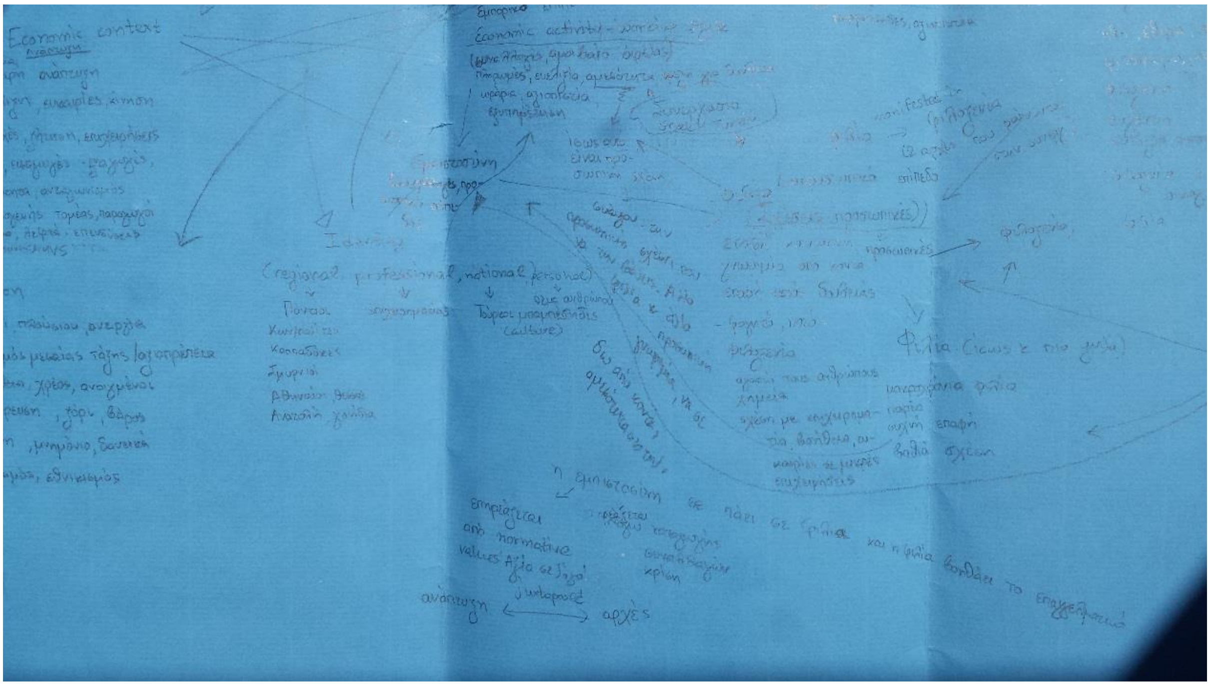


Classification of different categories

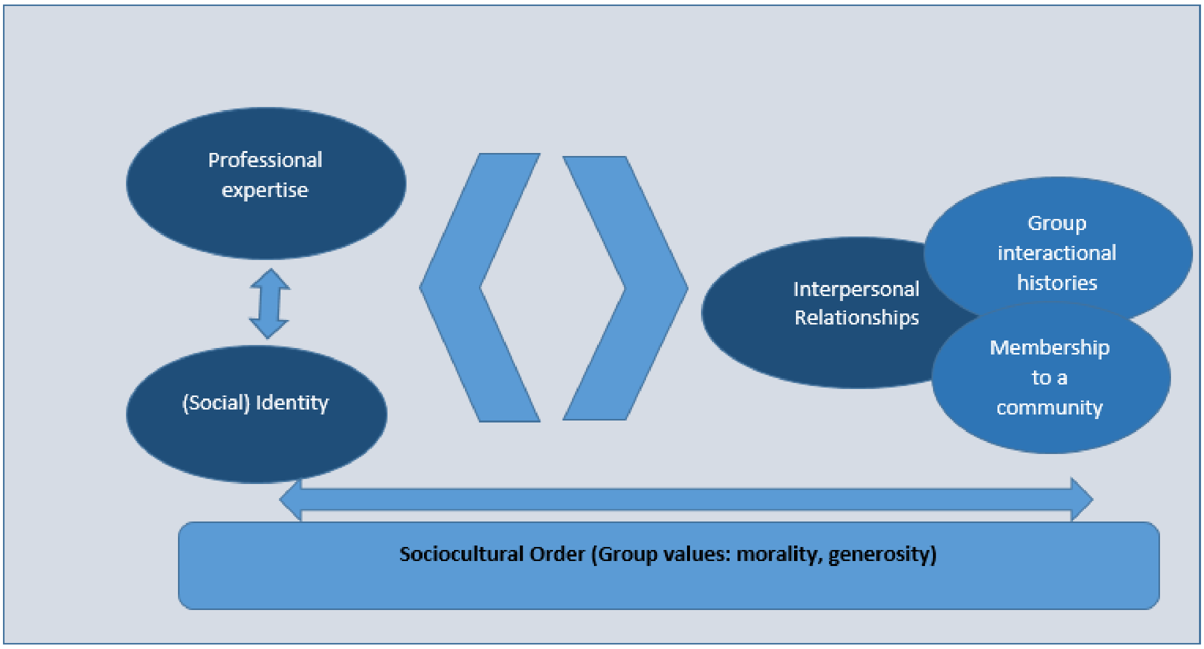
Appendix 4- Sample of mapping the different themes and their relationships



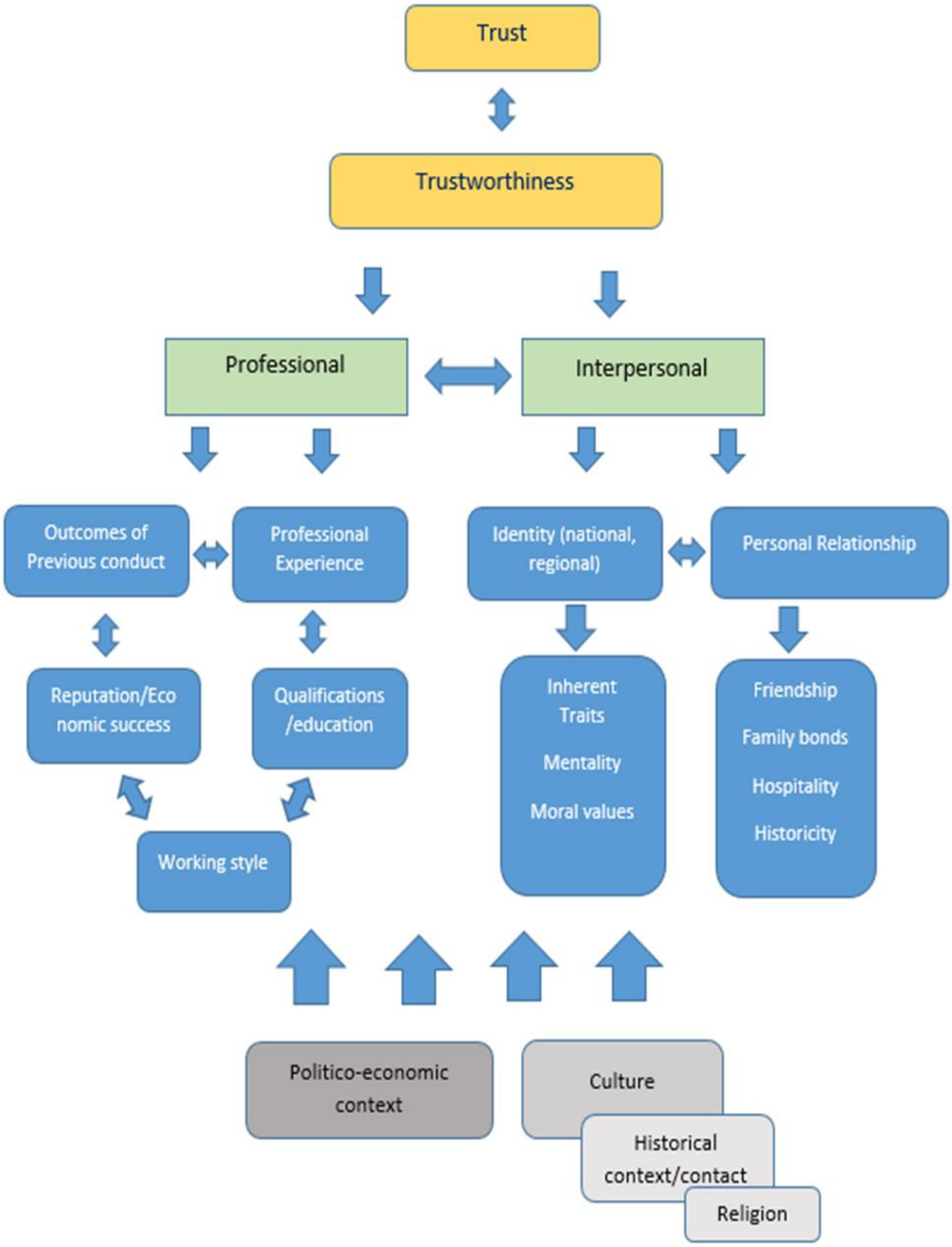
Initial attempts to identify relations between themes



