Power at work:
The discursive construction of power relations in multilingual organizations

DISSERTATION
of the University of St. Gallen,
School of Management,
Economics, Law, Social Sciences
and International Affairs
to obtain the title of
Doctor of Philosophy in Organizational Studies and Cultural Theory

submitted by
Claudine Gaibrois
from
Bressaucourt (Jura)

Approved on the application of

Prof. Dr. Chris Steyaert
and
Prof. Dr. Julia Nentwich

Dissertation no. 4351

Difo-Druck GmbH, Bamberg 2014

The University of St. Gallen, School of Management, Economics, Law, Social Sciences and International Affairs hereby consents to the printing of the present dissertation, without hereby expressing any opinion on the views herein expressed.

St. Gallen, October 14, 2014

The President:

Prof. Dr. Thomas Bieger

Acknowledgments

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude to my primary supervisor, Chris Steyaert, for inspiring me with his unconventional ways of thinking, for his precise and detailed feedback on my dissertation draft, for being so demanding and, at the same time, for giving me the space to study exactly what I felt was an important topic to investigate. He also deserves a big "thank you" for making it possible for me to conduct this research project in my own rhythm and for supporting me when there was a real need for it.

Then, I offer thanks and gratitude to my second supervisor, Julia Nentwich, for her comments that were always sharp and precise, for her helpful suggestions about the literature, and for her perennially supportive openness whenever I had an issue or questions. Also, thanks to my colleagues Florian Schulz, Christoph Michels, Björn Müller, Wiebke Tennhoff, Patrizia Hoyer and Laurent Marti at the Research Institute for Organizational Psychology (OPSY) for important feedback and suggestions during the research process – and for being such a nice, lovely crowd.

A heartfelt "thank you" to my former research colleague, Anja Ostendorp, also from OPSY. I will never forget our discussions on "our" sofa in our beloved café which, unfortunately, does not exist anymore. It was in those exchanges about the multilingualism research project that I was involved with then that the ideas for this dissertation emerged and blossomed. I also thank the native-English speakers Ellen O'Connor, Carolyn Skelton (University of St. Gallen) and Philip Walker for important terminology suggestions. Also, thanks a lot to my language editor Jane Katz for English language advice on my text.

I thank the companies Globalos and Maximal who made it possible for me to interview their staff about multilingualism. And, especially, thanks a lot to all the interviewees who showed interest in my topic and generously shared their experiences with me.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my companions in the organizing committee of the Intercultural Film Festival, "Cinema Querfeld", which takes place in Basel every spring. In the nine years of sharing the volunteer work for organizing the festival, I have learned a lot about the importance of participating in interactions in a linguistically diverse context. It is also thanks to all of them that I started to question the essentialist notion of language – and of culture, which was the concept I had initially intended to study in my dissertation. Thank you very much to Anja, Ruedi, Matur, Daniel, Yvette, Arzu, Pavel, Albena, Gökhan, Ursula, Firdesa, Jasmin, Luqi, Tiziano, Waira and the teenagers of the WUMA (Wohnheim für unbegleitete minderjährige Asylsuchende)!

I thank Paola Rhyn-Gut for a number of important and substantial conversations on my decision to write a dissertation. Thank you also to my friends, especially Jeannette, Salome, Matthis and Alexandra, for taking an interest in my project and for encouraging me.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my parents, Ursula and Yves Gaibrois, for their lifelong love and support. Also, without always pointing it out explicitly, they have sensitized me to themes of multilingualism and communication from childhood on. And, from the bottom of my heart, I thank my husband, Christoph Achini, for supporting this project from the first minute to the last one and for always believing in me. Thank you very much also to our little son, Fernando, for being such a ray of sun and for discovering the world with so much curiosity and openness. It is to both of them that I dedicate this dissertation. I love you very much!

Basel, August 2014 Claudine Gaibrois

Table of contents

List of figures and tables

Figures

Tables

Abstract

Aspects of power dynamics related to multilingualism have received some attention in organization and management studies. But employees' experience of the implications of linguistic diversity for power relations have rarely been the focus. This dissertation examined this question through a comparative empirical study. I interviewed employees of two Swiss-based companies in order to grasp a broad variety of organizational members' perspectives on political dimensions of communicating in a linguistically diverse context. The choice of two very different organizations – a multinational and a Swiss firm – furthermore made it possible to investigate the role of English on power aspects of linguistic diversity. I based my study on a relational, agency-focused notion of power inspired by the late writings of Foucault.

Using the discursive psychological notion of interpretative repertoire, I first grouped the accounts collected in the interviews into six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations. I next examined the subject positions evolving from these repertoires that people adopted to position themselves and others. Finally, I studied the implications of these subject positions for individual and collective scopes of action and forms of agency creation.

My findings support conclusions of research on multilingualism which emphasize that language skills can be interpreted as fundamental for individual influence, access to information and participation. Based on the important role of language skills, findings also confirm that linguistic diversity intersects with other diversity categories such as organizational function (blue vs. white collars) and "national status" (migrant vs. expatriate). At the same time, I identified in both companies forms of agency creation which aim at counterbalancing the temporarily stabilized hierarchies of agency which are often related to language skills. With respect to English specifically, my findings support research which has interpreted the role of English in multilingual organization as ambivalent. They confirm that using the global lingua franca as a "common platform" facilitates participation, but, at the same time, that it excludes non-English speakers.

With respect to Foucauldian research in Organization Studies, this study contributes to a rather new line of research, which based on Foucault's underexplored writings focuses on agency. By studying a variety of forms of agency creation beyond resistance, which was what Foucault suggested to analyze, this study contributes to advancing inquiry on creating space for agency.

Keywords:
Linguistic diversity; organizations; power relations; agency; Foucault

Zusammenfassung

Mit Mehrsprachigkeit in Zusammenhang stehende Machtdynamiken haben in der Organisations- und Managementforschung eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit erhalten. Doch die Erfahrungen der Mitarbeitenden bezüglich der Konsequenzen von sprachlicher Diversität für Machtbeziehungen standen selten im Zentrum. Diese Dissertation hat diese Fragestellung anhand einer vergleichenden empirischen Studie untersucht, die sich auf Interviews mit Mitarbeitenden von zwei in der Schweiz basierten Unternehmen stützt. Die Wahl von zwei sehr unterschiedlichen Firmen – ein multinationaler Konzern und ein Schweizer Unternehmen – hat es zudem ermöglicht, die Rolle des Englischen in Machtaspekten von Sprachenvielfalt zu erforschen. Die Studie stützt sich auf ein relationales, handlungszentriertes Verständnis von Macht, das von Foucaults späten Schriften angeregt ist.

Anhand des diskurspsychologigen Konzepts des interpretativen Repertoires habe ich zunächst die in den Interviews gesammelten Schilderungen in sechs interpretative Repertoires über das Erfahren von Kommunikation in mehrsprachigen Organisationen eingeteilt. Dann habe ich die aus diesen Repertoires entstehenden Positionen zur Selbst- und Fremdpositionierung herausgearbeitet. Zuletzt habe ich die Implikationen dieser Subjektpositionen für individuelle und kollektive Handlungsspielräume sowie Formen der Schaffung von Handlungsmächtigkeit untersucht.

Meine Ergebnisse stützen die Schlussfolgerung der Mehrsprachigkeitsforschung, die Sprachkenntnisse als fundamental für individuellen Einfluss, Zugang zu Information und Partizipation interpretiert. Meine Studie bestätigt auch, dass sprachliche Diversität sich mit anderen Diversitätskategorien wie organisationaler Funktion („blue" vs. „white collars") und „nationalem Status" (Migrantinnen und Migranten vs. Expats) kreuzt. Gleichzeitig fanden sich Formen der Schaffung von Handlungsmächtigkeit, die ein Gegengewicht zu den temporär stabilisierten Hierarchien des Handlungsspielraums, welche oft mit Sprachkenntnissen in Zusammenhang stehen, schaffen. Mit Bezug aufs Englische bestätigen meine Ergebnisse jene Forschung, der dessen Rolle in mehrsprachigen Organisationen als ambivalent interpretiert. Meine Studie kommt wie diese zum Schluss, dass die Nutzung der globalen lingua franca als „gemeinsame Plattform" Partizipation erleichtert, aber gleichzeitig Personen, die nicht Englisch sprechen, ausschliesst.

In bezug auf die sich auf Foucault stützende Organisationsforschung leistet diese Studie einen Beitrag zu einer eher neuen Forschungsrichtung, die sich – gestützt auf noch wenig beachtete Werke von Foucault – auf Handlungsmächtigkeit konzentriert. Mit der Untersuchung einer Vielfalt von Formen der Schaffung von Handlungsmächtigkeit auch jenseits von Widerstand, den Foucault zu analysieren vorschlug, trägt diese Dissertation dazu bei, die Forschung zur Schaffung von Handlungsspielräumen voranzubringen.

Keywords:
Sprachliche Diversität; Organisationen; Machtbeziehungen; Handlungsmächtigkeit; Foucault

Introduction

It has been fifteen years since Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999) formulated the need to examine language as a source of power in organizations, in this case, in multinational companies. Since then, a number of texts focusing on the political dimensions of language use in multilingual organizations have been written in the field of International Business. Often, these have concentrated on the implications of using English as the global lingua franca for power relations and/or on language policies. Furthermore, many empirical studies examining multilingual companies have tended to focus on the managerial level. How employees at all positions of the hierarchy experience working in a multilingual environment, where the management does not try to manage multilingualism through policies, has received less attention. Also, critical voices from the field of diversity research have called for more empirical investigations of "how diversity is made sense of and experienced by a diverse workforce itself, rather than by (top) managers and policy makers" (Zanoni et al. 2010: 17).

Therefore, with this dissertation project, I set out to investigate the power dimensions of working in a multilingual organization from the perspective of the staff rather than the management. In this respect, I focus on how people experience linguistic diversity in everyday communication at work. I am especially interested in how they describe the impact of working in a multilingual environment on their scope of action; that is, on the possibilities and constraints they encounter. Furthermore, I explore the different ways that organizational members find to create spaces for agency in an organization composed of people with different linguistic backgrounds.

In studying these questions, I work with two key concepts: power and agency. I adopt an understanding of power based mainly on the late writings of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. The core elements of my definition consist in viewing power as non-essentialist, relational and exercised only over free subjects who are confronted with a field of possibilities. In this perspective, power is clearly distinguished from repression. Therefore, I do not focus on stable power relations or even on domination, as scholars in critical studies tend to do. In my view, Alvesson and Sandberg (2011) make an important point when they state that critical approaches tend to work with "prepackaged problematization attempts" and thus mainly are "reproducing the assumptions underlying their own perspective" (p. 252).

At the same time, critically oriented researchers have called for a more differentiated theorizing of power. Ahonen et al. (2013) came to the conclusion that critical diversity studies in their quest for social justice conceive of social hierarchies as "products of differential power with those at the peak wielding power over others" (p. 12). They therefore identified a need for a more developed conceptualization of power; within this research field, power tends to be viewed negatively. With this dissertation, I hope to contribute to a more fine-grained conceptualization of power which is not limited to oppression and control.

In order to investigate power relations in multilingual organizations, this study adopts a discursive perspective and, thus, a social constructionist take on language. From this point of view, discourse builds social relations, and does not merely reflect them. A "discursive space" can then be seen as "a discursive fabric that brings together many different threads which can be combined and woven differently" (Wetherell 2001: 25). In such a view, a multilingual organization represents a "linguascape", as Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) suggest, that is, a "discursive space in which an organization (…) imagines how it can deal with its (…) multilingual composition by negotiating among various discursive options" (p. 25).

Based on this social constructionist understanding of "reality", I will investigate the variety of descriptions of power-related aspects of multilingualism that people offer, and the implications of these descriptions for agency. With a basis in Foucault, I have developed an understanding of power relations which includes space for individual agency. For the "operationalization" of agency, I work with the notion of positioning (Davies and Harré 2001/1990; Harré and van Langenhove 1991), which conceptualizes agency as discursively constructed (Davies and Harré 2001). This concept proposes that "whenever somebody positions him/herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one who is addressed. And similarly, when somebody positions somebody else, that always implies a positioning of the person him/herself" (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 398). In these positioning acts, subject positions, which incorporate both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those who use that repertoire, are taken up or created. Positioning represents a discursive practice, one of the discursive processes in which the social world is created. Because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that a person could engage in, the notion of choice is involved inevitably. It is here that agency enters the scene.

In order to investigate how "ordinary" employees experience linguistic diversity and its role in power relations in everyday work communication, I conducted a comparative case study. I examined two multilingual organizations based in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, each characterized by a different degree of "Englishization" (Dor 2004): a multinational company (pseudonym: Globalos) and a Swiss firm (pseudonym: Maximal). Both are involved in the production of consumer goods. However, they differ with regard to the use of English. At the multinational Globalos, using the global lingua franca as the common language seems to have increasingly established itself as de rigueur. However, talking in English represents one of many options at the Swiss company Maximal, where three of the four national languages of Switzerland (French, Swiss German and Italian) and Standard German (as the standardized, Swiss variant of German used in written and some oral communication contexts) play an active role. Comparing the two cases thus makes it possible to examine the role of English as well as the relevance of the national and organizational context for power relations in multilingual organizations.

In both companies, I conducted semi-structured interviews with employees from different linguistic, hierarchical and occupational backgrounds in order to grasp some of the organizational diversity. Articulating statements can be viewed as a form of

producing subject positions; thus, these interviews arguably represent appropriate data for examining how people position themselves and others with regard to the implications of working in a linguistically diverse organization. In the talks with the interviewees, I intentionally did not use the term "power" in order to refrain from suggestive questions. Rather, I asked participants to produce accounts of their everyday experiences with linguistic diversity.

The first analytical step entailed grouping the interviewees' accounts of working in a multilingual context using the discursive psychological notion of interpretative repertoire. These "clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" serve as "resources for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions" (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90). The second analytical step consisted of identifying subject positions with regard to language use in multilingual working contexts that evolved from these interpretative repertoires. In a third step, I analyzed the relation between taking up/being assigned a subject position and a person's scope of action. Furthermore, I investigated interviewees' agency creation by looking more closely at certain subject positions that they adopted or created. During the whole analysis, I examined the role of English separately.

I will now offer an overview of research on multilingualism in organizations, with a special focus on research on power and on English. Then, I will introduce the theoretical framework which will support me in empirically studying my core topics of power and agency in the context of multilingual organizations. In the section on methodology, I will present my research design, the two research sites, the data and the analytic procedures. In the findings section, I first introduce the interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations that I identified in the two companies. In a next step, I will present the subject positions evolving from the repertoires in detail for each of the companies. In a third step, I will show the scopes of action and forms of agency creation relating to these subject positions, again for each company. The role of English will always be addressed separately. In the discussion section, I offer insights resulting from the comparative case study and propose the contributions of this research on power aspects of linguistic diversity and on power in organizations.

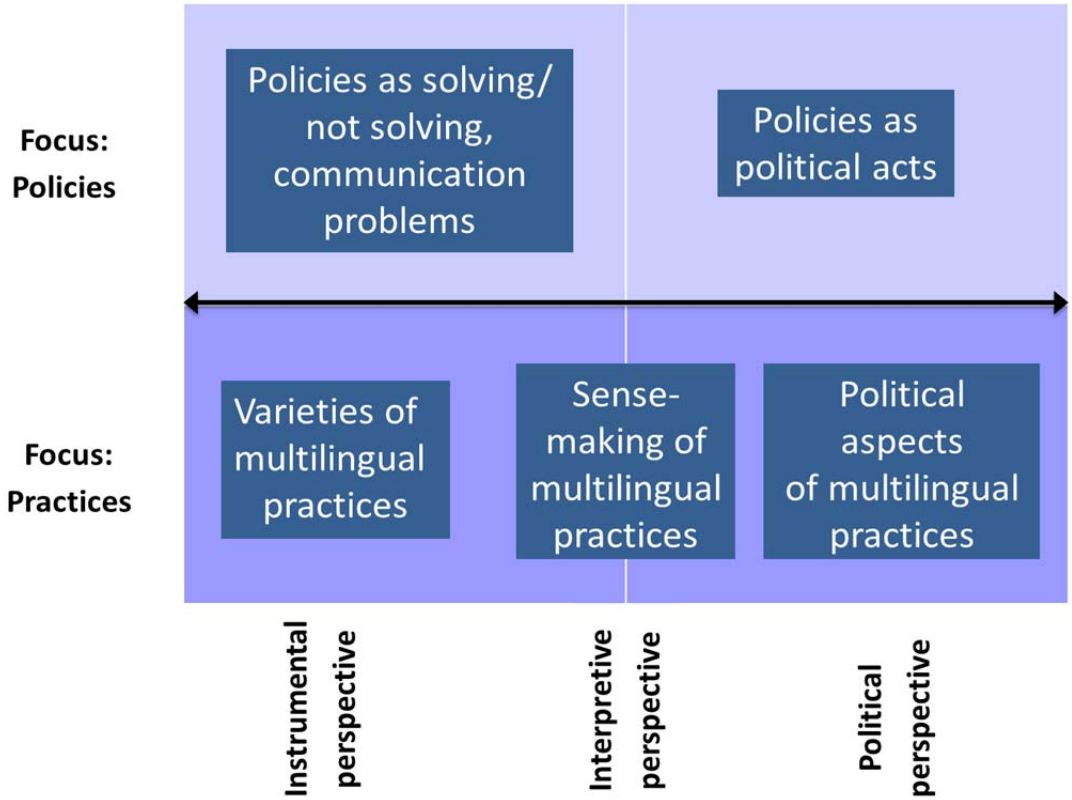
1. Research on multilingualism in organizations

1.1 Introduction

The spread of English as the international lingua franca in the process of globalization has driven the growing interest in the interrelationship between language diversity, the role of English and international management. No longer can language be called the "forgotten factor in multinational management" (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1997) or the "orphan of international business research" (Feely and Harzing 2002). Several journals in the field of International Management have dedicated special issues to language in the past few years, thus contributing to the study of language as a field in its own right, distinct from inter-cultural studies or cross-cultural management. The 2005 special issue of the *International Studies of Management & Organization* put language and multilingual communicative processes on the "international management map" (Piekkari and Tietze 2011). In that special issue, Welch, Welch and Piekkari (2005) stressed the importance of language for the effective functioning of multinational management processes. Kassis Henderson (2005) emphasized the need for management and team leaders to address the consequences of linguistic diversity, given the communication obstacles in multilingual teams that she identified in her study. The *Journal of World Business* published a special issue in 2011 with the goal of setting the agenda for language-sensitive research in international business and management. In that special issue, authors examined, variously, language use in subsidiaries of multinational corporations (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011), possible solutions for preventing language barriers in the headquarters-subsidiary relationship (Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011), the effects of language standardization on the acceptance of e-HRM systems in foreign subsidiaries (Heikkilä and Smale 2011) and the position of English in multilingual organizations (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011*)*. But, as the *Journal of International Business Studies* stated in 2012, the field of International Business, despite these contributions, "remains unsophisticated in appreciating the multiple forms, facets, and features of language and its impact." In a call for papers for its own special issue (published in June/July 2014), this journal, among others, emphasized the need to unravel the micro-processes through which multilingual organizations are created.

Research on linguistic diversity conducted in the area of international business and management as well as in sociolinguistics has, so far, identified two basic dimensions: the research focus, and the general perspective. With respect to focus, studies that examine how company managements "deal" with linguistic diversity, contrast with those concentrating on organizational members' "real-life" practices of "dealing" with their multilingual working context. With respect to perspective, three variants are apparent. While some scholars adopt an instrumental point of view, concentrating on questions of how to "solve" the "language issue", others, in what could be labelled an interpretive approach, investigate how people experience and make sense of working in a linguistically diverse context. Still other researchers, adopting a political perspective, examine power aspects of working in a multilingual environment.