Draft of my first map of themes



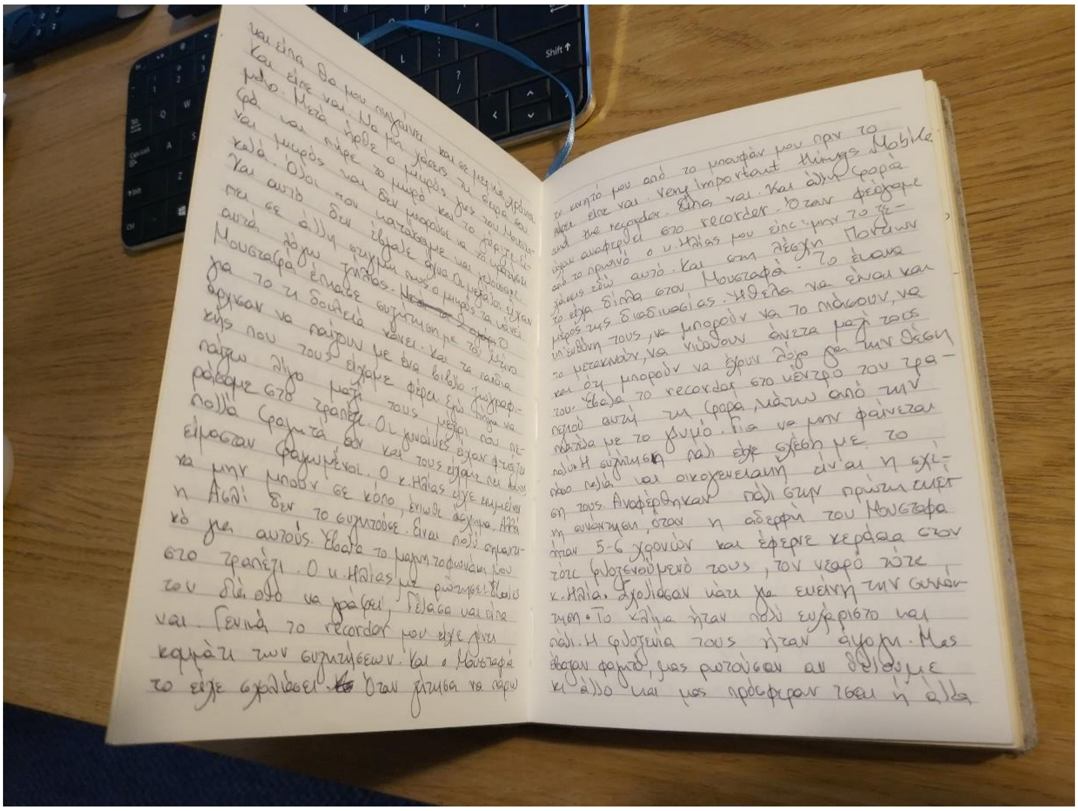
Initial attempts of developing a thematic map