Figure 1: Foci and perspectives in research on multilingualism



1.2 Policies vs. practices

A substantial amount of research on multilingualism in the field of International Business and Management addresses the management of linguistic diversity, in what could be called a "top-down" perspective. These studies often focus on language policies, mostly the introduction of an official corporate language, and examine the usefulness of such measures. However, all do not reach the same conclusions. While Harzing, Köster and Magner (2011) viewed the introduction of a corporate language as one possible – although not "fully effective" (p. 285) – solution among several for managing multilingualism, others were more skeptical. In their study on the effects of language standardization on the acceptance and use of e-HRM systems in foreign subsidiaries, Heikkilä and Smale (2011) highlighted the dysfunctional effects of installing English as the corporate language. They described how HR managers used the new and the old system selectively, based on their perception of the intended users' language competence. In a similar vein, Lauring and Klitmøller (2014) examined why people avoid communicating in the corporate language and identified a number of contextual factors which influenced the extent of that avoidance. They found, for instance, that individuals were more inclined to avoid speaking the corporate language in informal settings, in telephone conversations, and when communicating with "high

power others." Following on their quantitative study on language use in subsidiaries of multinational companies (MNCs), Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) concluded that multinationals are multilingual. They thus questioned whether top management can "design" a language system, and therefore the general viability of installing a corporate language. Declaring similarly that multinational corporations are multilingual organizations, Frederiksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006) even suggested that non-management of language use through conscious ambiguity, that is, allowing language issues to solve themselves in an emergent manner instead of installing a corporate language, may be one strategy for managing language diversity. In a related vein, Maclean (2006) identified a "divergence between official language policy and the reality of the situation" in transnational corporations using English as lingua franca (p. 1383).

The "reality of the situation" is what interests the "bottom-up" approach with its focus on everyday practices. Here, the focus lies on the "ways in which the presence of multiple languages in the workplace is managed by employees" (Sherman and Strubell 2013: 511). Taking an explicit bottom-up perspective, a number of empirical studies, particularly in sociolinguistics, have recently been conducted on everyday language use in multilingual organizations. DYLAN, an EU-wide research project with 19 partners from 12 countries, identified an array of practices in multilingual workplaces (Lüdi 2013) which include: the use of a lingua franca (often English); inventing pidgin[1]-like emergent varieties, or mixtures; choosing the language of one of the interlocutors that the others know, at least partially; using various forms of mixed speech; offering interpretation and translation and the use of the "lingua receptiva" (everyone uses his/her language). Angouri (2013) examined employees' perceptions regarding multilingual "realities" in three MNCs and found that language choice was reported to be a constant process of negotiation between the participants. Management-issued policies, however, seemed to be mostly irrelevant to these choices, since the employees strongly emphasized the social function of language in terms of its importance for inter- and intra-team communication. Similarly, Kingsley (2013), in her study of language choices in multilingual encounters in Luxembourg's banking sector, found that organizational members described the relational, or interpersonal, function of language to be an important factor for their use of a specific language.

After their case study of a pharmaceutical company in Switzerland, Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart (2010) "challenge[d] the idea of an integrated and homogeneous way of managing the languages inside the company" (p. 230). Rather, they identified a number of "tensions that make language choice unstable" (p. 227). Next to linguistic accommodation to an interlocutor aiming a establishing common ground and facilitating rapport building, they named situational factors as relevant for language use in multilingual organizations: "[P]artially shared plurilingual repertoires are perceived by the participants as resources used in a situated way" (p. 229). Organizational members made a "collective construction effort" (p. 231) to use their

[1] A pidgin can be defined as simplified language that is no one's native variety and which results from a mix of languages. There are many pidgins in use, most involving a European colonial language (Edwards 2012: 50f.).

plural linguistic repertoires in order to understand and be understood. Similarly, in a case study of homes for the elderly in Sweden, Jansson (2014) found that multilingual care employees used their multilingual resources creatively. Their multilingual repertoire consisted of a limited set of word segments in the language of the elderly home resident, hybrid forms and mixes between languages. Furthermore, the employees recycled elements in the prior speaker's utterance and used playful language.

Negotiation, instability and tensions are also highlighted in Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois's (2011) study in the field of International Business and Management. Adopting a discourse analytic perspective, the authors argued "that language use is regulated by various, often contradictory, accounts of how people consider one or more languages in a multilingual context" (p. 270). In a case study of the two companies Maximal and Globalos, both of which are headquartered in Switzerland, they identified different patterns of accounting for language use based on the analysis of semi-structured interviews with employees in these firms. The authors found that "the way that languages are prioritized in their use is the effect of a negotiation process among various discourses concerning how a specific language comes to be adopted" (p. 276). They described the specific configuration of the various discourses people drew upon to argue for their own language use as a linguistic landscape or *linguascape*, a term coined as analogous to the concept of different "-scapes" proposed by Appadurai (1996/2005)[2]. A linguascape "refers to the discursive space in which an organization (…) imagines how it can deal with its (…) multilingual composition by negotiating among various discursive options" (p. 277).

A number of studies in International Business grouped under the heading of research on policies could also be listed in the practice-oriented field. After all, the studies by Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011), Heikkilä and Smale (2011), Harzing, Köster and Magner (2011) or Lauring and Klitmøller (2014) all examine various practices of language use. However, I will argue that, despite their different specific research questions and findings, they are all oriented towards the same reference point. That is, they all seem to take the corporate language mandate and language standardization as a norm, and, based on this, investigate the deviations from this norm, regardless of whether or not they favor such a norm. For this reason, this type of research tends to be instrumentally oriented, i.e., oriented towards problem-solving, at least to some extent. If policies are viewed as norms, and the use of something other than the corporate language is viewed as a deviation from this norm, then multilingualism is at least implicitly problematized. Feely and Harzing's (2003) text on language management in multinational companies represents another prominent example of such a problem-oriented perspective. The authors identified several dimensions of language barriers within organizations, starting with the number of different languages

[2] Among the "-scapes" Appadurai proposed are ethnoscapes ("the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals", p. 34), technoscapes ("global configuration (…) of technology and the fact that technology (…) now moves at high speed across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries", p. 34) or mediascapes ("distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (…) and to the images of the world created by these media", p. 35).

the company has to manage (that is, its language diversity). In Feeling and Harzing's view, the costs of the language barrier are high since the language barrier often represents an important obstacle to teamwork, distorts and damages relationships, breeds uncertainty and suspicion, accentuates group divides, undermines trust, and leads to the polarization of perspectives, perceptions and cognitions.

Research focusing on practices, on the other hand, does not adopt this management-oriented perspective on multilingualism. This does not imply that it always views multilingualism as unproblematic, however. Especially when it comes to participation and inclusion, this research too sometimes clearly problematizes linguistic diversity. However, in contrast to a policy-oriented perspective, it tends to focus on how organizational members experience working in a multilingual workplace. Despite their different orientations, both types of research have addressed power issues in various forms. In the next section of this chapter, I present an overview of the important themes related to power issues: language competence as a source of individual power; participation and inclusion/exclusion; resistance; relationship between multilingualism and organizational, educational or societal status; and, hierarchies between languages and linguistic imperialism.

1.3 Researching power aspects of multilingualism

One important stream of research on political aspects of multilingualism is concerned with language competence, that is, being fluent in a language and having the ability to express oneself accurately[3] as a source of individual power and influence. For Angouri (2014), linguistic skills constitute a gate-keeping mechanism for "accessing and acquiring power within each workplace" (p. 3). This might take the form of access to decision-making, interacting with decision-makers or accessing training and development opportunities. Vaara et al. (2005), studying the merger of a Finnish and a Swedish bank, analyzed the consequences of introducing a corporate language and found that language skills represented empowering or disempowering "resources". As their use of this economic term indicates, they interpreted communication in organizations as a power competition, with those showing proficiency in a language gaining power and those with less proficiency losing power. They concluded that the power implications of the language policy were most prevalent among those who lacked the language skills. For instance, "being a professional requires ability to conceptualize organizational issues in sharp and persuasive ways, argumentation skills, and fluency in negotiations" (p. 609). Persons lacking sufficient language skills are therefore forced to remain silent in situations where professionalism would require that they actively take part in discussions. Accordingly, "the power position and influence" of many bilingual persons (in this case, those speaking the company language, Swedish, and the local language, Finnish) "grew far greater than their official position would have implied" (p. 610f.). Relatedly, Marschan-Piekkari, Welch

[3] As Angouri (2013) emphasizes, the term competence has a long history in applied/sociolinguistic research. It is often used however in a static way, something one has or not. The view the Angouri adopts is that competence "takes meaning in specific contexts and is dynamic and complex" (ibid.: 574, footnote 4).

and Welch (1999), in their case study of a Finnish company where English was introduced as lingua franca, found that those who possess relevant language competences may find themselves "in more powerful positions than would normally be the case" (p. 436). Such individuals might, for instance, have the power to act as communication gatekeepers (Feely and Harzing 2003).

Therefore, as Vaara et al. (2005) stated, language policies "should not merely be treated as practical means to solve inevitable communication problems; rather, they should be viewed as exercise of power" (p. 596). By choosing its language strategy, a company decides who "will be involved in the international communication process and impact its outcomes" (Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert 2004: 424). In a similar vein, Tietze, Cohen and Musson (2003) emphasized that the use of a particular linguistic resource can establish or reinforce power relationships, and argued that the "choice of language can create winners and losers, as language dominance is often synonymous with power and influence" (p. 103).

Another important, related, but broader research theme on power aspects of multilingualism focuses on participation and inclusion/exclusion. A number of researchers (e.g, Angouri 2013; Vaara et al. 2005; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999) have investigated the barriers[4] that employees with few or no skills in the relevant languages encounter. These range from remaining quiet in the context of episodic social interaction due to lacking language skills (Vaara et al. 2005), and serious obstacles to career progression (Lønsmann 2014; Gunnarsson 2014; Angouri 2013; Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011) and even accessing the job market (Angouri 2014). By the same logic, many authors (e.g., Angouri 2013; Kingsley 2013; Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010; Vaara et al. 2005) have emphasized the relevance of language skills for participating in workplace interactions. Others point to the contradictions inherent in a number of practices that people adopt for communicating in multilingual contexts with respect to participation and inclusion/exclusion. In a study of companies in German-speaking Switzerland, for instance, Lüdi (2013) showed that interacting in the egalitarian mode of "lingua receptiva" (everyone speaks his/her own language) might in practice have exclusionary consequences for those who do not understand all of the languages involved.

Resisting using languages which are potentially exclusive represents another research theme. Heikkilä and Smale (2011) provided one example with their study on the effects of language standardization on the acceptance and use of e-HRM systems in foreign subsidiaries. The authors showed that HR managers used the old e-HRM systems in parallel with the new, linguistically standardized system in order to prevent resistance by employees lacking the corresponding language skills. Vaara et al. (2005) identified the use of Finnish (which had not been chosen as company language) as a

[4] The term is often used in research on multilingual organizations, however, with different meanings. The political consequences of linguistic diversity for individuals or groups are described above. Other scholars examine communication barriers focusing on how to manage them top-down (e.g., Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011; Feely and Harzing 2003), examining language as a barrier to inter-unit communication (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999) or studying practices employees develop to overcome language barriers (Jansson 2014).

"secret language" in meetings taking place in the merged Swedish-Finnish firm. Similarly, Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999) found the "existence of a shadow structure, based on language clusters and individuals who were language nodes and mediators" (p. 436f.) in the Finnish company which had adopted English as the corporate language. Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) also found resistance against the use of English, although English in this case did not represent the official, but the informal, lingua franca.

Lauring and Klitmøller (2014) discussed power, in the sense of hierarchy, as playing a role in avoiding corporate language-based communication. Among the contextual factors influencing the extent of avoidance, the authors found that "individuals are more avoidant when communicating with high power others". At the same time, personal relations reduced the effect of power differences.

On a more meso-oriented level, researchers have investigated the relation between language competence and the relationship between multilingualism and employees' organizational, educational or societal status. In their study on language use in subsidiaries of multinationals, Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) found that language fluency varied significantly across functions and organizational levels; it was significantly higher within the general management functions than within the service and production functions. They thus concluded that multinational organizations are "internally stratified with regard to language" (p. 293). The major "faultline" that they identified did not appear between the headquarters and the subunits of the company, but between higher management positions and blue collar jobs. Similarly, Gunnarsson (2014), in her research on immigrants at Swedish workplaces, identified a clear division between – in this case – engineers and factory floor workers, because "language knowledge creates a divide between those who master the corporate language and those who do not" (p. 22). By this logic, Gunnarsson is critical of images of multilingualism that view linguistic diversity too positively, describing it as an asset. We should not forget, the author emphasized, "that many working environments are linguistically and socially divided, with multilingual professionals in central, powerful positions, and second language speakers in low-paid, peripheral jobs, far away from the real power" (p. 27). At the same time, the author found that being an immigrant did not "automatically" mean working in a position at the periphery due to insufficient language skills. As Hua (2014) formulated it, the occupation of the immigrants influenced their mode of communication more than their general status as immigrant. In a study conducted in a hospital, some immigrants were part of the medically trained staff (communicating in Swedish and using English for scientific purposes), while others (with scant Swedish skills) were in the cleaning services. What Gunnarsson's study shows, however, is the close relation between language skills and organizational function.

The relevance of language competence on a meso level of analysis is also emphasized in the concept of "linguistic capital" introduced by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1991). For Bourdieu, a linguistic exchange represents simultaneously an economic exchange: that is, an exchange between a producer endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer or a market. This capital clearly goes beyond the

individual's skills in one language or another, although it can certainly be framed as such[5]. Rather, from Bourdieu's perspective, the value of an utterance on the market depends on the value of the specific language on the market of languages. In Bourdieu's view, what happens between the groups who speak the relevant languages is present in concrete interactions between individuals. He cites the relation between employer and employee or – in a colonial or postcolonial context – between a French speaker and an Arabic speaker as an example. Connecting the concept of linguistic capital with another of his concepts, the *habitus*, Bourdieu furthermore argues that the sense of the value of one's own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space. According to Bourdieu, the habitus, here understood as a linguistic "sense of place", governs the degree of constraint or liberty of the person on the production of discourse. Therefore, what expresses itself through the linguistic habitus is the whole class habitus.

Bourdieu concedes that the symbolic power connected with a specific language is subject to negotiation and is thus not absolutely fixed. However, he argues that the capacity to manipulate the metadiscourse, as he calls it, is greater the more capital one possesses. For instance, a certain speaker might occasionally symbolically negate the power relation between two languages by choosing the dominated one. But, Bourdieu states, this strategy is reserved to those who are endowed with sufficient "linguistic legitimacy", that is, are sufficiently confident of their position in the objective hierarchies, to be able to ignore the hierarchies without appearing to be ignorant or incapable.

Research on linguistic diversity in the workplace has also taken up the issue of power relation between languages. Some researchers emphasize that languages are "not equal in terms of socio-politico-economic value" (Hua 2014: 236). Therefore, employees perceive a pecking order of languages or a language hierarchy. According to this pecking order, some languages are seen as more "useful" than others. According to Hua (2014), this is also evident in the dominant political and public discourse; English, for instance, is portrayed as the "language of internationalization" and the "key to success" (p. 237).

In their study of two multilingual companies in Switzerland, Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) also identified language hierarchies and (im)balances among languages and the respective minorities and majorities these languages represent. However, they emphasized the dynamics of language use in multilingual organizations, and would probably reject the notion, adopted by Hua and Bourdieu, that certain languages have a "higher" value.

Postcolonial approaches represent another politically-oriented perspective on multilingualism, this time focusing on the macro level (which Bourdieu, with his link between the micro and macro level, does not). One important author in this field is

[5] Interestingly, none of the authors mentioned so far works with Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital. Angouri and Miglbauer (2014), however, state that Bourdieu provides a "strong underpinning" to current linguistic research that tries to shed light on the "relationship between daily language practices and the structures and interests of global businesses" (p. 150).

Phillipson (1992) with his work on linguistic imperialism. He introduced the concept of *linguicism,* coined analogously to racism or sexism, which he defines as "ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (p. 47). Linguicism involves the "representation of the dominant language, to which desirable characteristics are attributed, for purposes of inclusion, and the opposite for dominated languages, for purposes of exclusion" (p. 55). Phillipson's leading example of linguicism is what he calls "English linguistic imperialism." The dominance of English, the author states, is asserted and maintained by establishing and continually reconstituting structural (that is, material properties such as institutions or financial allocations) and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.

A number of researchers have adopted such a postcolonial perspective on multilingual organizations. One conclusion of Vaara et al.'s (2005) study of a Swedish-Finnish merger in the banking sector is that the choice of Swedish as the corporate language led to construction of images of superiority of the Swedish and inferiority of the Finns. Thus, the language policy issue inevitably "(re)produced post-colonial identities and subjectivities" (p. 620) in the particular context of the "historical colonial relationship" between the two nations (Finland belonged to Sweden for centuries until it became part of the Russian Empire in 1809). Through the same lens, the authors described the switch to English as the corporate language after troublesome experiences "as an example of normalization of Anglo-American cultural dominance in multinationals" (p. 621). In their view, this is one of the examples that "show how 'globalization' often means voluntary acceptance of such imperialism" (ibid.). In a similar vein, Śliwa (2008), in her historical study of the spread of languages other than Polish in Poland, took a neo-Marxist view and interpreted the current spread of English in that country as a sign of the presence of imperialism. From this perspective, nation states do not represent the only sources of imperialist power. Rather, the "*locus* of power also lies within multinational corporations which are seen as the agents of the spread of capitalism in the world" (p. 230; italics in original).

1.4 Researching the role of English with a focus on power aspects

As this broad literature review indicates, power aspects of linguistic diversity have received special attention in research that examines the role of English in multilingual organizations. To a large extent, researchers adopt a rather critical stance towards the role of English. Some focus on the micro level, viewing English competence as a source of individual power and influence, while others on a meso level examine the exclusion of English "have-nots" or the language hierarchies with English at the top. Others on a macro level are concerned with English as linguistic imperialism, and correspondingly, with resistance to its use. Others point to the democratizing effects of using English as a lingua franca, thus introducing a "positive" perspective on English and contributing to a more nuanced picture of the role of English in organizations. I will now present these different lines of research.

As indicated, competence in English as a source of individual power and influence is an important theme in the research on the role of English in organizations. These studies often investigate the political effects of language policies. Broadly, they conclude that introducing English as the corporate language puts individuals with "better" English proficiency in a position of advantage (e.g., Harzing and Pudelko 2013; Neeley 2012; Feely and Harzing 2003; Tietze, Cohen and Musson 2003; Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999). Or, as Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart (2010) put it, "[b]eing empowered means being able to speak English when it is needed" (p. 220).

Adopting the same view on the role of language skills in multilingual organizations, other authors emphasize native English speakers' advantage in working contexts where English is the corporate language. Harzing and Pudelko (2013) state that "it is clear that the role of language as a source of power is more acutely felt by non-native English speakers when interacting with native English speakers" (p. 94). In their study, they identified a "power-authority distortion" in the relations between headquarters managers and subsidiary managers. Headquarters managers with formal authority had to relinquish part of their power to subsidiary managers possessing better language skills. Taking a less functionalist stance, Neeley (2012) pointed to the status loss that non-native English speakers might experience due to a lingua franca mandate. At the same time, the author concluded, this loss created parity in communication between non-native English speakers. I will come back to this aspect later.

The exclusion of employees with few or no English skills represents another, and important, theme in studies examining power aspects related to English. This research often highlights the connection between language competence and employees' organizational, educational or social status. Although not focusing exclusively on English, Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011), as previously discussed, identified a major "faultline" between the management and the service and production sectors with regard to English competence. In her study of immigrants in Swedish workplaces, Gunnarsson (2014) found that the lack of English skills "created a divide between skilled and unskilled staff" (p. 26). Using similar terminology, Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006) identified a "wide gulf" between those who have and do not have English skills in their case study of the Siemens company. However, contrary to Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011) and Gunnarsson (2014), they did not make any explicit connection with a person's organizational status.

Lønsmann's conclusion to her 2014 study of language choice in an international company in Denmark went one step further. She identified an explicit exclusion of blue collar workers (e.g., cleaners, warehouse workers, carpenters, plumbers): "Their lack of English competence (…) kept them from the basic information pertaining to their work provided in emails and on signs (…)." (p. 101). Furthermore, the social mobility which they might have accessed if they had had some English proficiency was also out of reach.

In this study, Lønsmann also examined the situation of expatriates[6], a group which had already received some research attention from a business perspective. She found that expatriate employees too were affected by exclusion, despite their English skills and high status in the company. In her interpretation, their role as foreigners and – at least initially – non-Danish speakers excluded expatriates from important work activities and social events, thus showing that Danish skills could also be important for a person's career. In addition, what Lønsmann calls the "Danish because we are in Denmark" language ideology contributed to social categorization in the workplace by constructing a divide between in-group "Danes" and out-group "foreigners". Therefore, the foreigners' willingness to learn Danish was important in relation to their social integration rather than their achieved competence. After studying the situation of blue collar and expatriate workers, Lønsmann concluded that "employees in this international workplace need to be proficient in *both* the local majority language *and* in English in order to have access to all communicative events and to be integrated socially." (p. 113; italics in the original).

Others have pointed to expatriates' privileged position. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999) emphasized expatriates' role as language mediators and interpreters between the subsidiaries and the headquarters in the Finnish company they examined. According to these authors, this role puts expatriates in a special position, as they had "the capacity to influence the formal communication lines and even threaten the intended functioning of the formal organization structure" (p. 437). Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert (2004) also concluded that expatriates are in a "dominant and control position" (p. 425) and thus suggested that stimulating them to learn and use the language of the country of assignment "may be a way to reform the dominant power structure" (ibid.). Framing expatriates as part of a linguistic group in their study of a Swiss company, Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) identified a clash between a local "majority" of French-speaking employees and the expatriates who, despite being a minority, were able to impose the use of English on others.

On the other hand, a number of recent studies have emphasized the role of English for organizational members' participation in communication. Switching to English in the middle of a conversation might thus represent an inclusion strategy (Lüdi 2013), for instance for those who do not speak the local language (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014). As Kingsley (2013) found, employees used English as lingua franca[7] (ELF) "to be fair

[6] Originally, the term designated a person who temporarily or permanently lives outside the country of his/her upbringing. Now, it is commonly used (often in is shortened form "expat") for skilled professionals working in another country. People from abroad filling blue collar jobs are mostly labeled as immigrants or migrant workers, however.

[7] The "original" lingua franca was a Provençal-Italian mix, dating from the time of the Crusaders' struggles in the eastern Mediterranean, and served as a medium for trade and commerce. By the fourth century BC, Greek had spread throughout the near and middle East. Then the Romans established Latin as lingua franca. After that, several other European languages in the West, particularly French and Italian, served as common language. Nowadays, English has the greatest status as the world lingua franca. (Edwards 2012: 48ff.) Before that, during the period in which diplomacy represented the basis of international affairs, French served as the international language. But in the second half of the 19th century, industrial development and the existence of

and give equal access to colleagues and enable participation in workplace activities." (p. 544). According to the author's perspective, choosing English for inclusion and equality was oriented towards fostering good relations with co-workers. Here, English had special status as the most widely shared language, because no other single language could connect all employees. Similarly, Angouri (2013) emphasized the relational role of English. She found that "even though knowledge of English was constructed by the employees as prerequisite for career progression, equally important seemed to be the use of the language for management of rapport between employees" (p. 578). In this respect, Angouri identified a need to further explore employees' perceptions as to what constitutes good English for work purposes and its role for social talk.

A number of studies have shown that the inclusionary role of English is closely associated with what Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) call its "democratizing effect". Neeley (2012) found that employees perceived "parity in the communication" when using the rather simplified English spoken by non-native English speakers. In the author's study of a French high-tech company that had introduced English as lingua franca, non-native English speakers described an "absence of a feeling of diminished status when interacting with non-Anglophone speakers" and characterized their interactions as a "cooperative effort among equals" (p. 11). According to interviewees, talking in "broken English" and "creating an own language" allowed them to establish "common ground" and a sense of "managing together" (ibid.). In their study of the Swedish-Finnish merger, Vaara et al. (2005) found that "for the Finns using English was a sign of "equality" vis-à-vis Swedes. In this way, they had professionally the same starting point as their Swedish counterparts" (p. 609f.). As Hua (2014) emphasized, recent research has consequently moved away from regarding non-native speakers as being inherently problematic and treats lingua franca as a language in its own right.

Those who interpret the widespread use of English as linguistic imperialism take a completely different perspective. When seen through this lens, ideologies, structures and practices of language use legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between the group of English speakers and speakers of other languages (Phillipson 1992). As Dor (2004) has described it, advocates of this view equate the forces behind the spread of English with those pushing economic globalization, and the "interests" of English (and English speakers) with those who benefit from economic globalization. Vaara et al. (2005) adopted a similar view when interpreting the construction of English as the official corporate language in the Swedish-Finnish merger as "an example of normalization of Anglo-American cultural dominance in multinationals" which shows "how 'globalization' often means voluntary acceptance of such imperialism" (p. 621). From the authors' point of view, "what is most interesting in this context is that English was sneaked in by the 'voluntary' decisions of the dominated themselves" (ibid.). This

---

the British empire helped position English as the language of global trade, at a time when trade was taking over from diplomacy as the basis for international affairs (Graddol 1999: 58).

view of language use as a sign of imperialism, as exemplified by Dor (2004), concentrates on the "complementary issues of *Englishization* and *language loss",* viewing "today's linguistic world as a site of contestation between the *global* and the *local*" (p. 97; italics in original). This perspective also determines the structure of the discourse on linguistic human rights, leading to a discussion of "the need for *negotiated multilingualism* and the rights of speakers to resist global pressures and to use, maintain, and develop their local languages" (ibid.; italics in original).

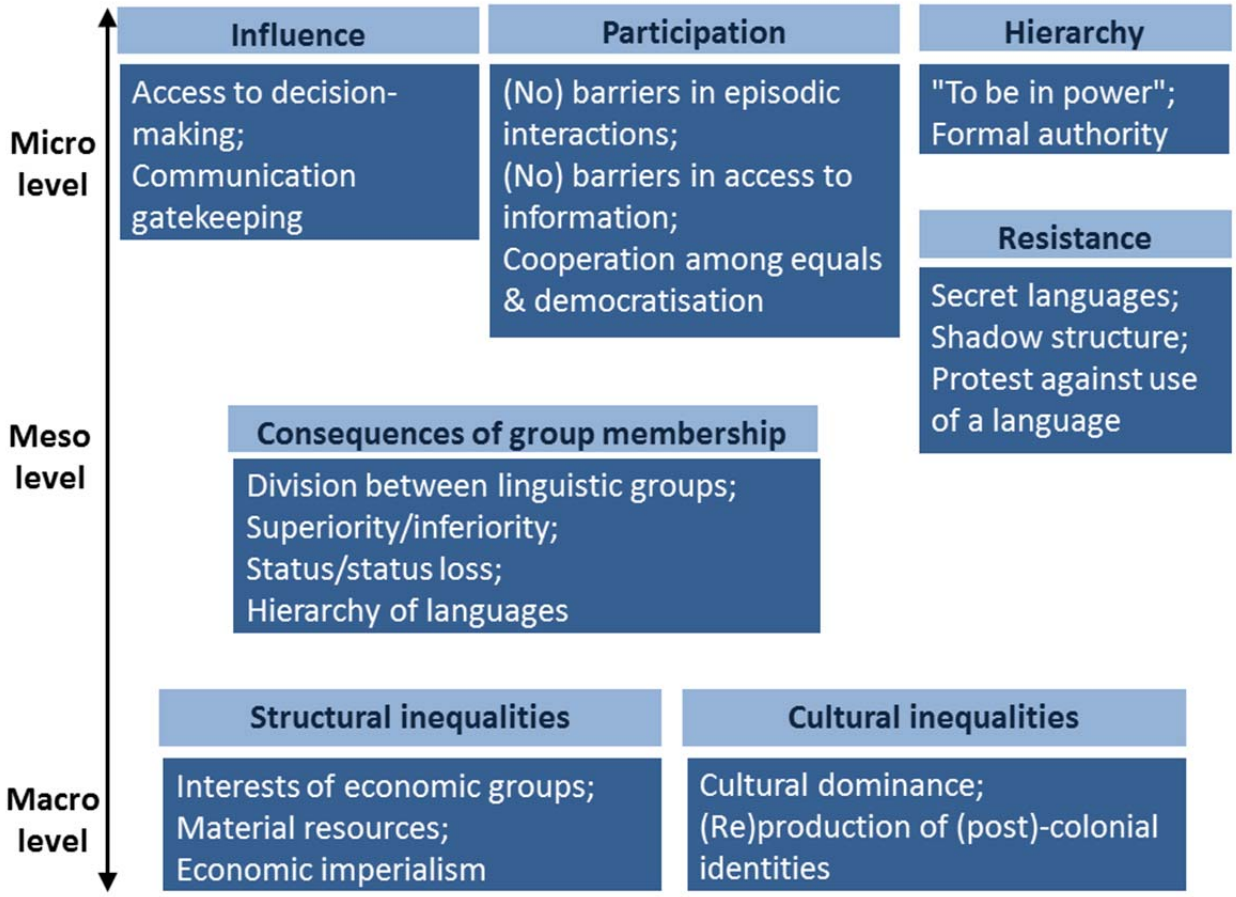
Others in turn refuse to adopt such a static and dichotomous perspective. Already in 1999, Graddol called the statement that "English, the global language, is growing – in number of speakers, in domains of use, in economic and cultural power" more rhetorical than "reality" (p. 57). Rather, the author emphasized, the proportion of the world's population speaking English as a first language is declining. In his view, English will, in the future, be used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second language for communication between non-native speakers.

Addressing the imperialist-oriented perspective, Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) concluded that "language users are not necessarily pawns directed by a blunt kind of linguistic dominance" (p. 277). Rather, they can be seen as sometimes developing multiple competencies which allow them to live in a multi-optional context, combining English with other language options. However, the authors emphasized, not everyone has similar resources or interests. They thus emphasized the ambivalent facets of using English and identified a need for further research to help in better understanding the effects of adopting certain languages. It is necessary to understand, they claim, "how English as lingua franca is positioned, how other languages are being used, and how a language hierarchy is related to other (e.g., power, career trajectories, human capital decisions) effects in the organization" (p. 272).

1.5 Discussion: Why there is a need for further research on power aspects of multilingualism

As shown in the previous presentation, both the general research on linguistic diversity in organizations and the research focusing on English work with a range of different notions of power. On a micro level, the understanding of power as individual influence appears as often as the definition of power as participation in episodic interactions and organizational life. Some researchers also work with a notion of power as resistance or with an understanding of power as position in the formal hierarchy. What is characteristic of meso level perspectives is their focus on relations between minorities and majorities within organizations, even if the distinction between micro and meso level is not clear-cut. Thus, their notion of power could be described as highlighting the status consequences of group memberships. Macro-oriented research then adopts an understanding which views power as inequalities situated on the level of economic structures and "rivalries" between cultures.

Figure 2: Different notions of power in research on multilingualism in organizations



Macro-level oriented research in particular is often associated with a critical perspective which, in my view, highlights the important topic of the global hierarchy of languages in times of increasing English usage. However, by focusing on domination and existing power structures, this research tends to lose sight of individual and collective agency, of possibilities and choices people encounter and construct. This is also, to some extent, the case for the meso-oriented research on the hierarchy of languages (e.g., Hua 2014; Bourdieu 1991) and Bourdieu's (1991) notion of linguistic capital. In the latter case, the strong connection with the notion of class seems to underestimate individual and collective agency. Almost 25 years ago, Bourdieu saw the whole class habitus express itself through the linguistic habitus. Especially now, this view seems too static and somewhat over-deterministic. Still, the notion of linguistic capital remains valuable for conceptualizing an individual's language competencies similar to other researchers who, borrowing another term from the economic realm, frame it as resource.

In other words, critically oriented research on multilingualism in organizations tends to view power as negative, as in the words of Ahonen et al. (2013): dominating, limiting, exploiting, controlling, and coercing. As these authors point out, critical diversity

studies, in their quest for social justice, conceive of social hierarchies as "products of differential power with those at the peak wielding power over others" (p. 12). From my point of view, such a notion of power is problematic for two reasons. First, it relies on a rather static perspective which fails to address the complex dynamics of social relations. Secondly, the concept is based on a competitive understanding of power according to which there are always winners and losers. By this logic, if a power constellation changes, there are necessarily some who win influence and others who lose it. However, power might also comprise other, more positive dimensions that do not necessarily imply a power struggle: instead of "power over", these dimensions might include "power to" get active, seize opportunities, create possibilities, take responsibility, make decisions and relate to others. This might happen on an individual as well as on a collective level. Some studies on multilingualism already include such conceptualizations of power, e.g., those which stress participation, cooperation among equals and democratization, and also, to some extent, those which examine resistance against the use of a language. In the majority of the cases, however, the negative perspective of power prevails – on the individual level (having influence or being in power), on the meso level (division between language groups or superiority and inferiority) and on the macro level (economic imperialism or cultural dominance).

1.6 Conceptualizations of multilingualism and their implications for the study of power

Studying aspects of power in multilingualism requires not only a theory of power, but also a theory of multilingualism. Before elaborating on my theoretical framework, I will therefore provide a short overview of different understandings of linguistic diversity. Remarkably, the vast majority of studies conducted in the field of International Business and Management barely address their conceptualization of multilingualism. In fact, even if they do not say it as explicitly as Feely and Harzing (2003), most implicitly seem to define linguistic diversity as the number of different languages a company has to manage, or, at least, the number of languages that are present in a company. Such an additive view of multilingualism conceives of "languages as idealized, timeless and decontextualized 'objects' (…), with language preceding language use" (Lüdi 2013: 142). This conventional understanding of multilingualism "prioritizes the homogeneity of community, competence, and language structure, treating it as the basic requirement that facilitates communication" (Canagarajah 2007: 934).

However, as Edwards (2012) has emphasized, it is "a myopic belief that languages exist in some independent form" (p. 84). Rather, they are dynamic, not static, entities. Thus, a more novel notion proposes to view multilingualism as the joint mobilization of linguistic resources[8] in order to find local solutions to practical problems. In such a view, language use (*languaging*) precedes language, particularly in the form of

[8] Note that the term "linguistic resource" is used in a different meaning here than in other research describing language skills as resources. In several discussed examples, skills in a language are viewed as an individual's capital, to use Bourdieu's term, in the internal power competition of an organization. The definition above, however, accentuates the *joint* mobilization of resources, i.e., the cooperative aspect of communicating.

multilanguaging, and language is seen as emergent from "doing being a speaker of a language" (Lüdi 2013: 143). The boundaries between languages vanish, linguistic resources are the bricoleur's toolbox and speakers display creativity.

The two different understandings of multilingualism have important political implications, as Canagarajah (2007) showed: "Constructs based on monolingualism and homogeneity are well suited to communities that desire purity, exclusivity, and domination" (p. 934). There is an important historical connection to be made here with the process of nation-building in Europe. Territorial unification has traditionally been the "key to national control over languages" (Dor 2004: 111), as national languages have well-demarcated territorical boundaries, the boundaries of the state. Moving away from such territorially oriented perspectives, "[a]cknowledging the heterogeneity of language and communication would force us to develop more democratic and egalitarian models of community and communication" (Canagarajah 2007: 934).

Such a view is also present in research on English as lingua franca (ELF) which emphasizes that English is no longer "owned" by its native speakers (House 2003). Rather, English as lingua franca represents a hybrid language which is used according to a "let it pass" principle in an explicitly consensual interactional style in which the speakers are not viewed as having incomplete or deficient communicative competence. Talking in English as lingua franca thus represents a "process of gradually finding common ground, of negotiating (…) communicative rules" (ibid.: 559). Stressing the political role of using ELF, several researchers, as mentioned previously, have pointed to its contribution to participation and access (e.g., Angouri and Miglbauer 2014; Lüdi 2013; Kingsley 2013). Others have emphasized its "democratizing effect" (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011) which stems from its character as a simplified language and the parity it allows between non-native speakers (Neeley 2012; Vaara et al. 2005). As Graddol (1999), for example, has argued, all of these aspects de-emphasize the relation between territory and the English language which historically (as in the case of other languages) was so important. He defines speakers of the global lingua franca in terms of cross-border affiliation rather than as geographic groups in national boundaries. Similarly, Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) described the use of English as lingua franca as anchoring people in a transnational flow which is not connected to a territory.

1.7 Aim of my study

Critical diversity studies have pointed to the need to study "how diversity is made sense of and experienced by a diverse workforce itself, rather than by (top) managers and policy makers" (Zanoni et al. 2010: 17). Furthermore, they call for more empirical investigations of the dynamics of power and diversity in organizations. Also, researchers from the field of international business have identified a need to adopt a bottom-up perspective, as the 2012 call for papers by the *Journal of International Business Studies*, presented earlier, illustrates. It asked researchers to unravel the micro-processes through which multilingual organizations are created.

With this dissertation, I seek to combine the study of power with a bottom-up perspective on diversity by empirically examining the micro-processes of creating, reinforcing and changing power relations between members of multilingual organizations. My goal is to deepen our understanding of real-life experiences of linguistic diversity and of everyday practices of multilingualism. In line with my focus on micro-processes, I adopt a view of multilingualism as a negotiation process (e.g., Angouri 2013; Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011; House 2003) and as a shared construction effort characterized by tensions and situational factors which make language choices unstable (Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010). For the examination of micro-processes of multilingualism, I adopt a discursive approach, stressing the role of talk in the construction of social reality. By doing so, this research answers the call to conceptually bring together knowledge about the practices of multilingualism and the understanding of language as discourse (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011).

At the same time, I hope to contribute to a more differentiated understanding of the multiple meanings of power in a linguistically complex organization. More specifically, I seek to investigate further a number of power-related topics which have already been addressed in research. The first concerns the relation between language competence and a) individual influence as well as individual participation and inclusion/exclusion; and b) belonging to organizational, educational or societal groups. The second topic relates to resistance against the use of certain languages. The third dimension of power I investigate is individual and collective agency. As discussed, I agree with the criticism that critically oriented studies tend to conceive of power as negative; and I find macro- and well as sometimes meso-oriented studies have a tendency to be deterministic.

Furthermore, in order to study micro-processes, I see the need for adopting a more dynamic understanding of power than what appears in most multilingualism research. Often, power seems to be understood as static, as something one has or not. Consequently, from this point of view, there is automatically a competition between winners and losers of a zero-sum game if power constellations change. Also, apart from more or less implicitly giving indications about their notion of power, most studies do not propose a definition of the concept and do not reflect upon their understanding of it. Vaara et al. (2005) represent an exception, with an extensive presentation of their theoretical framework for the study of the power implications of language policy decisions. The authors work with Clegg's (1989) "circuits of power" which bring together different concepts of power in Organization Studies. The framework connects 1) episodic power relationships, 2) rules of practice that fix relations of meaning and membership, and 3) related structures of domination. However, from my perspective, the framework seems overloaded in its ambition to bring together episodic, normative and structural elements of power. Furthermore, the construct of "circuits of power" implies, again, a rather static notion of stable power relations.

However, as stated, I intend to study the *dynamics* of power on the one hand, and more positive aspects of power, namely agency, on the other hand. For this study of micro-processes of linguistic diversity, I therefore adopt an understanding of power which is

based on a number of writings from Michel Foucault's large body of work. In these texts, the French philosopher emphasized that everyone is involved in the creation of power relations, and that power relations are created by "free subjects" encountering a field of possibilities. I will present and discuss this notion of power in the theoretical section after introducing the discursive approach that I adopt.

Another focal point consists in further examining the role of English in linguistically diverse organizations. As shown, a number of researchers have called for more studies on the role that employees ascribe to English (e.g., Angouri 2013) and on the position of English within the internal hierarchy of languages (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011). Corresponding to my overall research interest, I will focus on aspects of power in the use of English in multilingual organizations. In my research, I adopt a multi-faceted perspective on English (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011), acknowledging both the critical and positive aspects and thus the ambiguities that research has identified with regard to English. On the critical side, I will address English skills as a source of individual power (including the group of expatriates), but also as a source of divisions between employees who have different organizational status and a barrier to information for those without English proficiency. On the positive side, I will take up the role of English in facilitating participation, the "democratizing effect" of using English as lingua franca due to its more rudimentary structure and the parity it allows among non-natives. Through this discussion, I will contribute to the emerging field in which English as lingua franca (ELF) is researched as a language in its own right (Hua 2014). In this respect, I agree with House's (2003) invitation to do empirical research on how English as lingua franca is actually used and what it does to local languages, "[r]ather than pre-determine research (…) through (…) derogative terms as (neo)imperialism and (neo)colonialism" (p. 574).