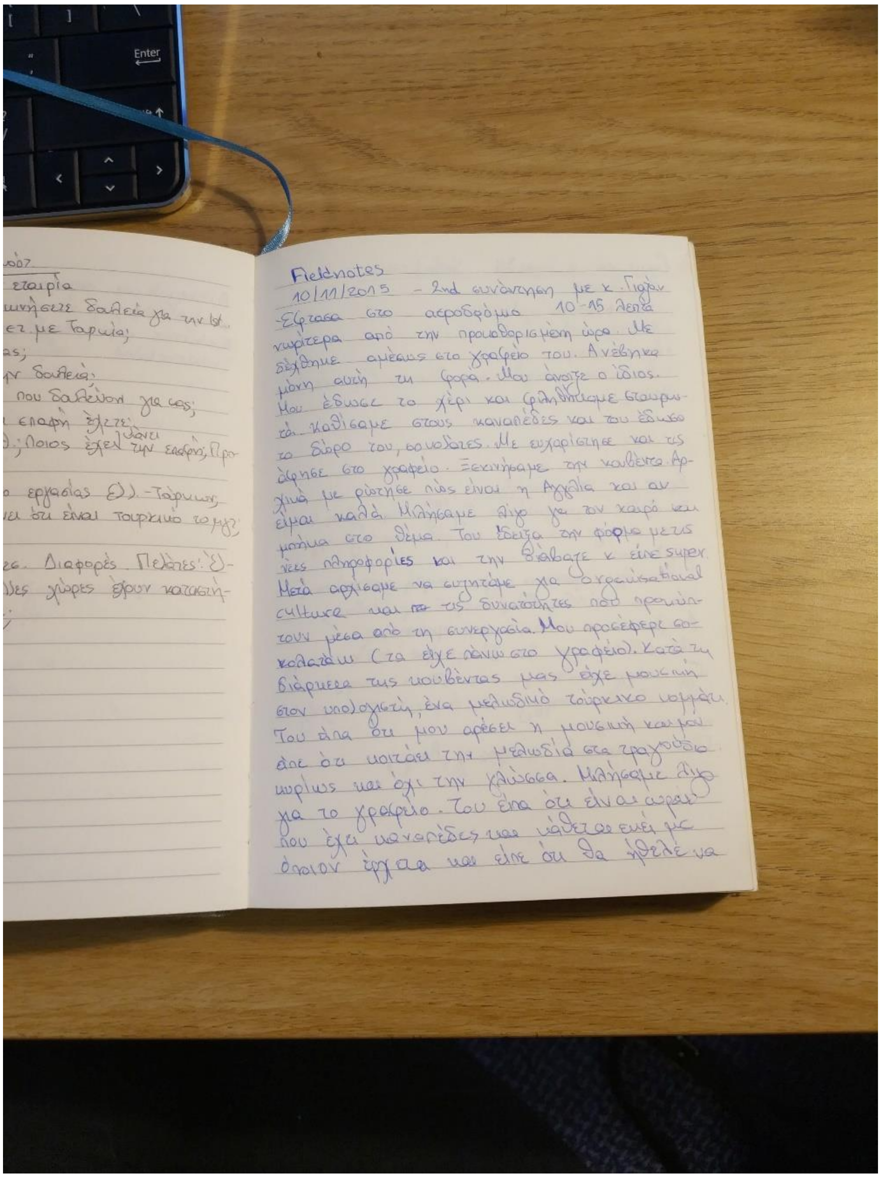


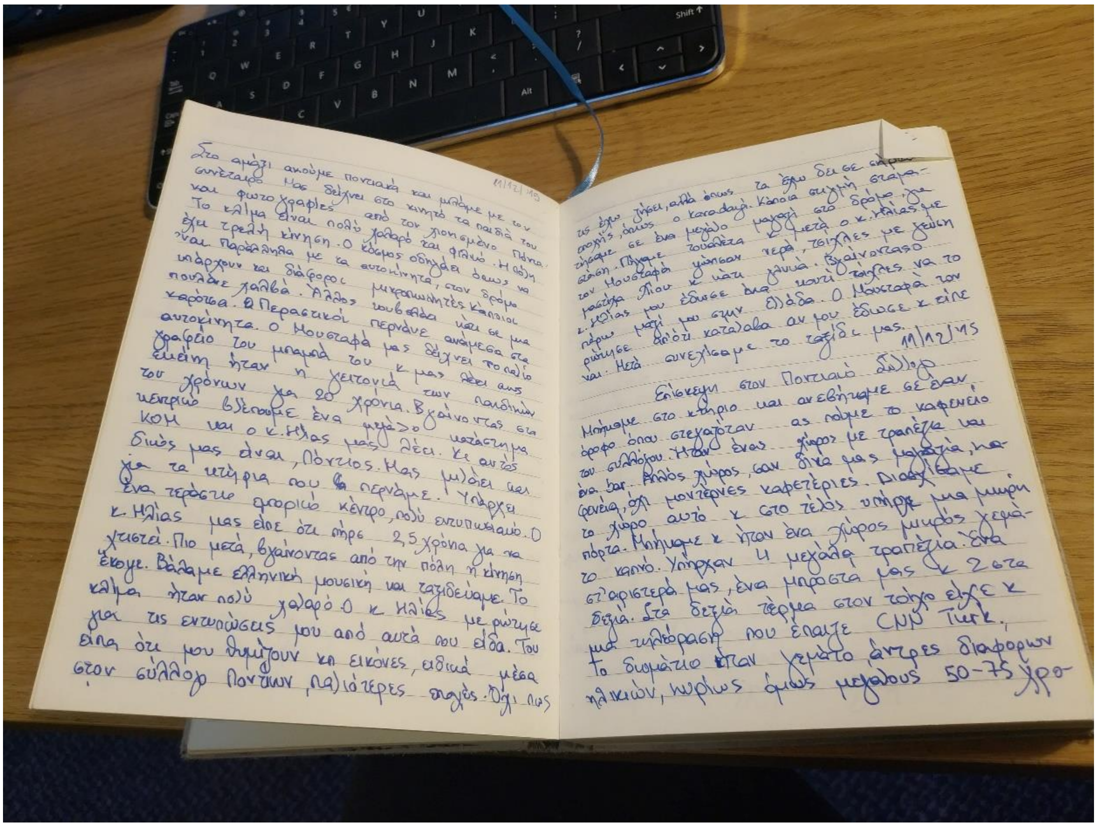
Initial thematic map

Appendix 5 –Sample of fieldnotes (observation)

The following picture illustrate samples of my fieldnotes, which took the form of personal diary while on the field.




Fieldnotes
10/11/2015 - 2nd συνάντηση με κ. Γιλάν
-Έφτασα στο αεροδρόμιο 10-15 λεπτά
νωρίτερα από την προκαθορισμένη ώρα. Με
δέχθηκε αμέσως στο γραφείο του. Ανέβηκα
μόνη αυτή τη φορά. Μου άνοιξε ο ίδιος.
Μου έδωσε το χέρι και φιληθήκαμε σταυρω-
τά. Καθίσαμε στους καναπέδες και του έδωσα
το δώρο του, σοκολάτες. Με ευχαρίστησε και τις
άφησε στο γραφείο. Ξεκινήσαμε την κουβέντα. Αρ-
χικά με ρώτησε πώς είναι η Αγγλία και αν
είμαι καλά. Μιλήσαμε λίγο για τον καιρό και
μετά στο θέμα. Του έδειξα την φόρμα με τις
νέες πληροφορίες και την διάβαζε κ είπε super.
Μετά αρχίσαμε να συζητάμε για organisational
culture και τις δυνατότητες που προκύπ-
τουν μέσα από τη συνεργασία. Μου προσέφερε σο-
κολατάκι (τα είχε πάνω στο γραφείο). Κατά τη
διάρκεια της κουβέντας μας είχε μουσική
στον υπολογιστή, ένα μελωδικό τούρκικο κομμάτι.
Του είπα ότι μου αρέσει η μουσική και μου
είπε ότι κοιτάει την μελωδία στα τραγούδια
κυρίως και όχι την γλώσσα. Μιλήσαμε λίγο
για το γραφείο. Του είπα ότι είναι ωραίο
που έχει καναπέδες και κάθεται εκεί με
όποιον έρχεται και είπε ότι θα ήθελε να



Appendix 6 – sample of original transcriptions

<u>Interview with Bill</u>

7. Έρχεσαι εσύ σε επαφή μαζί τους;

8. Κι εγώ και ο πατέρας μου είναι κάθε 15 μέρες στην Τουρκία κι εκεί έχουμε και πολύ καλες σχέσεις, προσωπικές που έχουν αναπτυχθεί, σε επίπεδο φιλίας. Δηλαδή πάει ο πατέρας μου εκεί και μένει σπίτι τους για να φανταστείς.

9. Ωραία. Αυτά θέλω! Πόσα χρόνια έχετε αυτή την συνεργασία.

10. Την τελευταία τετραετία.

11. Α, τετραετία.

12. Ναι. Δεν είναι πολύ.

13. Μάλιστα. Και έχετε ήδη αναπτύξει τέτοιου είδους σχέσεις. Πώς επιλέξατε την Τουρκία;

14. Στην Τουρκία το κόστος είναι πιο χαμηλό, υπάρχει μεγαλύτερη ευελιξία σε σχέση με την Ευρώπη κι επειδή γενικότερα έχουν όρεξη για δουλειά δεν υπάρχουν αυτά τα τυπικά, όχι ωράρια, όχι εν δουλεύω Σάββατο, έχουν ευελιξία.

15. Α δεν τα έχουν.

16. Κι από κει και πέρα μόνο η Κωνσταντινούπολη έχει γύρω στα 22 εκατομμύρια πληθυσμό. Καταλαβαίνεις ότι έχει μεγαλύτερη πληθώρα επιχειρήσεων, και εξέλιξη. Και γενικότερα τα τελευταία χρόνια αναπτύσσεται γρήγορα η οικονομία.

17. Σίγουρα.

18. Γι’ αυτό τον λόγο

19. Ταξιδεύεις κι εσύ;

20. Ναι, εγώ είμαι μια φορά τον μήνα, πηγαίνω.

21. Πως σου φαίνεται γενικότερα;

22. Β: Κάθε φορά στην Κωνσταντινούπολη επειδή συνήθως εκεί πάω, κάθε φορά η πόλη αναπτύσσεται ακόμα περισσότερο. Τα έργα τους είναι τρομερά.

23. Χρ: Δηλαδή αναπτύσσεται οικονομικά εννοείς;

24. Β: Και οικονομικά. Αυτό που μου κάνει εντύπωση είναι ότι διατηρούν και τις αρχές. Αυτή η ραγδαία ανάπτυξη βλέπεις ότι δεν τους επηρεάζει στην νοοτροπία και στις αρχές τους. Βλέπεις ότι υπάρχει τάξη. Μας έχουν αφήσει αρκετά πίσω.

25. Εξήγησέ μου λίγο τι εννοείς με αυτό που λες για την νοοτροπία και τις αρχές τους.

26. Θα δεις για παράδειγμα στην οικογένεια ο γαμπρός να βλέπει το πεθερό του και να του φιλάει το χέρι, έτσι.

27. Καλά, αυτό.

28. Αυτό είναι το πιο ακραίο. Αλλά θα σου πω ας πούμε.. Έχουν αυτό που λέγαμε εμείς φιλότιμο. Έτυχε ας πούμε να χαλάσει το λεωφορείο, είμασταν με λεωφορείο, θα κατεβούν με τα κοστούμια να βοηθήσουν. Τώρα που ήμουν εκεί την τελευταία φορά, έτυχε να ψάχνουμε μια οδό και μπήκε ένας κύριος στο αυτοκίνητο. Εγώ νόμιζα θα μας πήγαινε 2 στενά παρακάτω κι έκανε τρία χιλιόμετρα. Άφησε την δουλειά του, μας πήγε..