I examine power relations and the role of English in linguistically diverse organizations empirically by conducting a comparative case study. The two multilingual companies I compare both lack an official language policy, which makes them especially suitable for exploring the processes of constructing power relations. Compared to cases in which language use is regulated by the company management, company members are more free to shape their everyday interactions in such a context. This does not imply that they are free from constraints, however, only that these are not immediately imposed by a policy.

I seek to contribute to research on English in multilingual organizational contexts characterized by different degrees of "Englishization". As mentioned previously, research in international business has strongly focused on multinational corporations (MNCs) so far. This implies that the study of the role of English is often put center-stage, because English is officially or unofficially often used as lingua franca. Comparing Globalos and Maximal will be illuminating because the two companies use English to a different extent. At Globalos, a multinational corporation based in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, English is increasingly widely used as the common language. This is – or at least was, as we will see – much less the case at the other company, Maximal. This Swiss firm is also based in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and operates production as well as distribution centers in the other three

linguistic parts of Switzerland, the German-, the Italian- and the Rumantsch-speaking parts.[9]

At the time of data collection, Maximal was involved in an important change process which consisted of standardizing the IT system. In the wake of this change, the use of English, especially in written communication, grew significantly and the organization's linguistic complexity increased. New themes and issues appeared. The change process can thus be described as a catalyst which set in motion new negotiation processes concerning the use and choice of languages in everyday communication. Therefore, studying Maximal highlights how people in a context of organizational change (here with the consequence of increasing English use) re-negotiate power relations and create new ones. Furthermore, examining Maximal also makes it possible to study the relation between introducing IT technology and an organization's use of English.

Comparing the two cases thus makes it possible to investigate power aspects of linguistic diversity in organizational contexts which differ with respect to a) the degree of English usage; b) the character of the organization (multinational vs. national company); c) the resulting multilingual profile of the workforce (with the multinational employing people from all over the world at its headquarters)[10]; and d) their consolidation status ("established" vs. in a process of change).

By including a national company (Maximal) in the comparative study, I examine linguistic diversity without exclusively focusing on multinational companies. Research in international business especially has strongly focused on MNCs so far. Furthermore, I contribute to investigating linguistic diversity *within* organizations, a research theme which has not received so much attention in International Business. There, the focus often lies in the communication between headquarters and subsidiaries (Lauring and Klitmøller 2014; Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011; Heikkilä and Smale 2011; Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011), or, as in the case of Vaara et al. (2005), on a cross-border merger.

Additionally, this dissertation will contribute to investigate the under-researched diversity experiences of organizational members in the middle and lower echelons. In the case of Globalos, I conducted interviews with a broad range of employees with respect to their occupational status, including persons working in the internal services. At Maximal, the spectrum was smaller, since I did not interview blue collar staff. However, a number of the participants – mostly lower middle managers – were directly involved in close contact with shop floor employees on a day-to-day basis.

[9] Switzerland has four official languages: German, French, Italian and Rumantsch. Of the four national languages, 64.9% of the population speak German, 22.6% French, 8.3% Italian and 0.5% Rumantsch (Federal Statistical Office, 2014).

[10] In multinational corporations (MNCs), languages coexist not only because the companies are geographically dispersed across national and linguistic borders, but also because of the multilingual profile of their workforce. Therefore, not only companies, but also employees are asked to manage increasingly complex linguistic environments, both in terms of work and social talk (Angouri 2013: 565f.).

Their experiences are, at least indirectly, present in the interview accounts. By including the perspective of lower level employees, I intend to help in filling in the research gap on multilingualism in the field of International Business in which most studies have featured data on the managerial level, gathered either through interviews (Neeley 2012; Heikkilä and Smale 2011; Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011) or questionnaires (Harzing and Pudelko 2013; Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011; Zander, Mockaitis and Harzing 2011). As an exception, Lauring and Klitmøller (2014) in their multi-site ethnography of three Danish MNCs in one company, interviewed non-managers, but did not indicate the proportion of non-managers within the sample. In sociolinguistic research too, the tendency to collect data at the managerial level (or, at least, not on the shop floor) is widespread (e.g., Angouri and Miglbauer 2014; Angouri 2013; Kingsley 2013). Studies which explicitly include the experience of employees at the bottom of the hierarchy are infrequent. Gunnarsson's (2014) interviews with cleaning staff in Swedish hospitals, Jansson's (2014) recordings of interactions of care personnel with residents in homes for the elderly in Sweden and Lonsmann's (2014) interviews with blue collar workers in an international company in Denmark are exceptions.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Social constructionism and discursive approach

2.1.1 The social construction of the world

This dissertation puts language center-stage in a double sense. On one hand, it examines the variety of languages and their interplay in organizations. In this respect, it defines language – or rather *languages* – conventionally, as oral or written communication systems used by particular communities; language is thus a category of diversity. On the other hand, it investigates how organizational members establish, reinforce and change power relations among themselves, a process in which language – or rather language *use* – plays a pivotal role. In the perspective of social constructionism which I adopt, language represents a form of action (Gergen and Thatchenkery 2004). It is not a reflection of the world (Gergen 1985), but rather is creating reality. As sociologists Berger and Luckmann (1967) emphasized in their seminal work, *The Social Construction of Reality*, language objectifies the world by transforming the *panta rhei* of experience into a cohesive order. In establishing this order, language *realizes* a world, in the double sense of apprehending and producing it. Conversation represents the actualizing of this "realizing efficacy" of language in the face-to-face situations of individual existence. According to Berger and Luckmann, the fundamental reality-maintaining fact is the continuing use of the same language to objectify unfolding biographical experience (p. 153f.). Or, as Gergen and Thatchenkery (2004) put it when they stress the "relational view of language": "language gains its meaning within (…) forms of interaction" (p. 236). In addition to studying the diversity of *languages*, this dissertation has thus the goal of investigating the "performative use of *language* in human affairs" (Gergen 1985: 270; my italics).

Based on this understanding of language, social constructionism views knowledge not as something people possess, but as something people do together. What is generally viewed as knowledge – linguistic renderings stored in books and other media – thus represents constituents of social practices. The degree to which a certain understanding prevails depends on social processes, not on the empirical validity of the perspective in question (Gergen 1985). These "negotiated understandings" take a wide variety of forms, each of which "brings with it, or invites, a different kind of action" (Burr 2003: 5). Taking an example from psychology, Gergen (1985) demonstrated impressively the crucial significance of descriptions and explanations in social life: "[T]o treat depression, anxiety, or fear as emotions from which people involuntarily suffer is to have far different implications than to treat them as chosen, selected, or played out as on a stage" (p. 268).

Consequently, social constructionism insists that "we take a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world" (Burr 2003: 2). Furthermore, it rejects any predeterministic understanding of essential qualities inside things or people. With these as basic assumptions, social constructionism opposes positivism and empiricism in traditional science and suggests that researchers should turn their interest from questions about the fundamental nature of people or society towards a

consideration of "how certain phenomena or forms of knowledge are achieved by people in interaction" (ibid.: 9). This implies acknowledging the historical specificity of knowledge by studying the emergence of current forms of social life and the social practices by which they are created. Gergen (1985) invites the researcher to examine "the language forms that pervade the society, the means by which they are negotiated, and their implications for other ranges of social activity" (p. 270).

Since a social constructionist perspective denies the existence of objective reality, how can it be an appropriate framework for examining language as a category of diversity which rests on the traditional understanding of language as system of reference? At first sight, there might indeed be a contradiction here. However, as outlined earlier, I will investigate the micro-processes through which multilingual organizations are constituted. Asking how people of different linguistic backgrounds talk about multilingualism represents a first step towards analyzing how they create the multilingual organization of which they are a part. In this sense, I interpret forms of speaking about linguistic diversity as the constitutive parts of constructing the multilingual organization, rather than mirroring its reality.

Furthermore, defining language as oral or written communication system used by particular communities, and thus as a category of diversity, represents only a starting point for connecting my study to the field of multilingualism research. I have already shown that linguistic diversity need not be understood in a static, territory-bound sense and so have prepared the ground for researching the variety of ways that people define multilingualism. Furthermore, I adopt the non-essentialist understanding of diversity put forward by critical diversity studies, which views diversity as socially (re)produced in on-going, context-specific processes. From this perspective, organizational actors "do not simply take over existing grand, hegemonic discourses of diversity" (Zanoni et al. 2010: 17). Rather, they appropriate them selectively, and re-combine them with other available discourses to make sense of diversity, their organization, and their work.

In sum, I set out to investigate how organization members construct power relations socially in a linguistically diverse working context, rather than the "objective" role of linguistic diversity in power relations in multilingual organizations. Based in the social constructionist notion of the role of language, I will study descriptions of experiences of multilingualism, the means by which these understandings are negotiated and their implications for social life. Forms of talking about linguistic diversity are constituents of social practices to the same degree as knowledge in the traditional sense. According to Gergen (1985), descriptions and explanations of the world represent actions which "serve to sustain certain [social] patterns to the exclusion of others" and "[t]o construct persons in (…) a [specific] way (…) is to invite certain lines of action and not others" (p. 268). Therefore, describing experiences with linguistic diversity and constructing individual members of multilingual organizations or groups within them in a specific way has significant political relevance. However, contrary to the research path that Gergen's observation may suggest, I will explore the *variety* of patterns of "dealing" with multilingualism and the *variety* of lines of action that arise for organizational members in a linguistically diverse context. I study both the intersections and tensions

in different descriptions of experiencing linguistic diversity, and propose that using specific descriptions "offers" organizational members different options for constructing power relations among themselves. This implies that there is space for agency, a concept, along with my concept of power, which I will define later in this chapter, using the writings of Michel Foucault and the notion of positioning.

2.1.2 Organizations as social constructions and their study with discourse analysis

As stated, in this study I investigate social "reality" in organizations, assuming that language plays a fundamental role in its construction. More specifically, I examine how members of multilingual organizations construct power relations in their everyday interactions at work. In this respect, my basic research orientation is social constructionism with its philosophical assumptions about the nature of being (ontology) and of knowledge (epistemology). Social constructionism also offers a variety of possible methodologies for conducting a close *empirical* examination of social processes (Burr 2003: 176). Among these are Conversation analysis, which dedicates itself to the detailed study of naturally occurring talk; ethnography, in which observations of "real life" are the analytic material; and narrative analysis and discourse analysis, which study the discursive construction of organizations through stories or discourses, respectively (Cunliffe 2008).

Because of the central role of language in constructing "reality" in this study, and because I wanted to capture people's *explicit* experiences with linguistic diversity, which was only possible if working with interviews, I adopt a discursive perspective for investigating power relations between employees of multilingual organizations. Analyzing naturally occurring talk (Conversation analysis) or observations of interactions (ethnography) would not have allowed me to ask employees to account for their everyday life in a multilingual organization. Furthermore, discourse analysis provides some very helpful concepts and guidelines for analyzing social processes.[11] In line with my understanding of multilingualism as negotiation process and shared construction, I define linguistically diverse organizations as produced discursively by its members.

There are several understandings of discourse and many forms of discourse analysis; presenting them all is beyond the scope of this dissertation. I will therefore work only with those which are promising for shedding light on the complex power dynamics in multilingual organizations. As a starting point, I quote Michel Foucault's (1971) inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, in which he introduced his concept of

[11] As Rhodes and Brown (2005) show, also a narrative analysis could be suitable for studying power in organizations through the analysis of people's accounts, which are called stories in this approach. The narrative and the discursive perspectives have certain similarities. Also the narrative approach views organizations as actively constructed through discursive activity and emphasizes the variability of accounts: "[R]ecognizing the multiple ways that stories can be told encourages a view of organizations as actively constructed through discursive activity" (ibid.: p. 178).

discourse which has strongly influenced the development of discourse analysis. As the quotation shows, the French philosopher emphasized the reality-creating role of discourse:

> "[W]e should not imagine that the world presents us with a legible face, leaving us merely to decipher it (...). We must conceive discourse as a violence that we do to things, or, at all events, as a practice we impose upon them (...)." (Foucault 2010/1971: 229)

In her clear introduction to discourse analysis, Wetherell (2001b) depicted the results of this "violence" or practice: discourse[12] builds objects, worlds, minds and social relations. Similar to Berger and Luckmann (1967), Wetherell (2001b) emphasized that "[w]ords are about the world but they also form the world as they represent it. What is the case for humans, what reality is, what the world is, only emerges through human meaning-making. As (…) [people] speak (…) a formulation of the world comes into being. The world as described comes into existence at that moment" (p. 16). In line with social constructionism, meaning is therefore understood as relational. We have an idea of the significance of words because we are members of a speaking community which has agreed on associations for words. Therefore, language helps to explain the order and pattern in social action. One source of regularity is the discursive practices which "people collectively draw on to organize their conduct. (…) In other words, there are regular ways of doing things in talk – practices – which guide people and order discourse" (ibid.: 18).

Importantly, there is no determinism inherent in these discursive practices, from Wetherell's perspective. As I will show later, other discourse scholars attribute to discourse a more predefining role when it comes to individual or collective action. For her, however, "the interaction order is not a set of hard and fast rules which people follow like social dopes" (ibid.: 20). Rather, discursive practices represent flexible and creative resources. From this point of view, a discursive space is a place of argument, "an argumentative texture or a discursive fabric that brings together many different threads which can be combined and woven differently" (ibid.: 25). But, while rejecting deterministic assumptions on the role of specific discourses or discursive practices, Wetherell at the same time emphasized that these combinations of threads have social consequences: "As accounts and discourses become available and widely shared, they become social realities to be reckoned with; they become efficacious in future events. The account enters the discursive economy to be circulated, exchanged, stifled, marginalized or, perhaps, comes to dominate over other possible accounts and is thus marked as the 'definitive truth'" (ibid.: 16). An interesting question for discourse analysts, therefore, is why a certain utterance is made or a specific version is presented. Researchers can ask what it accomplishes in the immediate moment and, also, what it says about the wider discursive economy or the politics of representation which influence what is available to be said and what can be heard. Another question

[12] Wetherell is relatively brief when it comes to a definition of discourse. She – as many others – more or less seems to equate it with language or talk. At one point, however, she defines discourse as "language in use" or as "human meaning-making" (Wetherell 2001a: 3).

is how economic and technological – and, additionally, societal and organizational – developments construct discursive spaces.

The discursive perspective has been adopted by organizational discourse analysis, one approach which emerged in the social constructionist-inspired linguistic turn in Organization Studies. Organizational discourse analysis "posits the organization as being discursively constituted" and focuses on "how discursive production leads to the construction of organizations and all the bits and pieces that make them up" (Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips 2006: 308). According to Chia (2000), discourse can be defined as "multitudinal and heterogenous forms of (…) verbal [and, as should be added, written] *utterances* occurring in space-time" (ibid.: 513f.). It works to create some sense of stability, order and predictability and, thereby, to produce a sustainable, functioning and liveable world. Therefore, discourse analysis helps us to understand how societies construct their social worlds, and how the flux and flow of the world is arrested and regularized.

Within organizational discourse analysis there are a variety of variants. In a famous article, Alvesson and Kärreman (2000b) distinguished two understandings of discourse prevalent in organizational discourse analysis: discourses with a small "d" and discourses with a big "D". Each discourse type comes with a different approach to the study of organizational discourse. In the "d" variant, discourse is understood as local achievement. Researchers from this perspective are concerned with the study of talk and written texts in its social action contexts. Discourse with a big "D" represents general and prevalent systems for the formation and articulation of ideas. According to Alvesson and Kärreman, the scholar's focus is therefore the "determination of social reality through historically situated discursive moves" (p. 1126). Or, as Cunliffe (2008) formulated it, such – critical – theorists focus on social construction on a macro level, asking "how power-infused discursive practices are objectified in social structures, relations and subjectivities" (p. 128).

For Alvesson and Kärreman (2000a) the "d"- and the "D"-variant both have their limitations. The micro-oriented approach tends to underinvestigate meaning. Words are viewed as "merely the means to produce different kinds of discourse" which is how the "practical meaning and, thus, effects become lost" (p. 150). Research from a macro perspective on the other hand seems limited methodologically. The move from specific empirical material to Discourse with a big "D" is difficult, and researchers tend to reduce the multiple discourses in their data to one or two Discourses which are furthermore often inspired by readings of textbooks or popular management texts (Alvesson and Kärreman 2000b: 1146). The authors therefore proposed a meso-oriented approach as an alternative. Such a form of organizational discourse analysis would be "somewhat more inclined to look for slightly broader and more general themes while still being careful to avoid gross categorizations" (ibid.: 1143; italics in original).

Alvesson and Kärreman (2000a) flesh out this general suggestion in their presentation of what they call discursive pragmatism. Attempting to bring together sensitivity to the specific analytic situation and attention to the effects of discourse, they emphasized

"the partial ability of language to convey something beyond itself" (p. 148f.). More specifically, they stressed the variation in the relative consistency and value of utterances as clues to phenomena beyond themselves. Variations in interview responses, for example, may indicate an "ambiguous and inconsistent organizational reality; a varied, even contradictory, set of beliefs of values informing respondent perceptions; or merely the nuanced complexity of the issues in question" (ibid.). Compared to research investigating language use in its specific context only, a discursive pragmatist approach makes more room for speculating about what discursive material may indicate beyond the person's utterance. However, it is the analyst's duty to be explicit about the speculative element involved and to indicate why there are good reasons to treat an account as indication of phenomena which reach beyond the specific interactional context.

Critically oriented researchers in turn would, arguably, criticize this approach for being too "soft". As Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips (2006) stress, "[a] critical realist approach to discourse analysis begins with the premise that there is a difference between the world as it exists and our knowledge of it, which it maintains as a critical distinction" (p. 318). From this perspective, the social world comes prestructured. Therefore, discourse analysis should be careful not to neglect structural factors. An alternate view is represented by Chia (2000) who, very much in line with social constructionism, views discourse as form of organization. From this point of view, organizational discourse "must be understood (…) as the bringing into existence of an 'organized' or stabilized state" (p. 514).

As these discussions bring out, discourse analysts studying organizations have different takes on power. Later in this chapter I will present discursive research focusing on power in organizations in more detail. First, however, I introduce Michel Foucault's thoughts on power – a fundamental theme in the extensive body of work of the French philosopher so highly influential for discourse analysis. Inspired by his later writings, I have conceptualized power in the non-static, non-deterministic, agency-emphasizing manner which is underrepresented in research on multilingualism in organizations, as I have shown. Later in this chapter, I will further flesh out the agency theme and the positive aspects of power relations with the help of positioning theory.

2.2 Michel Foucault's thoughts on power

Power was one of the core themes in the work of the famous French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984). However, in his more than thirty years of writing, his research interests and understandings of power evolved. Therefore, it is impossible to distill from his work a coherent theoretical framework or, even less, a "toolbox" for analysis. In the following, I will attempt to identify some "red threats" in his thoughts on the analysis of power, while at the same time pointing to some shifts of emphasis. Given Foucault's vast body of work, this overview cannot claim to be complete. Also, I will give more weight to those writings which provide essential conceptual and

methodological inspirations for the analysis of power dynamics in multilingual organizations.

In 1969, Foucault wrote his *Archaeology of Knowledge* in which he presented a concept of historical analysis focusing on discontinuity instead of totalizations such as world-views, ideal types or the particular spirit of an age.[13] In this book, which presents an outline of discourse analysis, he elaborated on the relation between discourse and power. While he emphasized that discourse is characterized by the coexistence of dispersed and heterogeneous statements, Foucault also stated that all these statements do not have the same weight. He invited the discourse analyst to examine how one statement, rather than another, appeared in discourse and to show what other forms of statements are criticized or even excluded. Researchers should also ask who is speaking, and who is accorded the right to use a specific discourse (2010/1969: 50): "What is the status of the individuals who – alone – have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted, to proffer such a discourse?" It is also, he said, the analyst's task to describe the institutional sites from which these individuals – in his example, doctors – make their discourse, and from which this discourse derives its legitimate source. The position of the subject is therefore "defined by the situation that it is possible for him [or her] to occupy in relation to the various domains or groups of objects" (p. 52).

One year earlier, in a text on "Politics and the Study of Discourse" (1968), Foucault even more explicitly had declared his position on the political aspects of discourse. The analysts' starting point should be, he said, "the limits and forms of the *sayable*" (p. 59; italics in original.) Analysts should be concerned with "which utterances are put into circulation, and among what groups, and which are repressed and censored" (p. 60). Adopting the concerns of many intellectuals of that time, he invited inquiry into which individuals, and which groups or classes have access to a particular kind of discourse. Researchers should also address how "struggle for control of discourses [is] conducted between classes, nations, linguistic, cultural or ethnic collectivities" (p. 60). In this respect, Foucault distinguished between discourses and the "non-discursive context in which they function (institutions, social relations, economic and political conjuncture)" (p. 54). He pursued this argument in the *Archaelogy of Knowledge* also, talking about a whole "non-discursive field of practices, appropriation, interests, and desires" (1969: 69).

Also in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, mentioned earlier, Foucault (2010/1971) addressed the relation between power and discourse. Instead of focusing on the flourishing and continuity of discourse as it was traditionally understood, he invited researchers to recognize the negative activity of the cutting-out and rarefaction of discourse. The analyst's task, he said, is to explore the "external conditions of existence [of discourse], for that which gives rise to the chance series of these events and fixes its limits" (p. 229). This time, however, he distinguished two ways of doing discourse analysis with a different emphasis on the study of power. From a critical

[13] In so doing, Foucault distanced himself from structuralism. His intention was not "to impose on history, despite itself, the forms of structural analysis" (p. 15).

perspective, Foucault said, themes of analysis consist in investigating functions of exclusion, taboo systems in language, instances of discursive control or the analysis of rarefaction, consolidation and unification in discourse. The so-called genealogical approach in turn comprises the analysis of the effective formation of discourse. However, both types of analysis are not completely separable from each other, as Foucault emphasized: "[A]ny critical task calling instances of control into play must, at the same time, analyze the discursive regularities through which these instances are formed. Any genealogical description must take into account the limits at play within real formations" (ibid.: 233).

Foucault undertook a critical analysis in the first volume of his *History of Sexuality* (1990/1976) which was published in French in 1976 under the title *La Volonté de savoir*. There, he proposed to analyze a certain form of knowledge regarding sex, not in terms of repression or law, "but in terms of power" (p. 92). Foucault set out to investigate what were the most immediate, the most local power relations at work in a specific type of discourse on sex. He was interested in how they "make possible these kinds of discourses, and conversely, how were these discourses used to support power relations" (ibid.: 97). However, his questions were explicitly *not "*how and why is it that power needs to establish a knowledge of sex" or "[w]hat over-all domination was served by the concern, evidenced since the eighteenth century, to produce true discourses on sex" (ibid.). As becomes evident in these "forbidden" questions, Foucault's study of the history of sexuality, in spite of its critical orientation, was not based on an understanding of power as something that some people, those who dominate, possess. Rather, the author says, it must be understood "as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate" (p. 92):

> "[P]ower is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society." (p. 93)

According to Foucault, this "strategical situation" refers to themes or theories present in a society. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2010/1969), he explained that „discourses as economics, medicine, grammar, the science of living beings give rise to certain organizations of concepts, certain regroupings of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to their degree of coherence, rigour, and stability, themes or theories (...). Whatever their formal level may be, I shall call these themes and theories ‚strategies'" (p. 64).

In the first volume of the *History of Sexuality* (1990/1976), Foucault took a position analogous to his rejection of the concept of dominance, refusing to view discourse as something "the powerful" possess. He suggested that "we must not imagine a world of discourse divided between (…) the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies" (p. 100). From this point of view, discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. For Foucault, discourses represent "blocks operating in the field of force relations; there can exist different and even contradictory discourses

within the same strategy; they can, on the contrary, circulate without changing their form from one strategy to another, opposing strategy" (p. 101f.).

But even if discourse can be an instrument of resistance, it plays an eminent role in establishing truth, Foucault said: "[I]t is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (p. 100). This thought, under the label "power/knowledge"[14] would later be one of the most often-quoted Foucault-inspired concepts in English-speaking academia[15]. As Foucault formulated the idea in a lecture at the Collège de France in 1972, knowledge and power are closely linked. On the one hand, no knowledge is established without a communication system which in itself represents a form of power and which is related to other forms of power. On the other hand, the exercise of power is not possible without gaining, acquiring, distributing or containing knowledge. Or, as the author said in an interview in 1975, it is "not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power" (p. 52). Therefore, the author argued, there is no point in dreaming of a time when knowledge will cease to depend on power.

In a lecture in Italy (1976b), Foucault fleshed out these thoughts with a stronger critical impetus, talking of "truth" instead of "knowledge". Power relations in a society, he said, cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourses of truth. Therefore, people are subject to the production of truth through power, and they cannot exercise power except through the production of truth. In spite of his suggestion that there is no dichotomy between the dominating and the dominated discourse, Foucault here attributes to power a pivotal role when it comes to the definition of truth. As he stated, "we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living or dying, as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power" (ibid.: 94).

He emphasized again, however, that power is not a possession. It is "never localized here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth" (ibid.: 98). From his point of view, individuals are also always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power. Consequently, Foucault asked the researcher to "refrain from posing the labyrinthine and unanswerable question: 'Who then has power and what has he [or she] in mind? What is the aim of someone who possesses power?'" (ibid.: 97). Rather, he invited to study power where it installs itself and produces its real effects. Again and again, Foucault emphasized the

[14] The French term Foucault used was "savoir", which he distinguished from "connaissance". Both translate as "knowledge" in English. By "connaissance", he meant "the relation of the subject to the object and the formal rules that govern it. *Savoir* refers to the conditions that are necessary in a particular period for this or that type of object to be given to *connaissance* and for this or that enunciation to be formulated" (Foucault 1969: 15, footnote 2; italics in original).

[15] The term "power/knowledge" is especially often used in publications written in English, less so in writings in German and French. It would represent an interesting topic to retrace the history of this frequent/less frequent quotation.

productive role of power which forms knowledge and produces discourse. He suggested considering it "as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (1977: 119).

His resulting rejection of understanding power as possession did not prevent Foucault from reflecting upon questions of inequality. In his first volume of the *History of Sexuality* (1990/1976), while rejecting the concept of dominance, he characterized economic processes and knowledge relationships as imbalanced. Importantly, however, from his point of view, power relations are not in a position of exteriority with respect to these other relationships. Somewhat vaguely, he wrote that power relations are "the immediate effects of the divisions, inequalities, and disequilibriums which occur in the latter, and conversely they are the internal conditions of these differentiations" (p. 94). He distanced himself more clearly from any structuralist understandings of power in another lecture given in Italy in 1976. There, he criticized the Marxist conception of power for its "economic functionality" which he saw as present to the extent that "power is conceived primarily in terms of the role it plays in the maintenance simultaneously of the relations of production and of a class domination" (1976a: 88). What this understanding shares with the classic, juridical perspective is that power is seen as something one is able to possess like a commodity. Explicitly addressing some of his contemporaries, Foucault asserted that it had "become almost automatic in the parlance of the times to define power as an organ of repression" (ibid.: 90). Again, the author distanced himself from such a view by saying that he had "always been especially diffident of this notion of repression" (ibid.: 92). Rather, he proposed a "non-economic analysis of power". He suggested that "power is neither given, nor exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised, and that it only exists in action" (ibid.: 89). Foucault again asserted that "power is not primarily the maintenance and reproduction of economic relations, but is above all a relation of force" (ibid.). Following this logic of force relations, he proposed investigating the "mechanism" of power in terms of struggle, conflict and war.

The beginning of the 1980s marked an emphasis shift in Foucault's thinking about power. In a series of texts and lectures (1988/1984; 1984; 1982), he started to attribute to the individual a more active role in power relations while not abandoning some of his core thoughts on power. He continued to emphasize the non-essentialist character of power, which should not be conceived of as "something" that exists "somewhere" (1982: 219). Also, he refrained from viewing power relations schematically in the sense of an opposition between those "who have power" and those "who do not have power" (1981: 239). He continued to assert that, contrary to conditions of domination, power relations are not fixed, but are rather mobile, reversible and instable (1984: 288). In his understanding, power „brings into play relations between individuals (or between groups)" (1982: 217). But contrary to earlier writings, Foucault now put an emphasis on individual agency:

> "Power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a

> field of possibilites in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized.“ (1982: 221).

In his *Archaelogy of Knowledge* (1968), Foucault certainly had not presented a deterministic view on the role of the subject. But he had highlighted the connection between the status, the institutional setting, and the position that an individual could take up in a discourse. Now, he explicitly viewed the individual as active. Based on this revised understanding of the role of the subject, he defined power as a „way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action“ or as a „set of actions upon other actions“ (ibid.: 220). In this respect, he attempted again to formulate a non-economic definition of power which he had struggled with earlier, as shown already. He stated that the term “power” designates relationships between partners – “not thinking of a zero-sum game, but (…) of an ensemble of actions which induce others and follow from one another“ (ibid.: 217). A zero-sum game would imply the understanding of power as a commodity which, as I have discussed, Foucault had problematized on various occasions.

Therefore, power relations have to be distinguished from relationships of violence which force, destroy or close the door on all possibilities, or from dominance which represents fixed power relations. For Foucault, two elements are indispensable if we are to speak of a real power relationship:

> “[T]hat ‘the other’ (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognized and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible inventions may open up.“ (ibid.: 220)

Therefore, there necessarily exist possibilities for resistance in power relations, that is, strategies which reverse the situation (1984: 288f.). Following this logic, Foucault suggested analyzing power relations by taking as a starting point the forms of resistance against different forms of power, “using this resistance as a chemical catalyst so as to bring light to power relations” (1982: 210f.). In this context, Foucault strongly emphasized the power effects of knowledge. He stated that it is not enough to say that resistance consists in antiauthority struggles. Rather, in his view, it represents “an opposition to the effects of power which are linked with knowledge, competence, and qualification: struggles against the privileges of knowledge. (...) What is questioned is the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power“ (ibid.: 212; italics in original). In sum, he concluded, the main objective of these struggles is not to attack a certain institution of power, or group, or elite, or class, but rather a technique, a form of power in and of itself.

In the same 1982 text, Foucault also formulated a number of questions for the analysts which combine some of his earlier concerns with his new understanding of the active subject. First, the researcher should investigate the system of so-called differentiations which permits one to act upon the actions of others. These differentiations can, for example, be determined by the law or by traditions of status and privilege, can consist of economic differences in the appropriation of riches and goods, shifts in the

processes of production, linguistic or cultural differences, differences in know-how and competence. Every relationship of power puts into operation differentiations which are at the same time its conditions and its results, he said. Secondly, in a surprisingly utilitarist formulation, Foucault proposed investigating the types of objectives pursued by those who act upon the actions of others: "the maintenance of privileges, the accumulation of profits, the bringing into operation of statuary authority, the exercise of a function or of a trade" (ibid.: 223). Thirdly, the analyst should look at the means of bringing power relations into being: by the threat of arms, by the effects of the word, by means of economic disparities or by more or less complex means of control. Fourthly, it is the analyst's task, he said, to examine the forms of institutionalization which can also take the form of a closed apparatus, with its own regulations and hierarchical structures. Finally, the researcher should investigate the degree of rationalization in bringing into play the power relations which "may be more or less elaborate in relation to the effectiveness of the instruments and the certainty of the results (…) or again in proportion to the possible cost" (ibid.: 223f.).

As these quoted thoughts on resistance make clear, in the last years before this death in 1984, Foucault did not imagine every subject as being free to act as it pleased. On the contrary, he emphasized that subjects are influenced by others, a theme which he now explored under the term "governmentality". He defined governing as "the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed" and as the structuring of "the possible field of action of others" (1982: 221). As he said, there are two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by dint of control and dependence, and tied to one's own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates the individual and makes it subject to someone else. In this respect, Foucault spoke of an equivocality of power relations:

> "Perhaps the equivocal nature of the term *conduct* is one of the best aids for coming to terms with the specificity of power relations. For „conduct" is at the same time to „lead" others (according to mechanisms of coercion which are, to varying degrees, strict) and a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities." (ibid. 220f.; italics in original)

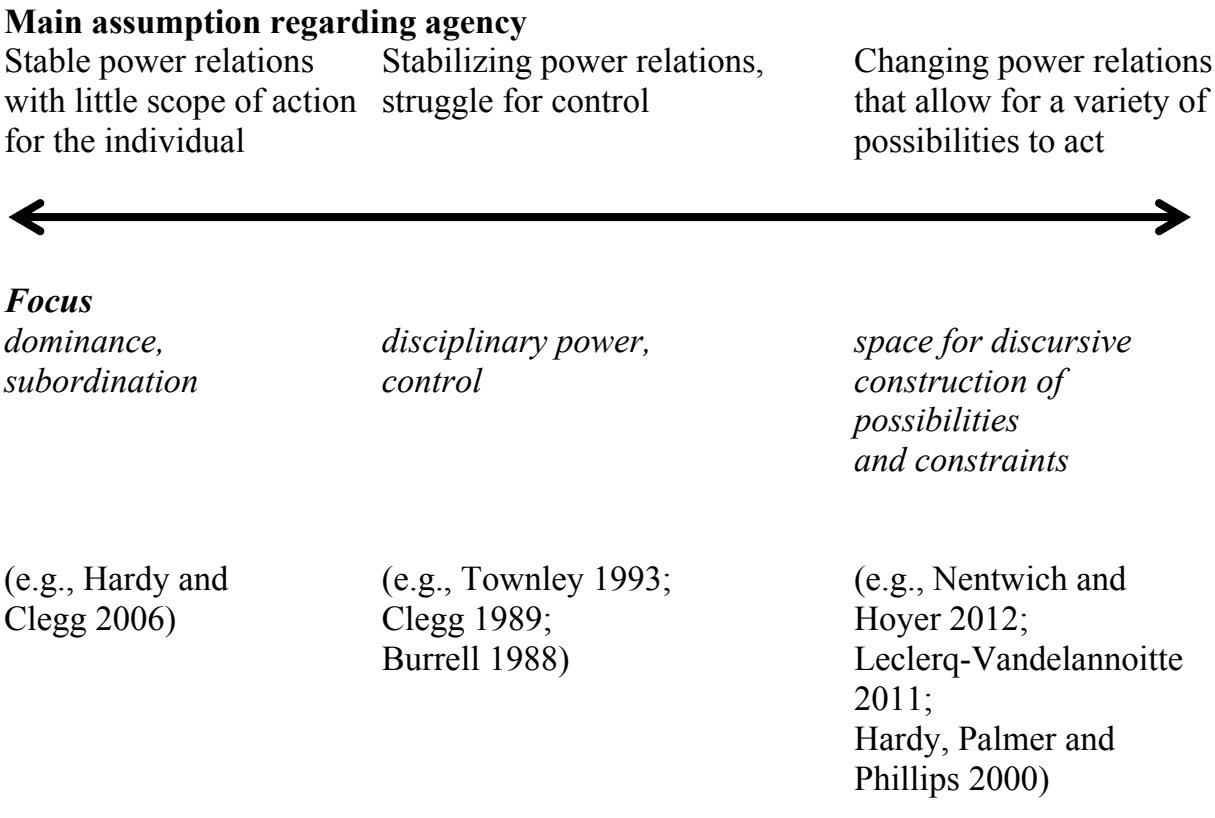
An integral part of these governing processes therefore consists in "the rule of the individual over himself", as Foucault defined it in his last volume of the *History of Sexuality* (1988/1984). As he stressed in an interview that same year (1984), he did not think that these "practices of the self", in which the subject actively constitutes itself, were invented by the subject. Rather, he proposed that they were present in the subject's society or group. Remarkably, in the same interview, Foucault attributed to the individual a significant role in avoiding the abuse of power. Based on classical Greek philosophy, he defined the "care of the self" as a "practice of liberty". Caring for oneself represents a way to control and limit power, he said, arguing that it is the power over oneself – in the form of self-reflection – which regulates power over others (p. 283). Unfortunately, by speaking of power abuse, Foucault here seems to frame

power somewhat as possession, a notion which he had always rejected. But still, what remains remarkable is the focus on self-reflection and liberty which he introduced.

2.3 Foucauldian research in Organization Studies

Foucault has inspired a number of organization scholars who study power, mostly from a postmodern perspective. Research in Organization Studies based on his work focuses on various aspects of power. One way to systematize studies in this field consists in examining the role and autonomy of the subject they envisage. In such a perspective, Foucauldian research in Organization Studies can be placed on a continuum between a focus on stable power relations, which does not leave the individual much scope of action, and a focus on constantly changing power relations that allow for more agency.

Figure 3: Overview of Foucauldian research in Organization Studies



Most scholars drawing on his work share Foucault's claim that power is not a commodity possessed by certain individuals or groups, and agree with the idea that he introduced about the end of sovereign notions of power. Still, the most critical voices, which are located on the left side of the continuum in the representation above, remain concerned with stable power relations and focus on dominance and subordination. Hardy and Clegg (2006) presented one example of this line of research in their contribution on power in the "SAGE Handbook of Organization Studies". In their

view, one of Foucault's merits lies in showing that all actors operate "within an existing structure of dominancy – a prevailing web of power relations – from which the prospects of escape were limited for dominant and subordinate groups alike" (p. 763). Noticeably, although explicitly taking up Foucault's relational understanding of power, the authors implicitly maintained the notion of power as a possession of "powerful". They stated, for instance, that "the total institutions aspects of Foucault's work resonate with contemporary abuses of power in organizations" (p. 770). This view of power as being abused implies that it is seen as being in the hands of some individuals or groups.

Not dominance and stable power relations, but the stabilization of power relations is the concern of the wide range of Foucauldian research focusing on disciplinary power (see also Leclerq-Vandelannoitte 2011; Burrell 1996). Many of these studies are based on Foucault's hypothesis of „power/knowledge", which is commonly associated with the middle – or, as it is often called – the genealogical phase of his oeuvre. As Burrell (1988) suggested, Foucault's relevance to Organization Studies derives most strongly from the work of this period. McKinlay and Starkey (1998) suggested that the historicity of disciplinary power is the central theme of Foucault. For Burrell (1988), one of Foucault's important contributions consists in inspiring research on disciplinary power which is "invested in, transmitted by and reproduced through all human beings in their day-to-day existence" (p. 227). Normalization in this perspective represents "a great instrument of power" (p. 231). Importantly, and contrary to "traditional" critical perspectives, organizational superordinates are viewed as being disciplined as much as their subordinates.

In his *Frameworks of Power*, Clegg (1989) adopted this focus on normalization by emphasizing the relevance of routine in organizations for the stabilization of power relations. Negotiation, contestation and struggle between people who seek to control and decide the nature of organizational action are part of everyday life in organizations, the author says. Based on Foucault's concept of power/knowledge, Clegg views "the normal" as fixed in knowledge. Disciplinary power therefore works through the construction of routine which represents a "knowledgeable construction of (…) states of affairs (…) so that subordinate agencies know what is to be done on their part if they are to minimize whatever sanctions might be directed at them by superordinates" (p. 201). As Clegg emphasizes, this is an understanding of power which clearly must be distinguished from a Marxist view that sees power as residing in specific individuals.

Townley's (1993) famous study of Human Resources Management (HRM) represents one example of focusing on disciplinary power for the study of a concrete organizational practice. Based on Foucault's relational notion of power, the author set out to study the "how" of power, the practices, techniques and procedures that give it effect. As a starting point, Townley argued that HRM "may be best understood as a discourse and set of practices that attempt to reduce the indeterminacy involved in the employment contract" (p. 518). Managing employees requires a vocabulary, that is, a means of knowing and ways of representing and ordering populations. Based on Foucault's hypothesis of the relation between power and knowledge, the author

examined "how disciplinary practices operate to create order, knowledge, and ultimately, power effects" (p. 523). Townley found that several HRM techniques operate to ensure that individuals become classified and ordered hierarchically along a scale. Ranking systems such as job classifications or job ladders create a hierarchy nominally based on skill, responsibility and experience. Furthermore, HRM not only has disciplinary, but also normalizing effects, the researcher concluded.