29. Πω,πω. Κ μπήκε κιόλας σε ένα ξένο αυτοκίνητο.

30. Μπράβο, και δεν το ένοιαζε Και μετά ανησυχούσα εγώ πώς θα γυρίσει πίσω και μου λέει μην στεναχωριέσαι πώς θα πάω πίσω.

85. Κοίτα, ο τρόπος αντιμετώπισης και η αμεσότητα που έχεις. Συνήθως υπάρχει προσωπική σχέση, ανεξαρτήτου μεγέθους της επιχείρησης, έχεις να κάνεις επειδή πρόκειται για ιδιωτικές επιχειρήσεις, επειδή συχνά έχεις να κάνεις και με το ίδιο τον επιχειρηματία, ακόμα και 20 χιλιάδες τζίρο να κάνει η εταιρεία. Τώρα δεν ξέρω αν είναι έτσι στον κλάδο μας, αλλά νομίζω ότι έτσι είναι γενικότερα. Γενικά είναι δίπλα σου, σε βλέπουν σαν πελάτη, είναι δίπλα εκεί να σε εξυπηρετήσουν. Οι χώρες της Ευρώπης τα τελευταία χρόνια, εν όψει της κρίσης , την Ελλάδα την βλέπουν λίγο ρατσιστικά. Ειδικά ότι συνεργασίες έχουμε με βόρειες χώρες, Γερμανία κτλπ.

86. Ναι, επίτρεψέ μου να σημειώσω κάτι.

87. Ναι.

88. Αυτό με την εμπιστοσύνη που μου είπες ότι είναι πολύ σημαντικό. Σκέφτομαι να εστιάσω στο πόσο σημαντική είναι αυτή η σχέση.

89. Εγώ μπορώ να σου δώσω κι ένα παράδειγμα ας πούμε, δυο περιπτώσεις, με δυο επιχειρήσεις που κάνουν την ίδια δουλειά, εμπορεύονται χαρτί. Μιλάμε αυτή την Παρασκευή με μια επιχείρηση στην Τουρκία όπου θέλαμε χαρτί. Και ήθελε και μια επεξεργασία. Την Παρασκευή τους έβαλα τα λεφτά, τους λέω το θέλω την Τρίτη. Κάθησαν και δούλεψαν το Σαββατοκύριακο, Δευτέρα πρωί ήταν έτοιμο, Τρίτη πρωί ήταν μια εταιρεία μεταφορικά μπροστά στην πόρτα μας. Ήταν από κοντά συνέχεια μέχρι να φτάσει.

90. Ναι.

91. Η ίδια περίπτωση μου είχε τύχει ένα μήνα πριν στην Γερμανία. Τους βάζω τα λεφτά, για χαρτί που δεν ήθελε επεξεργασία, για μια βδομάδα να παρακαλάω να δω τι γίνεται, γιατί δεν φορτώνουν. Μου λένε θέλει διαδικασία, να βγει πιστοποιητικό, να φορτώσουν. Πράγματα απλά, με λίγα λόγια, να πει αυτός στα γραφεία να πει στον αποθηκάριο φόρτωσε.

92. Ναι.

93. Επειδή όμως είσαι ελληνική επιχείρηση σε αφήνει να περιμένεις, κατά την άποψή μου τουλάχιστον, και έτσι.. ενώ είχα και τα λεφτά προκαταβολικά, ένα μεγάλο ποσό, μια βδομάδα μετά φόρτωσαν. Η αμεσότητα, δεν έχεις με ποιον να μιλήσεις. Δηλαδή τηλεφωνούσα στην Γερμανία, όχι μου έλεγαν πάρε τον αντιπρόσωπό μας στην Ελλάδα, ο αντιπρόσωπος έλεγε ότι μου πουν οι Γερμανοί. Το αποτέλεσμα ποιο είναι; Κι εμείς απευθυνόμαστε εκεί που μπορούμε να εξυπηρετηθούμε καλύτερα.

Interview with John

39. Γενικά οι σχέσεις σας πώς είναι;

40. Πολύ καλές. Πολύ πολύ καλές.

41. Έχετε και πιο προσωπική σχέση πέρα από την επαγγελματική;

42. Σαφέστατα. Αυτό ξεκίνησε δυο χρόνια μετά, μόλις γνωριστήκαμε λίγο και επαγγελματικά. Και οι δυο πλευρές. Ε μετά καταλαβαίνεις πώς γίνεται. Σε καλούν, τους καλείς, πηγαινοέρχεστε.

75. Τι είναι αυτό που κοιτάς εσύ όταν συνεργάζεσαι με κάποιον;

76. Φερεγγυότητα πιο πολύ. Δηλαδή να είναι ακριβής ο άλλος, στις παραδώσεις, στις πληρωμές, σε όλα.

77. Ναι. Και η πιο προσωπική σχέση που δημιουργείται μετά τι ρόλο παίζει στη συνεργασία σας;

78. Μεγάλη. Πρώτα απ’ όλα εμπιστοσύνη, έτσι; Δεύτερον κατανόηση. Για ελαττωματικά πράγματα, επιστροφές, παραγγελίες. Δεν είναι όλοι τόσο διαλλακτικοί την αρχή. Και τρίτον στην πίστωση, έχεις πίστωση.

Interview with George

15. Μάλιστα. Και θέλω να μου πέιτε πιο πολύ η σχέση η δικιά σας πώς είναι.

16. Η προσωπική ή η εμπορική;

17. Και τα δυο. Αν υπάρχει προσωπική.

18. Υπάρχουν και προσωπικές σχέσεις με τους ανθρώπους και αυτό είναι ένα βασικό στοιχείο πίστης μεταξύ, εεε, των δυο χωρών και μεταξύ των ανθρώπων, το οποίο βοηθάει στο εμπορικό κομμάτι της συνεργασίας.

19. Ναι, ναι.

20. Και η Τουρκία είναι μία από τις χώρες, η οποία στην κρίση τουλάχιστον.. (διακοπή)

21. Ωραία, θα ήθελα να μου πείτε για αυτό που αναφέρατε. Υπάρχει προσωπική και εμπορική σχέση και πώς, πώς αναπτύσεεται, τι μορφή πάιρνει, τους επισκέπτεστε εσείς συχνά.

22. Και τους επισκεπτόμαστε και έρχονται, συχνά όχι, αλλά έχουμε δυο φορές τον χρόνο και 3 επισκέψεις μετά είναι και οι εκθέσεις που γίνοται στην Κωνσταντινούπολη οι διεθνείς στον χώρο της συσκευασίας οπότε είναι σημείο συνάντησης.

23. Ναι, ναι.

24. Και μας περιποιούνται όταν πάμε, ειδικά οι έξω από το, μιλάμε για τους φίλους. Η συμεργασία μας είναι πολύ καλή. Εεε, και για άλλη μια φορά σας λέω, ήταν και η μόνη χώρα στην κρίση, η οποία έδειξε κατανόησης στο θέμα της πίστης.

25. Ναι.

26. Δηλαδή από όλες τις χώρες η πίστη αφαιρε΄θηκε. Αυτοί συνέχισαν να δείχνουν, έστω μικρότερη μεν, να δίνουν πίστη στις συνεργασίας τις οποίες είχαν.

27. Γιατί πιστεύετε ότι συμβαίνει αυτό;

28. Παραδοσιακά στην Ελλάδα, αλλά και στην Τουρκία, ο τρόπος συνεργασίας ήταν ο λόγος. Και πάνω σε αυτό βασίζονταν και οι εμπορικές σχέσεις. Έχει μεινει κάτι από αυτό. Και στην Ελλάδα και στην Τουρκία. Δηλαδή θα κάνω αυτό και το τηρώ.

<u>Interview with Mehmet</u>

1. First of all, I want to ask you. I know that you told me you are first friends and then partners.
2. Yeah.
3. And this friendship goes back to the history with your parents, your uncle. I want you to tell me how important was this aspect, the friendship, in order to do business together. I mean did it play a role for you?
4. I didn’t understand exactly. About business?

5. Yes, when you decided with whom you would do the business. How did you think about Nick and what role this friendship played in that?
6. In fact, we didn't know nothing for this business at all. it was Nick business, you know.
7. Yes.
8. They were doing this business since from his father let's say, maybe 25-30 years. They were doing this business. And Nick was coming, every year maybe 2-3-4 times he was coming, to, to. For example for buying raw material, to see the providers, the suppliers and we were travelling together sometimes. Nick was thinking to do this business maybe for 10 years, because here in Turkey the expenses are low, the raw material is cheaper, the salary/working is cheaper, the electric, the taxes. Everything is cheaper.
9. Yes.
10. So to produce the material here is more logical for him, maybe in the last 10 years, maybe more. Because also even from Turkey to export to our neighbors is more logical. For example, to export in North Africa, Iran, Maroco, Algeria, Tunisia these countries most Turks and like Turks and is logical to be supported.
11. Yes.
12. So it was Nick idea and before we were doing our textile business. We discussed about this business and when the time came we started. But it came from Nick mind.
13. Yes.
14. Nick: Αβουτη ερώτηξε, τεμετερον το αρκανταφλικ ντόσα πολλά έδωκε σο καραρ να λέτε ταμαμ;
15. Εμείς είπαμε ταμάμ πόσο είπαμε.
16. Ναι. Αρκαντας κι άλλο πολλά έδωκε η δουλεία.
17. Η δουλεία δεν έντονε πολλά. The friendship of course is more. When Nick came to explain this business we had a meeting. We are 5 partners. Altogether we had a meeting. And after the meeting Nick told us first he told us, I can keep a sign to leave this business if our friendship is going to be damaged because of the business. I will leave everything. And believe me all of our partners, the other partners, is same.
18. Yes.
19. The same mentality. We are the same. So business is only business for us. Before we were doing textile, now we do iron business. In the future we can do another one, no problem. But for us, the most important one is to be together.
20. Together. So you get the power from this coalition.
21. And in this business, if Nick was not be partner of us in this business, I think I couldn't succeed in this business. Sure. Because my partners are from Turkye, the other partners, but nobody knows this business. Nick is from Greece, from 500 klm, but he is, he was always with me.
22. Yes.
23. Believe me if I was feeling bad, if my motivation was not good, first I call Nick.
24. Okay.
25. Yes of course.

26. Because you think he is the expert?
27. Yes, for everything. Not only for business.
28. A ok. So you see Nick as a person that can give you advice and you can discus everything.
29. Sure. No need to find some words about this, he is like my father.
30. Like your father. Nice.
31. Nick: Abi. Not father.
32. Xr.: Ahahha, don’t make him feel old. (laughs). And how important is the fact that you are both from Pontos?
33. Of course. If you have a blood connection is very important I think. It’s very important. We are fanatic, we are fanatic about this. You know I am from Trapezounta, the most fanatic about the mother place is from Trapezounta. All of Turkey I mean, the most fanatics are from Trapezounta.
34. Really?
35. Yes. The most fanatics from Trapezounta. We like each other too much. If I go to Greece, if I see a car with the number 61, 61 is Trapezounta, ok? We are very fanatic. Sure we have to make like this (kornaro).
36. Really?
37. Yes. But I think Greek people are also the same.
38. Yes. Especially if you go abroad and you find another Greek.
39. And if we don’t know him, we ask if you need something.
40. So, is there. There is trust between you?
41. What?
42. There is trust.
43. Trust?
44. Nick: Says the word in Turkish.
45. You don’t need to ask. Yes.
46. And does the fact that you are both from Trabzon makes it more strong? I mean apart that you know there is a friendship, does the fact that you are from Trabzon, this play a role for the trust?
47. Nick: Yes. The part of the whole..
48. Not whole.
49. But the part. Ένα κομμάτι δηλαδή του όλου πακέτου είναι ότι καταγόμαστε από τον ίδιο χώρο.
50. Ναι.
51. Mhm: Now I will ask you one question. Would you mind about me smoking?
52. No. not at all.

Interviews with Nick

124 Λοιπόν..και φτάνουμε σήμερα λοιπόν στην Τουρκία, έχουμε κάνει μια επιχείρηση, είμαστε συνεταίροι, είμαστε και οι 5 Πόντιοι, έχουμε μια σχέση τυφλής εμπιστοσύνης..γιατί έχουμε αυτή την σχέση. Δεν θα βρεις Έλληνα να κάνει συνεταιρισμό με Τούρκο και να υπάρχει η εμπιστοσύνη που υπαρχει σε μένα, αυτό που βλέπεις μαζί

μου. Συνεταίρος είναι ο x, είναι ένας x που ασχολείται με ντονέρ και τέτοια, φαγάδικα, στο κέντρο της Κωνσταντινούπολης. Υπάρχει έναςx, αυτός ζει στην x, ασχολείται με τουριστικές επιχειρήσεις και οικοδομικές επιχειρήσεις. Και αυτός είναι συνεταίρος μας. Κι ένας ακόμα, αυτός ασχολείται με τα ύφασμα είναι ο πλουσιότερος της παρέας, x εκατομμυρια δολλάρια περιουσία..

125 Πωπω..

126 Ο άνθρωπος τσομπάνης έφυγε από το χωρίο του, την τραπεζούντα κι έχει κάνει πολλά λεφτά. Αλλά, έξυπνος, συντηρητικός μέχρι ενός βαθμού, έξυπνος και αρκετά τυχερός στη ζωή του. Αυτή είναι η σύνθεση της εταιρείας μας.

127 όλοι πόντιοι;

128 Ναι, όλοι. Μόνο ποντιακά ακούς εκεί. Ο χ είναι ο πιο εξελιγμένος επειδή έρχεται πιο πολύ στην Ελλάδα και μιλάει πιο λαιτ ποντιακά. Οι άλλοι μιλάν πιο βαριά ποντιακά. Εγώ επειδή ξέρω και μερικά τουρκικά βοηθάω. Εκείνο επειδή θέλουν να μάθουν ποντιακά μιλάνε συνέχεια ποντιακά. (διακοπή για τηλέφωνο-μετά μου δείχνει φωτο από τους συνεταίρους του)

103 Αν σε ρωτήσουν εκεί πέρα τι γράφει εκείνο το κασκολάκι.

104 Α, ναι τι γράφει;

105 (Bize heryer Trabzon). Που σημαίνει για εμάς όπου είμαστε είναι Τραπεζούντα.

106 Πωπω.

107 Είναι σύνθημα των φιλάθλων της Τραπεζούντας. Το ίδο πράγμα, το ίδιο λογότυπο, το έχω στις πινακίδες του αυτοκινήτου μου.

108 Απίστευτο.

109 Αν βγεις έξω και φωτογραφίσεις το αυτοκίνητό μου, είναι πίσω, στις πινακίδες.

110 Από την Τραπεζούντα είστε;

Η μια οικογένεια είναι από εκεί. Της μάνας μου είναι από την Τραπεζούντα, η άλλη είναι από την Κερασούντα.

276 Κοίταξε να σου πω κάτι. Τυφλή εμπιστοσύνη, έτσι; Όλοι αυτοί οι φίλοι αμς και συνεταίροι μας ξέρω γω ας πούμε, δεν είναι χτεσινοί άνθρωποι. Ο καθένας μας έχει μια ιστορία. Σου είπα ότι ο ένας συνέταιρος μας είναι ζάμπλουτος. Δλδ η περιουσία του υπολογίζεται σε πάνω από 200 εκατομμύρια δολλάρια.

277 Ναι.

278 Είναι ο άνθρωπος που όταν ζορίζεται η επιχείρηση πάει βάζει λεφτά και πάμε παραπέρα. Αλλά αυτός δεν είναι ο σκοπός

279 Βέβαια, είναι να μπορεί η εταιρία. Να..