Scholars such as Hardy and Clegg (2006), Burrell (1988) and, implicitly, Townley (1993) with her emphasis on a relational understanding of power, emphasize the involvement of all organizational members in disciplinary power. According to other interpretations, disciplinary power tends to become an instrument used intentionally by some to serve certain goals. McKinlay and Starkey (1998) interpreted Foucault's oeuvre as concerned with "dressage, which refers to work which is exclusively to confirm the docility, obedience and control of the governed" (p. 5). The defining activity of twentieth century management is therefore not coordination but control. Similar undertones can be found in Haugaard (2009) who argued that, in neo-liberal orders, masses must be trained to be docile in all institutional areas. They are agents which are simultaneously free subjects as they are objects of dominance; people are subject to surveillance, socialization and systemic pressures, and spaces for resistance get smaller but are never entirely eliminated. Remarkably, Haugaard did not bring an acting subject into play: the reader does not know from whose point of view or for whom the masses need to be trained.

The focus on dominance and discipline in critically oriented research has provoked a number of reactions. Some scholars have criticized a frequent tendency towards "negativism". In 1996, Alvesson stated that the Foucault-inspired reading of communication "tends to emphasize the 'negative' element – albeit seeing it as associated with productive functions – in that it leaves little room for the possibility of a more 'positive' and power-free form of collaboration or dialogue" (p. 181). Ten years later, Ailon still argued that the "pessimistic" reading of Foucault is the more common one in Organization Studies (2006: 782). For Ailon, organization theorists often take for granted that they know what people would do if they were not constrained to do something else.[16] This implies that they take their own ideological beliefs and normative preferences as a starting point. But, as Ailon suggested, research would gain much by "examining what meanings organization members attribute" (Ailon 2006: 772) to what they would otherwise do. Critical approaches have sometimes even been accused of "conspiracy thinking" in assuming that power "is always something hidden in the background doing dirty work" (Kendall and Wickham 1999: 48). They have also received the implicit criticism of being elitist. Kendall and Wickham (2004) emphasized that in the mid-1990, when Foucault started to have quite a significant role in Cultural Studies, sociology and other social sciences, scholars often adopted an interpretation of Foucault that "tells people what power is 'really' about, (…) [and] tells them that power can (and should) be found in the

[16] This formulation is based on Robert A. Dahl's famous definition of power which says that person A has power over person B to the extent that person A can get person B to do something that person B would otherwise not do (Ailon 2006: 771).

meaning of every situation they come across in their everyday lives" (p. 147f.). However, the same authors argued a few years earlier that, instead of using Foucault to tell people what power is "really" about, he should be viewed as "most careful investigator" (Kendall and Wickham 1999: viii). They thus invited researchers to take Foucault's writings as an inspiration for analysis because, as they argued, "while he is frequently name-checked, his approach is rarely taken seriously" (ibid.).

In answer to these criticisms, some scholars have emphasized Foucault's possible contribution to redirecting critique in postmodern Organization Studies (Chan 2000). Understanding themselves as agents of change, organization theorists can adopt genealogical reflexivity as a means of critique. Foucault's genealogy makes it possible to think about "becoming otherwise than we are", wrote Chan, emphasizing the possibility of resistance against the authority of forces that limit our creative self-representation. Therefore, in organizational analysis, "reflective indocility entails destabilizing the rules and regime of truth of power/knowledge which lead to subjection" (p. 1072). Chan clearly distinguished such forms of reflexivity from the notion of critique formulated by Jürgen Habermas and the Frankfurt school as well as by Critical Theory. The latter, contrary to Foucault, follow an oppositional and emancipatory mode and make reference to a normative ideal which should be achieved by the lawful use of reason. Similar suggestions have been formulated by Critical management scholar Barratt (2008), who saw the role of the organization scholar as "engaged critic of management" (p. 534) in "permanent reflexivity in relation to one's perspective and value positions" (p. 530). Barratt proposed using the late writings of Foucault as a resource for "fashioning a practical mode of criticism" (p. 516). In order to do so, a scholar should "engage with the practical concerns of social actors" (p. 530). Barratt joined Kendall and Wickham (1999) in their plea for careful investigation (see above) by asking organizational analysts to "restore some of the meticulousness and attention to concrete detail which Foucault often foregrounds" (p. 522).

Research which emphasizes Foucault's relevance for the understanding of human agency puts social actors at the center (Leclerq-Vandelannoitte 2011). Research conducted from this perspective emphasizes that the Foucauldian framework goes "beyond dominant discourses" (p. 1252). In this reading, there is always scope for resistance to dominant readings in the negotiated process of social construction of meaning through discursive acts that provide alternative meanings (Hardy and Phillips 2004). Individuals are not only positioned by discourse, but also position themselves within a discursive field, thereby creating a variety of subjectivities (Nentwich and Hoyer 2013). As the authors stress, "discourse always contains its antithesis, which opens space for agency" like resistance and subversion of dominant discourses (p. 558). Resistance becomes possible through making marginalized discourses available as a source from which to fashion alternative realities, but also through making use of contradictions, weaknesses and gaps between the alternative positions of subjects in discourse. In their analysis of counter-arguments to full-time work, Nentwich and Hoyer showed how people succeed in constructing part-time work as a legitimate alternative by challenging taken-for-granted assumptions on full-time work or even presenting the possibility of part-time work as the new taken-for-granted assumption.

Leclerq-Vandelannoitte (2011) demonstrated that, in a situation of organizational change, contradictions and tensions between discourses open a space for the discursive construction of new conditions of possibilities and constraints. In a French company which had recently introduced a new IT system, the foremen identified a discrepancy between the managerial discourse about empowerment and local discursive practices which spread the idea that these technologies were too complex for professionals unaccustomed to computers. Identifying this contradiction opened a discursive space for the foremen and thus a possibility for them to resist the project.

Another, related stream of Foucauldian research in Organization Studies views discourse as a strategic resource which can be mobilized to gain agency, defined as "scope for action" (Hardy, Palmer and Phillips 2000). From this perspective, participation in discourse is a highly influential political act:

> "[D]iscursive activity is a form of political activity because of the way in which it changes understandings of a social situation which, in turn, shape particular experiences and invoke certain practices. Discursive activity may result in changes in concepts, in different concepts being applied to objects, and in the emergence of different subject positions with different voices." (Hardy and Phillips 1999: 6)[17]

Taking the case of an international NGO operating in Palestine as an illustration, Hardy, Palmer and Phillips (2000) "show how an individual brought about strategic change by engaging in discursive activity" (p. 1227). The authors conceptualized strategy as a discursive construction, thereby making it possible to explore "its political implications by asking who gets to write and read the story" (ibid.: 1230). Similar to the resistance-oriented line of research, the authors emphasized that most contexts – including organizations – consist of multiple and fragmented discourses which provide actors with choices concerning the discourses on which they draw. In order to successfully employ discourse as strategic resource, some conditions have to be fulfilled, however. The subject position of the person who engages in discursive activity must warrant voice, as recognized by others, and the discursive statements must resonate with other actors (Hardy, Palmer and Phillips 2000). Broader societal discourses can represent discursive resources which help to support a position (Hardy and Phillips 1999). Furthermore, the emergence of new subject positions and the contestation and modification of prevailing discourses are a precondition to change.

Throughout their text on discourse as strategic resource, the authors emphasized a strong goal-orientation in participation in discourse. They stated that individuals engage in discursive activity with "particular intentions in mind" (Hardy, Palmer and Phillips 2000: 1232), aiming at "outcomes that are beneficial to them" (ibid.) and

[17] The notion of subject position has a long history and, as shown, also appears in Foucault's early writings. In the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2010/1969), he viewed the position of the subject as defined by the situation that it is possible for a person to occupy in a discourse. This line of thinking has been taken up in a wide range of Foucauldian-inspired research. Other authors, such as Hardy and Phillips (1999) here, emphasize the variety of subject positions which people might take up or create.

attempting to "secure advantage from particular subject positions or to silence other subjects" (ibid.: 1235). However, as Phillips and Hardy stated in earlier research, interests are not to be viewed as objective interests, but as "constructed as the results of complex ideological, discursive and institutional practices" (Phillips and Hardy 1997: 165, footnote 5). Still, borrowing a term from the economic realm, they called the "user" of a discourse a "skilled 'entrepreneur'" (p.: 171).

In a reading radically different from all the ones presented so far, Dixon (2007) proposed a new interpretation of Foucault, based on his late writings in which he brought pleasure into play. Based on these, organizational theorizing might move beyond domination and discipline to pleasure, desire and choice. This would open the door to exploring relational constructs that are predominantly voluntary, non-task related and pleasurable. For Dixon, "interpersonal relationships, which provide a sense of pleasure and well-being, are stronger determinants of how we experience and enact power than the fear and oppression that might characterize our structured organizational entanglements" (p. 291). Such an expanded reading of Foucault would allow for new perspectives in organizational studies. In a statement which would probably make the hair of most Foucauldian researchers stand on end, Dixon suggested that this expanded reading could encompass an individual choice "that would seem against his or her best interests organizationally or even personally as being a choice that individual made out of love rather than fear" (p. 292).

2.4 Critique of Foucauldian research and how it is answered

Foucauldian research in Organization Studies has been criticized from various points of view and for different reasons. In the following, I will now look at some of these criticisms which are especially relevant to the analysis of power. First, discursive approaches based on Foucault have been criticized for their ontological assumptions. From this perspective, Foucauldian work tends to absorb too much into discourse which has the effect of "encouraging (…) to neglect the influence of the material, economic and structural factors" (Hall 2001: 78). Similarly, Reed (1998) argued that the Foucauldian perspective "runs into major explanatory problems when asked to account for the existence and significance of more durable and constraining forms of power" (p. 207).

As an answer to these criticisms, scholars from the field of Critical discourse analysis (CDA) have emphasized that working with a discursive approach does not imply neglecting the material world. From their point of view, discursive practices are constrained by the fact that they take place within a constituted material reality (Hardy and Clegg 2006). Therefore, power relations depend on material support which holds them in place. Furthermore, the material world contributes to the discourses that surround and sustain it through the ways in which experience shapes language and interpretation. From this perspective, it is quite possible to integrate discursive and extra-discursive realms. For instance, in her case study of a French company, Leclerq-Vandelannoitte (2011) showed that "power-knowledge relationships are enacted in both symbolic and material conditions that drive organizational life" (p. 1266).

Other authors have attempted to "solve" the structure issue by suggesting a different understanding of structure. Marshall and Rollinson (2004) proposed to "move away from a conception of structures as immutable, invariable, determining social objects, to the structural properties or conditions of possibility which are variably instantiated or enacted through different social practices" (p. 576). They connected this understanding of structure with a notion of agency that is neither purely an effect of power/knowledge strategies that constrain through normalization, nor purely intentional action. Other have suggested examining the structure of power in organizations by viewing it as discursive production (see Hardy and Clegg 2004). In such a view, in a dialectical process, particular discourses produce structure and institutions, but are in turn also constrained by existing structure and institutions.

Other critics have pointed to the de-politicizing effect of conducting research from a discursive perspective. In a recent analysis, Courpasson, Golsorkhi and Sallaz (2012) wrote that "the Foucauldian focus on power as a capillary network of relationships neglects the relationship between technologies of power and the elites who exercise projects of domination" (p. 5). Thus, the authors call for "putting power and domination back on the agenda" of the organizational researcher (p. 1). Furthermore, critically oriented researchers have identified in Foucault's writings a danger of offering "overly optimistic analytics of resistance" (Hook 2007: 91). However, Hook said, "we should not necessarily accept that the absence of resistance signals a relationship of agreement or equality" (ibid.: 85; italics in original).

2.5 Discussion: The contribution of Foucault and Foucauldian research to studying power relations in multilingual organizations

As the earlier discussion of research on linguistic diversity showed, the negative perspective on power prevails in research on power aspects of working in multilingual organizations. On the individual level, it is conceptualized as having influence or being in power; on the meso level it is seen as division between language groups or as superiority-inferiority issue, while on the macro level it appears as economic imperialism or cultural dominance. Only rarely do researchers adopt a more positive understanding of power which emphasizes "power to" get active, seize opportunities, create possibilities, take responsibility, make decisions and relate to others. Furthermore, the negative concept of power relies on a rather static perspective which fails to address the complex dynamics of social relations. It is based too on a competitive understanding of power according to which there are always winners and losers in power relations.

Various of Foucault's writings contribute in a number of ways to developing a more positive, dynamic and cooperative notion of power.[18] First and fundamentally,

[18] Foucault's earlier writings are of less relevance for developing a notion of power appropriate for the study of power relations in multilingual organizations. The rarefaction of discourse and the limits of the sayable that

Foucault emphasized throughout his oeuvre that power is not a possession which is in anybody's hands. Rather, he foregrounded power's relational character, saying that power brings into play relations between individuals or groups. Such a definition certainly is core to the study of micro-processes of creating, reinforcing and changing power relations in linguistically diverse working contexts. In this respect, his attempts to propose a "non-economic analysis" of power, a concern most explicitly formulated in a lecture in the mid-seventies (1976a), are of special interest. We should not think of power as a zero-sum game, but as an ensemble of actions which provoke others and follow from one another, as he stated later (1982).

Foucault's focus on agency in the later writings dating from the 1980s represents an important inspiration for investigating more positive aspects of power. By emphasizing the field of possibilities that confronts free subjects, Foucault contributed to a less deterministic understanding of the role of the individual in power relations. Or, as Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) formulated it, "[b]ecause power acts on possible actions there is always the possibility of acting 'otherwise'" (p. 94). Choice between a variety of reactions, and even creativity – Foucault talked about inventions – became conceivable. In the last phase of this life, Foucault took this thought as far as attributing to the individual a significant role in avoiding the abuse of power. In a 1984 interview, he proposed that power over oneself – in the form of self-reflection (see also Hall 2001) – might represent a form of regulating power over others. This suggestion constitutes another important element in a more positive conceptualization of power, even if, as discussed, it unfortunately seems to rely upon a notion of power as possession.

With respect to agency, Foucault's thoughts on the relation between power and discourse formulated in his first volume of the History of Sexuality (1990/1976) are very illuminating. There, he suggested that discourse represents a multiplicity of circulating discursive elements rather than a division between a dominant and a dominated discourse. From this point of view, he declared, discourse can represent a point of resistance. Following this logic, he sometimes suggested taking resistance as starting point in the analysis of power, using it as a catalyst to understanding power relations (1982). Earlier (1976a) he had even proposed investigating the mechanism of power in terms of struggle, conflict and war.

Rouse (2003) interpreted this frequent appeal to images of war, conflict and resistance as resulting from Foucault's concern for proposing an alternative to an economic model of power. He argues that Foucault "explicitly proposed this martial imagery to emphasize the dynamics and nonsystematicity of power and knowledge" (p. 119). However, from my point of view, Foucault proposed a somewhat negative understanding of power by focusing on struggle and resistance. Furthermore, it is questionable whether a focus on struggle does not inherently rely upon the zero-sum

---

were his concerns in the late 1960s (1968; 2010/1969) are not the focus of my study which on the contrary intends to explore the whole variety of discourses on political aspects of multilingualism. Also the highly influential "power/knowledge" hypothesis does not immediately contribute to a conceptualization of power useful for the analysis of power relations in linguistically diverse organizations.

game understanding of power he explicitly invited his audience to avoid. After all, there are often winners and losers in conflicts. Therefore, the focus on struggle might narrow the analyst's horizon when studying the more creative and cooperative aspects of power relations, which Foucault also addressed in his work, as discussed earlier. At the same time, a conflict might also lead to creating new possibilities, a topic for research to explore.

Many scholars studying power in organizations have followed Foucault in his suggestion to focus on struggle. Clegg, Courpasson and Phillips (2006) for instance stated that "[t]he act of engaging in discursive practices (…) underlies the most fundamental struggle for power and control in organizations" (ibid.: 305f.). Critically oriented researchers, in particular, are concerned with stable, or the stabilization of, power relations, focusing on dominance and subordination (e.g., Hardy and Clegg 2006) or control and disciplinary power (Haugaard 2009; McKinlay and Starkey 1998; Townley 1993; Clegg 1989; Burrell 1988). However, I am skeptical of the "knowing in advance where the problem is" understanding inherent in the many critical approaches. Alvesson and Sandberg (2011) made an important point when they stated that these tend to work with "prepackaged problematization attempts", because "they apply rather than challenge the literature they follow, thus mainly reproducing the assumptions underlying their own perspective" (p. 252). I agree with the criticism that the "traditional" critical approaches tend to be elitist, and therefore am sympathetic with a newer critical approach that views a Foucauldian-inspired study of power relations as an opportunity for reflexivity for researchers and the researched alike (Barratt 2008; Chan 2000).

Others, such as Nentwich and Hoyer (2013) or Leclerc-Vandelannoitte (2011) studying resistance, emphasize individual agency. They have investigated how people use contradictions between discourses to create a discursive space which allows them to resist dominant discourses or to establish new ones. This line of research is where I situate my study, again emphasizing that, next to resistance, I am also interested in more constructive forms of agency. In this respect, Hardy, Palmer and Phillips' (2000) underlying assumption that participation in discourse is a highly influential political act is very important when it comes to investigating the discursive construction of power relations in multilingual organizations.

At the same time, I have some reservations with respect to viewing discourse as strategic discourse, as these authors suggest. In this and related texts (Hardy and Phillips 1999; Phillips and Hardy 1997), they describe people as skilled entrepreneurs who use discursive resources in order to follow their interests and achieve beneficial outcomes. But even if the researchers explicitly do not define interests as objective interests, this strong goal-orientation has its limitations. First, it assumes that a person must be able to use and formulate discourses strategically, which might not be the case for all. Someone with limited rhetorical skills, or, in the context of the research on multilingualism, with limited language proficiency, might find it difficult to use discourse strategically. Secondly, the intentional focus somehow contradicts Foucault's concern with the broader picture of power relations. He several times defined strategies more generally as themes and theories arising from discourse

(2010/1969) and talked of strategic situations in a particular society (1990/1976) which could accordingly be defined as constellations of themes and theories.

In answer to criticism of Foucauldian research in Organization Studies, I will address two of the main concerns: the reproach of neglecting material and structural factors. With respect to neglecting material factors, I agree with scholars who emphasize that discursive practices take place within a material reality and that it is therefore possible to integrate the discursive and extra-discursive realm. The introduction of IT technology and its consequences on discursive activity, as in Leclerq-Vandelannoitte's (2011) study, is a good example of how the material world shapes discourse. With respect to the classic structure-agency debate, I sympathize with attempts to move away from a conception of structures as determining social objects. Focusing instead on structural properties or conditions of possibility which are variably enacted through different social practices, as Marshall and Rollinson (2004) proposed, represents a good alternative. For this dissertation, this implies looking for stable elements shaping power relations in multilingual organizations in addition to less stable situational and mobile elements.