280 Ακριβώς. Πριν από πολλά χρόνια, πριν από 35 χρόνια, όταν γνώρισε ο πατέρας μου τον μπαμπά του Μοχάμεντ και είχε πάει στην Κωνσταντινούπολη και πήγε στο σπίτι του να μείνει, όχι σε ξενοδοχοείο. Και μιλάγανε την ποντιακή, και μιλάγανε για τον Πόντο, για το πώς ζούνε αυτοί εκεί, εμείς εδώ, και άρχισαν και πηγαινοερχόντουσαν, μου είχε πει μια φορά: Θα πάς στην Κωνσταντινούπολη να γνωρίσεις αυτή την οικογένεια. Και μου το 'πε στα ποντιακά: αβούτοι είναι εμόν εμάς. Αυτοί είναι σαν κι εμάς.

281 Πω πω.

282 Και πήγα, με περίμενε στο αεροδρόμιο ο χ, εκεί γνωριστήκαμε για πρώτη φορά. Και πήγα, έμενα 12 μέρες σπίτι τους. Η αδερφή του που σήμερα δύο παιδάκια. Αυτή εδώ η κοπέλα, ήτανε τόση (δείχνει μποι) και μου έφερνε τα κεράσια ξέρεις, για να μου τα κεράσουν. Η αγαπημένη μου η χ. Η οποία είναι η μουσουλμάνα με το τσεμπέρι, ξέρεις, με το μαντήλι. Και όταν με είδε ξανά στο χωριό, την πρώτη φορά που πήγα στο χωριό στον Πόντο, έτρεξε αυθόρμητα με αγκάλιασε μπροστά στον άντρα της. Πράγμα που απαγορεύεται δια ροπάλου.

283 ναι

284 ο χ ο άντρας της λοιπόν βλέποντας πρώτη φορά εμένα, ένα ξενο, κοκκίνισε. Και ο πεθερός του τον συγκράτησε και του λέει, αυτός είναι ο μεγάλος αδερφός.

285 Πω,πω.

286 Εντάξει; Δεν έχεις κανένα δικαίωμα να αισθάνεσαι άσχημα, είναι ο μεγάλος της αδερφός. Και από τον χ είναι πιο πάνω, γιατί είναι πιο μεγάλος. Αγράμπεη είναι ο μεγάλος αδερφός (λεέι την τουρκική λέξη, μπεης). Όταν χτίσαμε αυτή την σχέση μέσα στα τόσα χρόνια, το 2000-20001μου έρχεται η ιδεά να κάνουμε αυτή την επιχείρηση στην Τουρκία.

286. Όταν χτίσαμε αυτή την σχέση μέσα στα τόσα χρόνια, το 2000-20001μου έρχεται η ιδεά να κάνουμε αυτή την επιχείρηση στην Τουρκία. Εκείνη την εποχή είχε πολλά λεφτά. Δηλαδή είχα τόσα λεφτά που έλεγα ας επενδύσω και ας τα έχανα. Τα παιδιά δεν ήταν τόσο καλά οικονομικά, αλλά με την οικονομική δύναμη που είχε τότε μπορούσα να το περπατήσω, μισά μισά. Έκατσα τότε με τον χ, που είναι ο μεγαλύτερος από τα 3 αδέρφια,

287 Ναι.

288 Και του λέω χ θέλω να κάνουμε μια δουλειά. Τι δουλειά; Αυτή την δουλειά που κάνω εδώ πέρα να την κάνω στην Τουρκία. Εδώ είχαμε πολλή δουλειά, πνιγόμασταν. Λέει, ξέρεις, εγώ πολλά λεφτά δεν έχω. Του λέω δεν πειράζει. Μου λέει με εμπιστεύεσαι; Του λέω: αν δεν σε εμπιστευόμουνα δεν θα σε έκανα.

289 Ναι.

290 Κάποια στιγμή στις κουβέντες επάνω, περπατούσαμε, κάναμε φτιάναμε, κουβεντιάζαμε, μου έρχεται στο μυαλό, εεε, αυτό που λέμε ότι τα λεφτά σταύρωσαν τον Χριστό. Και λέω από αυτά που σε είπα χ, τις σκέφτεσαι; Λέει: ρε συ χ θέλω, αλλά φοβάμαι. Ξές τι φοβάμαι; Λέω ξέρω, αυτό που φοβάμαι κι εγώ. Φοβάσαι να μην μαλώσουμε.

291 Πω,πω.

292 Είναι ο μόνος λόγος που θα σου όχι. Φοβάμαι λέει να μην μαλώσουμε. Γιατί, λέει, τα λεφτά, λέει, άμα δουλεύεις για τα λεφτά, σαν λεφτά, σαν αυτοσκοπό, σίγουρα θα μαλώσουμε. Αν δουλεύεις γιατί θες να δουλεύεις, αγαπάς να δουλεύεις, δεν θα μαλώσουμε ποτέ, και του λέω άστε, και όταν έρθει η ώρα θα το ξανασυζητήσουμε. Εγώ από το μυαλό μου δεν το βγάζω. Ούτε κι εγώ.

293 Ναι.

294 Κα έπειτα μετά από κάποια χρόνια πριν ακόμα καλά καταλάβουμε την κρίση εδώ πέρα, ξαναπάω εγώ, αφού έχω πάρει και το οκ από τον πατέρα μου εδώ, ο οποίος μου λέει είναι άνθρωποι, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση, δώσε του και την γυναίκα σου να κοιμηθεί μαζί, δεν θα την ακουμπήσει. Έτσι, για τέτοια πράγματα μιλάμε.

295 Ναι.

296 Και πήγα στην Τουρκία, τους είπα και μου λέει ο x είχε ήδη ξεκινήσει μια επιχείρηση, και μου λέει θα βάλουμε και τον κουμπάρο μου, θα βάλουμε και τον άλλο από εκεί. Και του λέω όποιον θες βάλε. Και είμαστε και οι 5 Πόντιοι, και μιλάμε και οι 5 την ποντιακή, μιλάμε μεταξύ μας την ποντιακή διάλεκτο και κάναμε μια συμφωνία, ότι μπορεί τα λεφτά που θα επενδύσουμε να τα χάσουμε. Έτσι;

297 Ναι.

298 Έχουμε επενδύσει 2,5 εκατομμύρια ευρώ. Εντάξει; Μπορεί να τα χάσουμε. Κανένας σε πληροφορώ δεν πρόκειται να στενοχωρηθεί από την άποψη που έχασε λεφτά. Θα στενοχωρηθεί από την άποψη που κάναμε μια προσπάθεια και δεν απέδωσε.

299 Ναι, ναι.

300 Αλλά μέσα σε όλα αυτά τα χρόνια, την διοίκηση την έχει ο αδερφός του x, ο x, μηχανολόγος το παιδί, γνώστης της αγγλικής, εργατικότατος, τα πάντα όλα, ο οποίος είναι πιστός μουσουλμάνος. Δηλαδή πιστεύει πάρα πολύ στον Θεό.

301 Ναι.

302 Αυτούς τους ανθρώπους μην τους φοβάσαι. Ξες γιατί; Ποτέ μέσα στο Κοράνι δεν γράφει πουθενά να κλέψει. Την κλεψιά την θεωρεί αμαρτία. Κι ένας άνθρωπος που φοβάται τον Θεό δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση να σε κλέψει.

303 Χμμ

304 Αλλά πριν από όλα αυτά προηγείται η εμπιστοσύνη που τους έχουμε, έτσι; Δηλαδή εν ώρα κρίσης ο φίλος μου ο Φικρί με έπιασε κάποια στιγμή στην άκρη και μου λέει, πες μου πόσα λεφτά χρειάζεσαι για να μην ζορίζεσαι. Και έβαλα τα κλάματα. Εγώ, 57 χρονών άνθρωπος τώρα, έβαλα τα κλάματα.

305 Ναι.

306 Και μου λέει γιατί στεναχωριέσαι; Και του λέω, δεν στεναχωριέμαι του λέω. Χαίρομαι και τα δάκρια που βλέπεις είναι από την χαρά μου. Και μου λέει γιατί. Γιατί του λέω δεν έχω κάνει λάθος στους ανθρώπους.

307 Όντως.