In sum, in my study, I move beyond both the economic understanding of power which Foucault criticized, but also beyond a military interpretation. In my view, parts of his work offer important inspiration for a more positive definition of power which focuses on individual agency, the creation of possibilities and even the self-reflective regulation of power. It is especially in this respect that I consider his work to be is underexplored so far. As Barratt (2008) has emphasized, Foucauldian research has borrowed most extensively from the theoretical innovations of the so-called middle period writing. Dixon (2007), reflecting on the usefulness of Foucault's late writings for Organization Studies, has pointed out the field's limited interaction with the true breadth of Foucault's work and legacy. Alvesson (1996) too stated that many researchers concentrate on Foucault's early work and neglect the pluralistic view of power that Foucault expressed in his late work, that is, the assumptions that power relations are not stable and that every actor is embedded in various power relations. Alvesson underlined the fact that in Foucault's early work „the strongly asymmetrical – as opposed to the pluralistic – nature of power relationships is emphasized", a path which, according to him, „most authors in management, organization and accounting studies have followed" (p. 108, footnote 5.)[19]

Organization Studies have investigated a number of important themes such as dominance and subordination, disciplinary power, and control or resistance. Often, however, a negative conceptualization of power underlies this research, especially, when it is critically oriented. Therefore, with this study, I intend to contribute to the Foucauldian-inspired stream of research which focuses on agency, change and reflexivity. In this respect, Dixon (2007) – in spite of her slightly pastoral undertone – presents a thought-provoking alternative to negative conceptualizations of power with

[19] It is in this respect remarkable that many authors do not distinguish the phases of Foucault's disparate oeuvre when they take his writings as inspiration. Scholars such as Leclerq-Vandelannoitte (2011), Barratt (2008), Dixon (2007), Hall (2001), Alvesson (1996) and Burrell (1996; 1988) represent noticeable exceptions.

her suggestion to put pleasure and well-being center-stage. Importantly, my efforts at identifying a more positive notion of power do not exclude examining material aspects or structural properties and conditions of possibility of power relations in multilingual organizations. On the contrary, considering these forms an integral part of the dissertation. What is important in all cases, however, is to conduct the study from the perspective of the people involved by focusing on the discursive activity by which they construct power relations in linguistically diverse organizations. Part of this analytic process is to formulate interpretations of material and structural aspects based on people's accounts.

What seems fundamental for avoiding the elitism trap is to engage with social actors' practical concerns, as Critical Management scholar Barratt (2008) has suggested. Research conducted from such a perspective might well be compatible with the emancipatory-based concern formulated by Gergen (1989) and Gergen and Thatchenkery (2004). These researchers argued that "innovative practices or methodologies are also required to bring forth the marginalized voices in the organization. Practices must be developed to enable the unspoken positions to be expressed and circulated and to enter actively into decision making processes" (ibid.: 240). Gergen (1989) defined voice as "power of world construction" (p. 74). "Voices" that people can "speak within their relationships" can be viewed as "options for action" (Gergen and Thatchenkery 2004: 244). To "multiply the voices" that people can "speak within their relationships" therefore means to multiply "the range of options for action" (ibid.). Similarly, Wood and Kroger (2000) maintained that the "emphasis in discourse analysis on variability can also be emancipatory" (p. 191); recognizing different voices and different versions can help us to identify different approaches to problems.

I therefore join scholars such as Barratt (2008) and Ailon (2006) who propose examining organizations from the perspective of its members. In a similar vein, I embrace Kendall and Wickham's (1999) invitation to restore some of the meticulousness and attention to concrete detail which Foucault foregrounds. This is not an easy task in practice. As Kendall and Wickham (2004) pointed out, precise methodological tools are not on offer; rather, "we are given an approach and a series of phenomena to look out for" (p. 143). Therefore, the authors invite the researcher to ask "how" rather than "why" questions: "How did such-and-such come to exist?" or "How did such-and such come to have such an important place in our society?" (p. 144). Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine (2008) underscored that there are "no set rules or procedures for conducting Foucauldian-inspired analyses of discourse" (2008: 91). Although Foucault formulated questions for the analyst in various texts such as the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2010/1969) and "The Subject and Power" (1982), no consistent analytical guide can be derived from his work. Furthermore, in the latter, Foucault strongly emphasized economic questions and used economic, and often utilitarist, terminology (e.g., "objectives pursued" by those who act upon others or the "degree of rationalization" of power relations) in apparent contradiction to his aspiration to create a non-economic definition of power.

In this sense, I take Foucault's writings as an invitation to the analyst to look for the complexity, contingency and fragility in organizational forms (Burrell 1988) and the dynamics of power relations. Furthermore, using resistance as a catalyst for the analysis, as the philosopher suggests repeatedly, is certainly a good point to start. In order to analyze power relations from the starting point of resistance, Foucault proposed „a way which is more empirical, more directly related to our present situation, and which implies more relations between theory and practice" (1982: 210f.). From this suggestion, Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982) concluded that „to understand power in its (…) day to day operation, we must go to the level of the micropractices (…) in which our practices are formed" (p. 185). What counts in this context is adopting the perspective of the people concerned. Jermier, Knights and Nord (1994), with their plea for "grounded studies", urged the researcher to take "the word of the participants in assessing the significance of local resistance practices" (p. 11, italics in original). These authors suggested moving away from a mechanistic and dualistic model of resistance, in which resistance is a reactive process where agents embedded in power relations actively oppose initiatives by other agents, and instead conceptualizing resistance as socially constructed to the same degree as power relations. They thus prepared the ground for analyzing power relations from the starting point of resistance, as Foucault suggested. However, focusing on resistance is certainly not the end of the story for studying power relations in organizations; positive "forces" (to use a Foucauldian term) such as creativity and cooperation, should also be part of the analysis.

Furthermore, by emphasizing individual agency and the field of possibilities in his late writings, Foucault encouraged the researcher's responsiveness to a variety of themes which research on multilingualism has barely touched upon. The emphasis on agency is, in particular, very appropriate for investigating how employees of multilingual organizations without language policies negotiate language use. With respect to this theme, Foucault formulated some highly relevant general thoughts on agency, which, however need to be developed for the study of micro-practices in multilingual organizations. Positioning theory, which offers a framework for "operationalizing" discursive agency, will help me in that development.

2.6 Conceptualizing discursive agency with positioning

This dissertation explores how members of multilingual organizations socially construct the role of linguistic diversity in the power relations between them. Based on social constructionist thinking, I will investigate the variety of descriptions of power-related aspects of multilingualism that participants offered and their consequences for/relation with agency. With Foucault's help, I have developed an understanding of power relations which includes space for individual agency. In this perspective, subjects have a field of possibilities for their reactions, which might be resistance, but also creative inventions and self-reflection. As discussed, Foucault suggested taking resistance as starting point for the analysis, since it represents for him one important possibility of action. However, in this proposal, although inspiring, the suggestion is quite general and does not provide a method for grasping agency analytically. The

notion of positioning (e.g., Davies and Harré 2001/1990; Harré and van Langenhove 1991), which conceptualizes agency as discursively constructed, helps to bridge this gap.

The concepts of position and positioning originated in the field of marketing where a position refers to communication strategies that allow one to "place a certain product among its competitors" (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 395). This usage resembles the military usage, where a position is always taken against the position of the enemy. Within the social sciences, Hollway (1984) introduced the concept in her analysis of the construction of subjectivity in heterosexual relations. Focusing on gender differentiation in discourses, Hollway spoke of positions which discourse makes available for subjects to take up. The concept was developed to "avoid an analysis which sees discourses as mechanically repeating themselves – an analysis which cannot account for change" (ibid.: 237).

While rejecting a deterministic view on positioning, Hollway queried why individuals take up one position rather than another, claiming that people have investments in certain positions. Davies and Harré (2001/1990) did not foreground this intentional use of positioning. They proposed the concept as a more dynamic alternative to the static notion of role in a social psychology of selfhood. They viewed the concept of positioning as relevant primarily in that it "serves to direct our attention to a process in which certain trains of consequences, intended or unintended, are set in motion" (p. 266). Davies and Harré emphasized the role of language (in the sense of language in use) in the construction of the self and of the social world in general, and, in that spirit, used the term "discursive practice" for "all the ways in which people actively produce social and psychological realities" (p. 262). Positioning in this perspective represents a discursive practice, one of the discursive processes through which the social world is created (Harré and van Langenhove 1991). This process is double-sided:

> "Whenever somebody positions him/herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one who is addressed. And similarly, when somebody positions somebody else, that always implies a positioning of the person him/herself." (ibid.: 398)

The notion of subject position conceptualizes the relation between discursive practices and the subject. As Davies and Harré (2001/1990) argued, the constitutive force of each discursive practice lies in its provision of subject positions. A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire. Discourse in this context can be defined as the institutionalized use of language, an institutionalization which can occur at the disciplinary, the political, the cultural and the small group level (Davies and Harré 2001/1990). Discourses may also develop around a specific topic. Importantly, discourses can compete with each other, or can create distinct and incompatible versions of reality. It is here that agency enters:

> "At least a possibility of notional choice is inevitably involved because there are many and contradictory discursive practices that each person could engage in." (ibid.: 262f.)

Harré and Langenhove (1991) stressed another aspect of agency, emphasizing that, next to constituting oneself and the others in particular ways, positioning represents a resource through which all persons involved can negotiate new positions. Creation also plays an important role with respect to the "content" of positioning – story lines, images, metaphors and concepts are made relevant within discursive practices. As Harré and Langenhove stated with respect to story lines, such creations can be taken from a cultural repertoire, but can be invented also.

But there are limits to agency, as Harré and van Langehove (1991) emphasized. While "[o]ne can position oneself or be positioned as e.g. powerful or powerless, (…) dominant or submissive" (p. 395), people "differ in their power to achieve positioning acts" (ibid.: 406). The rights for self-positioning and other-positioning are unequally distributed and not all situations allow for or call for an intentional positioning of the participants. This unequal distribution is based on "specific locations in social orders and networks" (ibid.: 406). Change of these locations is possible; for Davies and Harré, positions may involve "shifts in power, access, or blocking of access" (p. 265).

2.7 Research adopting the notion of positioning to study agency

Standard definitions have often theorized agency in an essentialist fashion, as a skill that resides within the person. However, recent literature on agency emphasizes its "political, relational and embedded qualities" (Nentwich, Ozbilgin and Tatli 2013: 1). From this perspective, agency represents a "socially constructed experience" (Lipponen and Kumpulainen 2011: 813). A number of researchers concerned with agency in a social constructionist perspective have therefore adopted the concept of positioning. One way to sort through these studies is to examine their degree of top-down vs. bottom-up orientation.

One group of scholars focuses on either the effects of positioning acts on certain (underprivileged) groups or on what the discourse analysis reveals about social order. Tannock's (1997) study of a workplace literacy program at a U.S. canning factory represents the first, rather top-down, focus. The author found that, even in apparently "worker-centered" efforts, local discursive choices made by instructors "effectively worked to move students/employees into subject-positions (…) that were desirable to company management" (p. 85). Similarly, Bisel and Barge (2011) studied how planned change messages in a company positioned organizational members to make sense in certain ways and to assume certain identities that affected their experience of change. Positioning as a concept which leads to an examination of social order is the concern of Tirado and Gálvez (2007), Korobov (2010) or Bogren (2010). For Tirado and Gálvez (2007), the concept of positioning made it possible to understand "how social order is managed, its general framework of rights and responsibilities, and how future interactions are prepared and past actions reinterpreted" (p. 80). It thus allows a

connection between the micro and macro levels of social analysis. Similary, Korobov (2010) emphasized that, by studying positioning acts, we can see "how certain rules, norms and identities are both enlivened and attenuated as part of the fabric of social interaction" (p. 274). In stressing the emancipatory potential of positioning, Bogren (2010) pointed to the possibility it offers for a "discussion and destabilization of social power relationships" (p. 77).

Although the distinction is not clear-cut, approaches that are less top-down focus more on individual agents. Importantly, however, this does not imply neglect of the broader societal picture, such as, for instance, the general discourses present in the society. On the contrary, these are often an explicit part of the studies. The difference is more in the shift of emphasis to the individual. In her study of the fight for women's vote in the Swiss cantons of Appenzell, Nentwich (2009) found that fundamental differences in the construction of reality provided the discursive resources for becoming active and gaining agency in the change process (p. 2). The subject positions of the people fighting for the vote developed in relation with the dominant basic assumption of the „other side's" constructions of reality (p. 7). Thus, what emerged that was fundamental for gaining a warranting voice were the tensions between provocation and conformity and between a change „from inside or from outside". Kuhn (2009) examined the positionings of junior attorneys and the effects of those positionings on their professional identity. Based on the lawyers' narratives from interviews, Kuhn identified four discursive resources which lawyers used to deal with different forms of identification present in their workplace. Similary, Fenwick (2007) explored how so-called independent knowledge workers, often consultants, who contract with organizations positioned themselves relative to organizational structures, practices and social relations in their work as "inside outsiders". Fenwick showed that the professionals' subjectivities emerged from in-between spaces, both inside and outside the organization. As the knowledge workers negotiated these spaces, they exercised agency by resisting control while building connections.

Edley and Wetherell (1997) articulated the explicit need to bring together top-down (focusing on power, ideology and social practice) and bottom-up (focusing on the action orientation of people's talk) approaches in order to draw more freely on both styles of work and to study "the ways in which people are simultaneously the master, and the slave, of discourse" (p. 206). The authors argued that the two approaches "are most usefully understood as reflecting two sides of a central paradox: people are simultaneously the products and the producers of discourse. We are both constrained and enabled by language" (ibid.; italics in original). For the researcher, this means bringing together the individuals' methods and logic of accountability while including the social and political consequences of discursive patterning (Wetherell 1998).

2.8 Interpretative repertoire as analytic unit which brings together agency and consequences of discursive patterning

One way to combine a top-down with a bottom-up perspective in an analytic procedure is to work with discursive psychology's concept of the interpretative

repertoire. The notion has been suggested as an alternative for the analysis of social phenomena which social psychologists have traditionally understood in terms of attitudes and beliefs (Potter and Wetherell 1987). Interpretative repertoires can be defined as "recurrently used systems of terms used for characterizing and evaluating actions, events and other phenomena" (ibid.: 149). They consist of "clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90) and serve as "resources for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions" (ibid.). Consistent with social constructionism, researchers using the concept are concerned with the way accounts are constructed and its different functions:

> "Interpretative repertoires are pre-eminently a way of understanding the content of discourse and how that content is organized. Although stylistic and grammatical elements are sometimes closely associated with this organization, our analytic focus is not a linguistic one; it is concerned with language use, what is achieved by that use and the nature of the interpretative resources that allow that achievement." (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90f.)

As Potter and Wetherell (1987) stressed, there are "no grandiose claims accompanying the notion of interpretative repertoires" (p. 157). They did not strive to develop a theory of interpretative repertoires that would replace the traditional theory of social representations in social psychology, but rather, viewed the concept as one component in a systematic approach to the study of discourse, as an analytic unit which the researcher might find helpful.

Remarkably, the term "repertoire" (without the adjective "interpretative") was also used in relation to the concept of positioning, as I have discussed. Harré and Langenhove (1991) held that story-lines – which could be seen as the content of positioning – can be taken from a cultural repertoire or can be invented. Whatever culture means exactly in this context, the "repertoire", as the positioning authors use the term and the notion of interpretative repertoire, both focus on what is said in talk. At the same time, by emphasizing the variety of discursive practices, both lines of research emphasize agency, as much as they stress the consequences of what is being said. Therefore, I will argue that interpretative repertoires and positioning can be combined fruitfully in analyzing the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations: interpretative repertoires will be used for "discovering" and labeling patterns in people's descriptions of their experiences of multilingualism, and positioning for understanding the meaning/consequences of drawing upon these interpretative repertoires – discursive resources – for power relations and for individual and collective agency.

2.9 Research questions

In this study I seek to combine a close examination of the power aspects of multilingualism with a bottom-up perspective on linguistic diversity by examining

empirically the micro-processes of the creation, reinforcement and change of power relations in multilingual organizations. This research aims at contributing to a deeper understanding of real-life experiences of linguistic diversity and of everyday practices of multilingualism. With this orientation, I join organizational scholars who, based on their critique of "traditional" critical approaches, suggest examining organizations from the perspective of their members. Researchers should therefore engage with the practical concerns of social actors and listen to the words of their participants instead of imposing their assumptions upon their subject of study. As discussed, this view is quite compatible with a certain emancipatory approach of making voices of otherwise unheard organizational members heard – as long as what the participants say is not predefined by the researcher's "political agenda".

Consequently, I will focus on the bottom-up experiences of organizational members with linguistic diversity as my analytic starting point. Taking a social constructionist perspective, I view the talk about multilingualism as a constitutive part of the social construction of multilingualism. Within the general social constructionist framework, I adopt a discursive approach, viewing discursive practices as resources that people draw upon to organize their conduct. In such an understanding, linguistically diverse organizations can be defined as discursively produced by their members. In this respect, I adopt a discursive pragmatist approach, which allows me to combine sensitivity to the concrete situation with a focus on consequences of discourse. In a series of steps, I will investigate the discursive activity by which members of multilingual organizations construct power relations between them. After collecting accounts on linguistic diversity from interviews, I will study their common discursive patterns. These patterns, which I will identify by using the concept of interpretative repertoire, will then be interpreted as the "content"/resource which allows people to position themselves and others in the linguistically diverse organization.

My next step will be to investigate the implications of these positionings for the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations, focusing on individual and collective agency. In this respect, I intend to complement the negative perspective on power that is prevalent in both Organization Studies and research on multilingualism with a more positive understanding that includes a more dynamic view which, with Foucault, does not conceive of power as a zero-sum game, but rather as acting upon others. Furthermore, based on Foucault's late writings, individuals in power relations (as opposed to repression or dominance) are seen as "free" in the sense that they are confronted with a field of possibilities from which to act – this might include resistance, but also other, more creative forms of action. In all cases, the presence or creation of various, competing, maybe contradictory discourses represents an important resource for agency. For this study, the concept of agency is "operationalized" using the concept of positioning which, next to the social consequences of positioning acts, emphasizes the variety of positionings which imply choice.

At the same time, I will consider limitations of agency as suggested by the many scholars whose work I have discussed. From research on multilingualism, I will take account of exclusion, which is described as a consequence of lacking language skills,

most often English, and often in combination with a low organizational status. Foucault proposed similar terms in his list of questions for the analysis of power relations in which he mentioned the system of differentations such as status, privilege, linguistic differences or differences in competence. Similarly, positioning scholars Harré and van Langenhove (1991) highlighted the differences in rights for self- and other-positioning which depend on different locations in social orders and networks. In this sense, I include "structural" issues in my study, but adopt the view of structure as diverging conditions of possibilities rather than determining social object. Looking for stable elements shaping power relations, along with the situational and mobile ones, is thus part of this research also. In a similar vein, I also take into account the role of non-discursive elements in the context of a multilingual organization, for instance, IT technology.

Investigating the role of English in multilingual organizations is yet another focus of this dissertation. Throughout the study, I will always separately address multilingualism in organizations in general, and the role of English specifically. As the literature review has shown, some power themes are especially explosive when they relate to English (e.g., exclusion due to lacking skills). At the same time, English as lingua franca is described as offering possibilities for participation and a "democratic" way of communicating. One goal of this study, and the reason for maintaining this distinction, is a further exploration of these divergent facets of English. This focus on English in particular should facilitate the comparison of power aspects of English with power aspects of multilingualism in general, one of the goals of this research.

Adopting a relational understanding of power and focusing on agency in power relations, I formulate the following research questions for investigating the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations from a discursive perspective, with a special focus on English:

- Which interpretative repertoires do members of multilingual organizations with a different degree of "Englishization" draw upon when describing their everyday experiences with linguistic diversity?
- Which subject positions do members of multilingual organizations with a different degree of "Englishization" define for others and themselves based upon these interpretative repertoires?
- What are the implications of these positioning acts for the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations with different degrees of "Englishization", especially for individual and collective agency?

3. Research design, methodology and data

3.1 Research design

In this dissertation, I will examine empirically the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations and the specific role that English plays in these construction processes, through a comparative case study. The two companies I chose are characterized by different degrees of "Englishization" (Dor 2004). At Globalos (pseudonym), a multinational corporation (MNC) headquartered in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, English is used increasingly as the common language. This is – or, at least, was, as we will see – much less the case at Maximal (pseudonym), a Swiss firm. This company is also headquartered in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and operates production as well as distribution centers in the other three linguistically defined parts of Switzerland, the German-, the Italian- and the Rumantsch-speaking part. There are no official language policies in place in the two companies, which makes them especially suitable for exploring the processes of construction of power relations. In such a context, employees have more liberty in their everyday language use than in companies where language use is regulated by the company management. This is not to be equated with the absence of constraints, however. But the constraints cannot be said to be created by language policies such as officially imposing English as lingua franca.