308 Λοιπόν, δεν χρειάζεται να με δώσεις λεφτά. Μόνο που μου το είπες είναι σαν να μου τα 'δωσες. Αυτό φτάνει. Γι' αυτό λοιπόν, πολλές φορές με ρωτάνε, όπως με ρώτησες κι εσύ, εμπιστοσύνη. Ποια εμπιστοσύνη ρ ε παιδιάς εγώ τους εμπιστεύομαι την ζωή μου και αυτοί την δική τους. Τι καθόμαστε και κουβεντιάζουμε τώρα.

309 Ναι.

310 Εγώ κοιμήθηκα σπίτι τους, με ταίσανε οι γυναίκες τους και τα παιδιά τους. Για τους μουσουλμάνους είναι ιερό πράμα. Να πας να φας στο σπίτι τους είναι μεγάλη τιμή, έτσι, να σου ανοίξουν το σπίτι τους, είναι μεγάλη τιμή.

311 Ναι.

312 Πράγματα πολύ μικρά, αλλά πάρα πολύ μεγάλα.

313 Αυτό βλέπω και με ενδιαφέρει πολύ.

355 Για μένα βασικό, πάντοτε, 'όσο κι αν ακούγεται ουτοπικό, είναι η σχέση των ανθρώπων. Γιατί το λεώ. Με τον φίλο μου τον Βέλγο δεν έχουμε κάνει ούτε ένα ευρώ δουλειά. Πάνε 27 χρόνια που είμαστε φίλοι. Και μιου το είπε. Εμένα με διπλαρώνουν πάντα άνθρωποι που θέλουν να κάνουν δουλειά μαζί μου. Εσύ τόσα χρόνια δεν αισθάνθηκες την ανάγκη να κάνεις δουλειά μαζί μου; Του λέω σ'αγαπώ τόσο πολύ ώστε δεν θέλω να σε χάσω.

356 Πωπω

357 Ντάξει; Όσο κι αν ακούγεται περίεργο, έτσι το είπα. Προτιμώ να έχω τον φίλο φίλο μου, παρά ένα πρώην φίλο μου εχθρό. Ας μείνουμε φίλοι. Αν τύχει, αν μας στα φέρει η ζωή και κάνουμε δουλειά μαζί, θα είναι ότι καλύτερο μπορούμε να κάνουμε. Αλλά το να κυνηγήσω ή να κυνηγήσουμε κάτι δεν το θέλω.

358 Ναι.

359 Δεν βλέπω τους ανθρώπους σαν λεφτά, ποτέ δεν είδα τους ανθρώπους σαν λεφτά. Την καθημερινότητά μου την ζω σε ένα καφενεία της Νεάπολης που έχω να κάνω με καθημερινούς ανθρώπους, παρέα, και αισθάνομαι τόσο καλά που τα αξιώματα και τα λεφτά τα βάζω πάντα τελευταία.

363. Γτ μου το έχει πει και ο φίλος μου ο Βέλγος. Σε ζηλεύω γιατί είσαι πάρα πολύ πλούσιος.

364 Ναι.

ου λέω, τι πλούσιος ρε συ. Εγώ να φάω δεν έχω. Όχι μου λέει, έχεις πάρα πολλούς φίλους, και ο πλούτος σου είναι εκεί. Εγώ δεν έχω φίλους. Εμένα όσοι με πλησιάζουν είναι επειδή έχω λεφτά.

366 Πωπω..

367 Όσο προκλητικό κι αν ακούγεται μου λέει, έτσι είναι. Έχω μια ζωή άνετη, πάρα πολύ άνετη, αλλά μοναχική, έτσι;

368 Ναι.

369 Και από τότε το χρησιμοποιώ αυτό που μου είπε. Όποτε έχω κάνει γλέντι σπίτι μου και έχω πολύ κόσμο το λέω. Αισθάνομαι πάρα πολύ πλούσιος γιατί έχω φίλους.

375 Είναι στους ανθρώπους, έτσι; Όταν είχαν έρθει, είναι από τις στιγμές τις σημαδιακές, ο Μοχάμεντ εδώ, και είχε έρθει μαζί του ο Φικρί, αυτός που είναι ο λεφτάς σήμερα, τότε δεν ήταν ακόμα λεφτάς, και πρώτη φορά γνώρισε τον πατέρα μου, ήθελε να αγοράσει κπς ραπτομηχανές στην Ελλάδα γτ τότε οι βιοτεχνίες κλείναν εδώ. Έβγαλε από την τσέπη του 500.000 μάρκα, δλδ 250.000 ευρώ, και λέει Θανάση κράτησέ τα εσύ γτ εγώ θα πάως το ξενοδοχείο.

376 Ναι.

377 Ο πατέρας μου λέει Φικρί τώρα με γνώρισες, με εμπιστεύεσαι για τόσα πολλά λεφτά. Και θα βάζαν και τον πιο τίμιο άνθρωπο του κόσμου. Και ο Φικρί είπε: α πρόκειται με αυτά τα λεφτά να σε σώσω, πάρτα να σωθείς. Αλλά φού είσαι φίλος του Μοχάμεντ, του Αλί και του Μοχάμεντ, δεν νομίζω ότι μπορεί να το σκεφτείς, έτσι; Οπότε εγώ κοιμάμαι ήυσχος, μην στεναχωριέσαι.

378 Ναι.

379 Δηλάδη είναι ο κάθε άνθρωπος από μας, δώσαμε κάποιες υποτυπώδεις εξετάσεις μεταξύ μας αν το θέλεις, έτσι; Δηλαδή δεν έγινα ξαφνικά αυτά. Αυτά σφηρυλατηθήκαν μέσα στα χρόνια, έτσι; Και να στο πω και διαφορετικά Χριστίνα. Αλίμονο αν πάψουν να υπάρχουν άνθρωποι.

Original transcript of the meeting discussed in chapter 6

C: koydu masama, ondan sonra, borcum ne kadar, sen borcunu bilmiyorsan, ben ne dicem sana

(C: He placed it on my desk, then, how much is my debt, I you don’t know your debt, what will I tell you?)

(A: neyse, kapatin hesaplari da ne yaparsaniz yapin,

(A: Whatever...close the deal and do whatever you want)

C: Senle ne ilgisi var? (C: How does it relate to you?)

Demir: ben arada ezildim, ama bana cok sey ettin, laf ettin, senin adamin da bilmem neyin)

(A: I was in between, but you did a lot of things to me, you did say much, like he was your man and so)

C: tabi senin adamindi ya (C: of course he was your man)

07.40

Demir: smdi bi dakka bir sey sorcam sana, bunun yanina ben bir arkadasimi simdi getirdim ben, yerlestirdim is icin, on bes sene yanimda calisti, sonra ayrildi gitti on bes sene sonra, ama iyi ayrildi, ama kotu ayrildi, cok onemli degil nasil ayrildigi, on dort sene yuz kizartici bir sey yok, benim adamim midir

(A: Now wait I'll ask something to you, I brought a friend of mine to his place, and I placed him there for a job, he worked there for fifteen years, then left the place after fifteen years, no matter good or bad, it's not that important how you left, there wasn't anything embarassing for fifteen years, is he my man?)

B: Hayir, senin adamin olmaktan cikmistir, (B: No, he is not your man any more)

07.50

Adem-C: yaw, biz onu senin adami var diye demedik, simdi sen, yani adamin yapmis oldugu hareketler ve tavirlar, ben herkese elimden geleni yapmaya calisiyorum, sevkatli calismaya calisiyorum, vermeye calisiyorum, yani yasadigim bazi zorluktan sonra da vermemek icin de,

(C: Well, we didn't say that because there was your man, now you, I mean the things and behaviours your man display.. I do as much as I can for everybody, I try to approach with compassion, I try to give. I mean after the difficulties I experienced, not giving...)

Demir:A: Ben sana zamaninda soylemedim mi bunlarda sen hata yapiyorsun, dedim mi demedim mi,

(A: Didn't I tell you once upon a time that you were making a mistake, did I tell you or not?)

Adem -C: Dedi ki yani ben onun gibi olurum dedi yani, ben ona soyledim, yaptigim olaylarla ilgili bedel odedim, simdi sana da aynisini yaparsam bir bedel oderim dedim yani, olur mu yemin billah etti, olmaz dedi

(C: He said that he could be like him, that is, I told him, I paid the cost of what I did, now if I do the same to you, I would pay another cost.. He said no, he swore, and said it won't happen)

A: Sen de inandin (A: And you believed)

Adem-C: Ben de inandim, ya da saf gibi inandim ne yapalim, (C: And I believed, or I believed like a fool, what can I do?)

A: Ben kendim uyardim ama (A: But I warned you myself)

A: Ama benim adamim degil yani, sen bir adami on bes sene taniyamazsan ben nasil taniyacagim,

(A: But he wasn't my man, if you can't get to know someone for fifteen years, how can I know that person?)

Adem-C: Insanlari tanimak zor, ne goruyorsun biliyor musun, seninle her yolda gelir, ama arkanda farkli kuyu kazar, anlayamazsin

(C: it is hard to know people. You know what you see, they walk with you in every way, but make different plans behind you, you can't understand that)

A: Arkandan da kuyu da kazmadi haci ya

(A: He didn't make different plans behind you, dude)

C: (hazirlik yapti) kotu bir sey, su yolda gitti kuyu mu kazdi, gitti belasini buldu, bir problem yok, o gitti daha iyisini bulsun, ben kimsenin belasini,

(C: He was preparing, something bad, did he go on this way and make a bad plan against me, he went away and got his punishment. He left, and I hope he finds better, I don't want anyone to be punished)

A: kendi isini yapmaya karar verdi, insanlar kendi isini... karar verdi

(A: He decided to do his own business, people can do own business, he decided)

09.05

C: Kendi basina gitseydi de yapsaydi benden gereken destegi de alirdi, ama sen

(C: He could have gone and done his own business on his own, then he would get my support as well, but you)

A: Tek basina beceremezdi ki abi

(A: He couldn't do it on his own)

Demir: bence onlar normal surecler, yani ama baska bir sey varsa isin icinde, baska bir sey yakaladiysan o ayri,

(A: I think these are normal procedures, I mean, but if you caught something else, if there is something else in this, then it is different)

C: Yok bi sey yok, yakalamadim ben, yaptiysa da Allah

(C: No I didn't catch anything else. If he did something else, May God...)

A: Yani aklina gelir insanin, onu demeye calisiyorum, acaba benle benim yanimda ben ona is veriyordum, benim yanimda calisirken ona is veriyordu, beni mi kolladi onu mu kolladi, insanin aklina o gelir yani

(C: That is, anyone can think like that, that's what I mean. Like, I wonder whether he observed my rights or their rights while he was working for me and giving jobs to them as well)

C: Dogru gelir yani (C: yes, that's right)

A: Insanin aklina gelir yani (A: Anyone can wonder that)

10.19

C: simdi soyle burdan ayriliyorsun gidiyorsun, altinda A6 mi A4 araba alinirsa, senin zihniyetindeki gorusun ne olur abi, ben sana soyluyorum simdi, bu firmada ben malimi boyatirken o boyatirken uc milyon dort yuz liradan boyatirken, uc milyon alti yuzliradan boyatirken, bin iki yuz liradan, ayni ihracati uc milyon dokuz yuz liradan yaptim, ve daha iyi yaptim

(C: Now what would you think if he leaves here and then goes buys an A6 or A4? What would be the image in your mind? I'm telling you now, when I was making him paint my stuff in that company, it was for around three millions four hundred liras or three millions six hundred liras, one thousand two hundred liras…Now I did the same exportation for three millions a hundred liras, and it is better.

B: Senin hatan var o zaman abi, fazla takip etmedin

(B: Then, you are faulty, you didn't follow him)

C: Abi guveniyosun adama

(C: dude, you trust the man)

B: Abi guvenmek de zorundasin, yoksa her is senin sirtinda kalir yani, yaptigi ortada

(B: Abi, you have to trust, otherwise, you will have to do everything. What he did is here)

C: Beni degil, bir daha kimseyi, transferle felan is vermeyiz yani, ama sen yaptiysa yuce Allah yukarda yani,

(C: Not me, but we wouldn't give job to anyone by transfer, but if he did that, there is Allah over there)

B: Ben de bir sey diyemem, yapmadi diyemem ki abi,

(B: I can't say anything, I can't say that he didn't do it)

C: Hiic sey degil yani,

(C:I don't care, I mean)

B: Onu Allah bilir

(B: Allah knows that)

B: Ya onu takma kafana, ondan para kaybedemezsin, ben ona sart kostum, o parayi getirip verecek sana,

(B: Well, don't think too much about him, you won't lose money from that, I made it a condition for him, he will bring the money to you)

C: Ben ona dedim ki parayi verince, yoksa baska benim ona hirsim da yok, gidip geliyodu, (unintelligible) gidip geliyodu

(C: I told him, after giving the money. Otherwise, I don't have such obsessions, he was visiting (unintelligible), coming and going)

B: Dolar olarak 2500 dolari alacagin var, bu senenin sonuna kadar o para sana gelecek, bu kadar, ha ondan sonra konusursunuz konusmazsiniz

bilmem,

B: In dollars, you will be getting 2500 dollars. Until the end of this year, that money will come to you, that's it. Well, after that, I can't know whether you talk to him or not).

C: Konusuyoruz zaten abi, ayni yerde oturuyoruz, benim kinim yok abi, yaptiysa kendisine ait

(C: We are talking already. We live in the same area, I don't hold any grudge against him, whatever he did, it belongs to him).

B: Konusmanizdan yanayim, neticede meslektassiniz,

(B: I would prefer that you speak to each other. After all, you are colleagues).

C: Yaptiysa kendine ayip,

(C: if he did it, that's up to him.)

B: Ben yaptigina inanmiyorum, ama yaptiysa kefil olamam ona, yani insanoglu ne yapar ne yapmaz bilemem

(B: I don't believe that he did that. But I can't guarantee if he did or not. You never know what a human being will do, I don't know.)

C; Bak yapti demiyorum

(C: Look, I'm not saying that he did it)

13.50

B: Biliyorum senin ne dedigini, anliyorum, ama suphe var diyosun, haklisin,

(B: I know what you are saying, but you say that there is a doubt, you are right.)

C: Bak bu baska bir sey yok abi,

(C: Look, that's it, there isn't anything else)

B: simdi biraz da soyle bakmaklazim olaya abi, simdi gecmise dair herkes hata bulabilir ona, ikincisi herkes bana nasil bakiyor ona bakmk lazim, ucuncusu de siz ayni camianin kisisiniz, her ne kadar baksan da siz on kisisiniz on bes kisisiniz, bir problem ciktigi zaman destek olacak olan o, oyle bakmak lazim, kinci olmamak lazim, degilsin biliyorum, genel konusuyorum, senin icin de konusuyorum, onun icin de konusuyorum

(B: I think you also need to see the situation this way my brother, I think everyone can find something about the past. Secondly, you need to see how everyone else is looking at you. Third, you two belong to the same field, you are around ten fifteen people here in this field. When there is a problem, he will support you, that's how you need to look at it. No need to hold grudges, I know you aren't a hater, I'm talking in general, and I'm also speaking for you and him.)

C: Hayir hayir kinci (degilim?) (C: No, no I'm not a hater.)

Tolga: (yapacak bi sey yok, elinde evrak yok senet yok,cek yok, onla guvene dayali is yapiyorsun, sen bunu yaptigin icin sen cok fedakarlik yapman lazim niye sen bu adama boyle –yaptigin icin, adam sana her seyi guvenmis, senin dsunmen lazim ki iyi bir adama denk gelmissin, benden iki uc kurus gitsin yeterki o adamin gonlu olsun degil mi ? ayiptir, guvenmeyeceksin bu kopege.) (There is nothing to do, you don't have an agreement, or any cheque.. You are working with him only on the basis of trust. Just because you are doing this, he should have compromise..That guy trusted you everything, and he should have thought that he came across with a good guy.. He should have said 'well I can lose some money, but it is okay if that guy is happy'.. That's a shame, won't you trust that dog…)