Furthermore, comparing the cases will make it possible to observe how organizational members re-negotiate power relations and create new ones in a context of organizational change. At the time of data collection, Maximal was involved in the standardization of its IT system, an important change process. In the wake of this change, English usage, especially in written communication, increased significantly and the linguistic complexity in the organization grew. New themes and issues appeared. The change process can thus be seen as a catalyst which set in motion new negotiation processes concerning the use and choice of languages in everyday communication. Furthermore, examining Maximal also leads to studying the relation between the introduction of IT technology and the use of English in an organization.

By including a national company (Maximal) in the comparative study, I intended to investigate linguistic diversity in organizations without focusing exclusively on multinational companies, especially since research in International Business has so far focused on MNCs. Furthermore, I contribute to investigating linguistic diversity within organizations, a theme which has received little attention in International Business.

Comparing these two cases thus sets up an investigation of power aspects of linguistic diversity in organizational contexts which differ with respect to a) the degree of the use of English; b) the character of the organization (multinational vs. national company); c) the multilingual profile of their workforce (since Globalos employs people from all over the world, including at its headquarters); and d) their consolidation status ("established" vs. in the process of change). At the same time, Globalos and Maximal share some contextual factors. Both companies are headquartered in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, whose population represents

the biggest linguistic minority of the country. Switzerland itself is characterized by an official quadrilingualism, combined with the principle of territoriality (that is, one official language by language region only, with very few exceptions). Traditionally in Switzerland, high priority is given to "lingua receptiva", a concept based on the principle that everybody speaks his/her language and understands the one(s) of the others (Lüdi 2013).

Additionally, I will investigate here the under-researched diversity experiences of organizational members on the middle and lower echelons. By including the perspective of lower-level employees, I will help to fill in the current research gap on multilingualism in International Business, where most data collection has occurred on the managerial level.

3.2 Presentation of cases and samples

3.2.1 Case 1: Organizational context and sample at Globalos

I chose Globalos because it represents a classic example of a multinational corporation. As discussed earlier, languages coexist in multinationals not only because the companies are geographically dispersed but also because of the multilingual profile of their workforce (Angouri 2013: 565f.). Expatriates moving from country to country for their employer represent one prominent reason for this mix. One could furthermore argue that this linguistic diversity, and the cosmopolitan flair associated with it, might also attract non-local employees without expatriate status who are residing in a non-home country for an undetermined period.

Globalos is active in the production of consumer goods. With global headquarters located in the French-speaking part of Switzerland, it employs around 300,000 people worldwide. Because Globalos does not have an official corporate language, the company is especially suitable for studying how organizational members construct power relations in a linguistically diverse context without having to make reference to any policies.

In order to investigate linguistic diversity within organizations, I concentrated on Globalos employees working at the company headquarters; all of the 22 interviews were conducted there. Furthermore, I systematically included members in different organizational positions in my sample. Therefore, I talked to human relations managers as well as cafeteria employees, to engineers as well as employees from the "lower levels" who worked in internal service departments like building maintenance, cleaning services or the company restaurant. In the case of Globalos, including blue collars was especially relevant because of the company's degree of "Englishization". Despite the absence of a language policy imposing English as corporate language, interviewees consistently pointed out how much English has increasingly become the unofficial corporate language; employees from different organizational levels with many years of experience within the company confirmed this.

Within the sample, the following categories of occupational functions are represented in the proportions stated: task-related, expertise-based functions without leadership position: 7[20]; assistants: 6[21]; members of service departments: 5[22]; middle managers: 4[23]. It is important to note that service department employees in leadership positions were grouped in the service department category, because belonging to internal services was considered more relevant than their leadership position in the context of linguistic diversity. That is, I assumed that their experiences with linguistic diversity would be closer to those of other employees without leadership position in the service departments than to those of middle managers in the company's "core" sectors.

Table 1: Overview of Globalos sample

Interviewee	**Activity**	**Nationality**	**Language skills**	**Interview language**
Globalos 1	Human Resources manager	Indian	English (native speaker)	English
Globalos 2	Assistant	Swiss	French (native speaker), English	French
Globalos 3	Sales and Distribution manager	Australian	English (native speaker)	English
Globalos 4	Assistant	French	French (native speaker), English, Standard German, Spanish, Japanese, Turkish	French
Globalos 5	Finance and Controlling employee	Italian	Italian (native speaker), English, French	French
Globalos 6	Marketing adviser	Swiss	French (native speaker), English, Standard German, Spanish	French
Globalos 7	Cafeteria employee	Swiss	French (native speaker)	French
Globalos 8	Controller	Turkish	Turkish (native speaker), English, French	English
Globalos 9	Assistant	Swiss and Canadian	French (native speaker), English	French
Globalos 10	Engineer involved in development of new products	Swiss	Swiss German (native speaker), French, English, Spanish	Swiss German

[20] The following interviewees: Globalos 5; Globalos 6; Globalos 8; Globalos 10; Globalos 11; Globalos 13; Globalos 16

[21] The following interviewees: Globalos 2; Globalos 4; Globalos 9; Globalos 14; Globalos 17; Globalos 20

[22] The following interviewees: Globalos 7; Globalos 12; Globalos 15; Globalos 18; Globalos 21

[23] The following interviewees: Globalos 1; Globalos 3; Globalos 19; Globalos 22

Globalos 11	Graphic designer	German	German (native speaker), French, English	German
Globalos 12	Admini-strative director of cleaning department	Swiss	French (native speaker)	French
Globalos 13	Standardi-zation of worldwide payment processes reponsible	Venezuelan	Spanish (native speaker), Portuguese, English	Spanish
Globalos 14	Commercial apprentice	Swiss	French (native speaker)	French
Globalos 15	Directors' canteen chef	Swiss	French (native speaker)	French
Globalos 16	Human Resources employee	Brazilian	Portuguese (native speaker), Spanish, English	English
Globalos 17	Assistant	Iraqi and Syrian	Arabic (native speaker), English, French	French
Globalos 18	Corporate hotel receptionist	Swiss and Spanish	Spanish (native speaker), French	French
Globalos 19	Head of pension fund	Swiss	Swiss German (native speaker), Standard German, French, English	Swiss German
Globalos 20	Human Resources department coordinator	Turkish	French (native speaker), English, some Turkish, some German	French
Globalos 21	Co-head of dishwashing facility in employees' self-service restaurant	Spanish	Catalan (native speaker), French, Spanish	French
Globalos 22	Regional manager for Asia, based in head-quarters	Swiss	Swiss German, French, English, Spanish, some French	Swiss German

3.2.2 Case 2: Organizational context and sample at Maximal

I chose Maximal as the second case in order to include a national company in my study. The Swiss company employs around 2500 people and is headquartered also in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Like Globalos, it is a producer of consumer goods. Its economic activity is oriented mainly towards export, but also towards the national market. Besides its headquarters, the company has around 15 production and distribution centers which are located throughout Switzerland, in all of the country's four linguistic regions.

Of the 15 persons interviewed at Maximal, 12 were based at the headquarters in the French-speaking part of Switzerland and 3 at one of the subsidiaries in the German-speaking part.[24] It is worth noting that the then-subsidiary had been an independent company which Maximal bought and incorporated two years before the time of data collection. This might represent a limitation to my aim of studying linguistic diversity within organizations, since one could argue that a company recently acquired by another still represents a "separate" company with regard to qualities such as organizational culture or leadership styles. Therefore, issues not immediately related to the language theme might interfere in the study. Also, the headquarters and the subsidiary are located in geographically and linguistically different regions of Switzerland.

At Maximal, I also attempted to study linguistic diversity on different organizational levels and purposefully interviewed employees in non-managerial functions. However, the organizational range at Maximal was smaller than at Globalos, because I did not interview any blue collar staff. Furthermore, Maximal's internal change process, which was occurring at the time of data collection, is strongly reflected in the data: individuals responsible for the standardization are disproportionately represented in the interviewee pool. However, it is in some cases precisely due to this change process that employees of other linguistic backgrounds entered the company. The case of Maximal is therefore very interesting: talking to these employees highlighted the relevance of change processes to the communication in a company which had already been multilingual, and to which other linguistic constellations were added.

[24] Eight interviews (with interviewees Maximal 1-4 and Maximal 12-14) have been conducted by members of a research project from the Research Institute for Organizational Psychology (OPSY) of the University of St. Gallen (November 2005 - October 2008) I participated in. The research project „Sprachenpolitik und Identität in Organisationen" (2008) ("Language policies and identity in organizations") was carried out within the Research Programme Nr. 56 of the Swiss National Fund (SNF), „Sprachenvielfalt und Sprachkompetenz in der Schweiz" („Language diversity and linguistic competence in Switzerland") thanks to a grant of the SNF. Following a discourse analytical approach, the research team undertook an empirical study of language use in several multilingual companies based in Switzerland. The initial team consisted of one bilingual person (German and Italian) who conducted interviews in Standard German and Italian, of a person (with mother tongue of German) who conducted interviews in Standard German and English and a third member (with mother tongue of Dutch) who conducted interviews in French, English and Standard German. I entered the project in October 2007 as a project collaborator in the extension phase which lasted from June 2007 to October 2008.

Within the Maximal sample, the following categories related to occupational functions were represented in the proportions stated: task-related, expertise-based functions without leadership position: 9[25]; middle managers: 4[26]; top manager and board member: 1[27]. When categorized according to their involvement in the IT standardization project, the proportions are as follows: not involved in IT standardization (regardless of leadership position or not): 9[28]; involved in IT standardization (regardless of leadership position or not): 5[29].

Table 2: Overview of Maximal sample

Interviewee	**Activity**	**Nationality**	**Language skills**	**Interview language**
Maximal 1	Corporate communications reponsible; based in headquarters	Swiss	French (native speaker), Standard German, English	French
Maximal 2a and 2b (2 inter-views)	IT standardization project director: based in headquarters	French	French (native speaker), English	English
Maximal 3	Head of recruitment; based in headquarters	Swiss	French (native speaker), English	French
Maximal 4	Marketing employee; based in headquarters	Belgian	Flemish (native speaker), French, English	English
Maximal 5	IT superuser and responsible for internal communication; based in headquarters	British	English (native speaker), French (native speaker), Standard German	French

[25] The following interviewees: Maximal 1; Maximal 4; Maximal 5; Maximal 7; Maximal 8; Maximal 9; Maximal 10; Maximal 11; Maximal 12

[26] The following interviewees: Maximal 2a and 2b (two interviews with one person); Maximal 3; Maximal 13; Maximal 14

[27] The following interviewees: Maximal 6

[28] The following interviewees: Maximal 1; Maximal 3; Maximal 4; Maximal 5; Maximal 6; Maximal 9; Maximal 11; Maximal 13; Maximal 14

[29] The following interviewees: Maximal 2a and 2b (two interviews with one person); Maximal 7; Maximal 8; Maximal 10; Maximal 12

Maximal 6	Supply Chain Management responsible and board member; based in headquarters	French	French (native speaker), English	French
Maximal 7	IT standardization employee; based in headquarters	French	French (native speaker), Alsatian German (which comes close to Swiss German), English	French
Maximal 8	IT standardization employee; based in headquarter	Russian	Russian (native speaker), English	English
Maximal 9	IT system SAP employee; based in headquarters	Belgian	French (native speaker), English, Spanish	French
Maximal 10	IT standardization employee; based in headquarters	Brazilian	Portuguese (native speaker), English, Spanish, French	English
Maximal 11	Human Resources employee; based in headquarters	Italian, grown up in Switzerland	Italian (native speaker), French (native speaker), English, Standard German	French
Maximal 12	Local responsible for the IT standardization project; based in one of the subsidiaries in German-speaking part of Switzerland	Swiss	Italian (native speaker), Swiss German (native speaker), Standard German, English, French, some Spanish	Swiss German
Maximal 13	Customer service director; based in one of the subsidiaries in German-speaking part of Switzerland	Swiss	Swiss German (native speaker), Standard German, French, Italian, English	Swiss German

Maximal 14	Distribution manager; based in one of the subsidiaries in German-speaking part of Switzerland	Swiss	Swiss German (native speaker), Standard German, French, English, some Italian	Swiss German

3.2 Data production with semi-structured interviews

I conducted interviews with employees in both companies in order to collect their accounts of experiences with linguistic diversity. Interviewing for data production is an appropriate strategy for investigating my research topic for several reasons. First, as Alvesson (2003) emphasized, accounts in interviews can be explored as organizational discourse. The account is then viewed as a "discursive act" which constructs a particular form of subjectivity, and not as "mirroring the feelings and thinking of the interviewee" (p. 29). In general, from a social constructionist perspective, interviews represent reality-constructing, occasions for making meaning (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Secondly, formulating statements can be viewed as a form of producing positions. In his analysis of interviews with junior corporate attorneys on ethics and professional identification, Kuhn (2009) interpreted interviewees' responses as "articulations of the historicized subject positions they occupy" (p. 686). Nentwich (2009), in her study on the women's vote in the two Swiss cantons of Appenzell, also adopted the stance that subject positionings are produced in the interview situation, (p. 9). By the same logic, interviews make it possible to explore how people position themselves and others within multilingual organizations, and the implications of these positionings.

I opted for the semi-structured interview. Semi-structured interviews represent a good option for researchers wanting to gain a detailed picture of a complex topic since it gives the interviewer more flexibility than the conventional structured interview: the researcher is able to follow up particularly interesting avenues that emerge in the interview, and the respondent is able to give a fuller picture (Smith 1995). Furthermore, the semi-structured interview helps the interviewer and the interviewee to establish rapport. In the spirit of active interviewing (Holstein and Gubrium 1995), I gave the interviews the character of a conversation, aiming at providing starting points for how the respondents might possibly engage in my inquiries.

My interview guide therefore was advisory, representing more "of a conversational agenda than a procedural directive" (p. 76). With language use (in the sense of "What language is used?") in a multilingual working context as the general topic of the conversations, I posed questions about the respondents' experience, which represents a particularly rewarding way of eliciting rich accounts (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). As a starting point, I asked interview partners about their position in the company and their everyday situation at work. Making the connection to linguistic diversity, I asked

them next which languages are used in interactions between employees of different linguistic backgrounds. From there on, I explored a number of further questions: Why are certain languages used in multilingual encounters, and others not? How are such language choices made and by whom, if they are explicitly made at all? When and why does English come into play? What do the interviewees think about these practices of language use and choice? What language(s) do they/would they prefer to speak? My goal was to cover all these questions in the course of the interview without following a precise order of questions, as is the practice in semi-structured interviews (Smith 1995). Rather, I attempted to create an organic conversation, trying to connect the "threads" that the interviewees presented in their accounts with my interview guideline in my mind.

In addition, during the entire interview process, I adhered to the "rules" of semi-structured interviewing by always remaining open to new issues that might emerge during the conversation. Further, in the spirit of active interviewing, I conscientiously promoted multivocality, encouraging the participants to shift narrative positions by asking them to address the topic from other points of view also (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). One way of doing this consisted of bringing in points of view formulated by other interviewees (without naming them) or present in public discourse (e.g., political debates or media).

As much as possible, I offered the interviewees the opportunity to choose the language of the conversation, which in many cases was their native language. In so doing, I hoped to build a positive rapport, an important feature of the semi-structured interview. Moreover, speaking in their language of choice might help a person feel comfortable and thus to build that relaxed atmosphere essential for producing rich narrations. I conducted interviews in English, French, Swiss German, Standard German and Spanish, all languages which I understand and speak well. Thus, I did not have to rely on translations in order to interview the participants, which could have been a barrier in rapport-building.

I recorded all the interviews digitally and produced verbatim transcripts in four different languages, English, French, German (interviews conducted in Swiss German were transcribed in Standard German, since a written Swiss German does not exist) and Spanish. In the transcripts, non-verbal sounds such as laughter were indicated in brackets. Babbling and repetitions of words, however, were omitted.

3.3 Data analysis

3.3.1 Analytical questions

Because a bottom-up approach to examining linguistic diversity is fundamental to this research, the whole analytic process adhered as closely as possible to the words of the organizational members. At the same time, this research is theory-guided. The theoretical framework, based on the social constructionist understanding of the role of language and on a Foucault-inspired definition of power, guided the analysis.

As discussed previously, in this theoretical context, language is viewed as constitutive for the construction of social "reality", and thus also of power relations in multilingual organizations. Power, in turn, is conceptualized as fundamentally relational, as bringing into play relations between individuals or groups, rather than as a possession. Furthermore, because my conceptualization of power emphasizes agency, a certain freedom of choice, including positive features such as creativity and self-reflection, exists. The notion of positioning and of the interpretative repertoire were essential for the analysis. As described, I defined the discursive positioning of oneself and others as a way to "operationalize" discursive agency for this study. Interpretative repertoires, as conceptualized by discursive psychology, are used for understanding the content of organizational members' accounts and how that content is organized. They are viewed as discursive resources that people mobilize when describing their experiences with linguistic diversity.

Based on my research interest and my theoretical framework, I formulated these three research questions, introduced at the end of the previous chapter: 1) Which interpretative repertoires do members of multilingual organizations with a different degree of "Englishization" draw upon when describing their everyday experiences with linguistic diversity? 2) Which subject positions do organizational members define for others and themselves based upon these interpretative repertoires? 3) What are the implications of these positioning acts for the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations with different degrees of "Englishization", especially for individual and collective agency? For the process of data analysis, I "translated" these research questions into the following analytic questions:

- How do members of multilingual organizations describe their everyday experiences with linguistic diversity? How do they account for the role of English? Which metaphors and vivid images do they use to do so, in general and with respect to English specifically? How can these accounts be grouped into interpretative repertoires?

- Which subject positions evolve from these interpretative repertoires with regard to language use and choice in multilingual working contexts? What is the specific feature of these subject positions with regard to the use of English?

- How do members of multilingual organizations describe the relation between taking up/being assigned a subject position and their scope of action? What spaces for agency do they create by taking up certain subject positions? How can the implications for the scope of action and the forms of agency creation be categorized?

3.3.2 Analytical procedure

The first step of analysis involved identifying the interpretative repertoires on interviewees' experiences of language use in multilingual organizations. Starting with

Globalos, I went through every account searching for these "clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90) in a careful and detailed reading process. Stemming from my research interest in how members of multilingual organizations experience linguistic diversity, I focused on metaphorical descriptions of language use and choice in multilingual encounters and, more generally, in organizational contexts. Based on my goal to include positive forms of power in the study, I collected metaphors describing constructive and creative forms of experiencing linguistic diversity, in addition to metaphors describing conflictive constellations. This process was facilitated by feeding the interview transcripts into the electronic data processing program ATLAS/ti to organize, compare and categorize recurring accounts of language use.

At this early stage, I created a generous number of categories, in the form of codes, to insure that as many potentially interesting elements as possible were included in the analysis. In order to both collect the many metaphors and lively images I encountered, and represent the linguistic variety of the accounts, I also created codes which, at the end, would contain only the quotation which gave the code its name, be it in English, French, German or Spanish. Other codes were more general and overarching. On the whole, during this first coding stage, I tried simultaneously to represent the breadth of the empirical material and to put some order to it. For this reason, I did not hesitate to label quotations in transcripts with several codes when this seemed to make sense. While categorizing, I also strictly avoided creating codes which involved any judgements which were not clearly contained in the accounts. As one important example, I created the code "Anglosaxon dominance" only after I had encountered that formulation in a transcript; in the course of the further analysis, I assigned this code to a quote only when an interviewee used the label. Out of this initial analytic process, 490 codes emerged for Globalos.

In the next step, I gradually reduced the number of codes by grouping them several times, looking for similarities in meaning. In order to increase reliability, I consulted external sources (lists of existing metaphorical expressions and dictionaries[30]) in order "to check individual intuitions regarding the conventionality and potential meaning(s) of a particular metaphorically used word or expression" (Cornelissen et al. 2008: 17). Out of this long concentration process, six interpretative repertoires resulted.

In analyzing the interviews conducted at Maximal, I kept these repertoires and their key metaphors in mind, without, however, limiting myself to them or forcing the analysis of the Maximal case into the "scheme" that emerged from analyzing Globalos. Initially, I created 858 codes which I gradually reduced afterwards, using the same method as with Globalos.[31] The six repertoires identified at Globalos were also

[30] E.g., Oxford Dictionary, Larousse (in French, German, English and Spanish), Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache, The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Collins English Dictionary.

[31] Note that I completely re-analyzed the interviews that were conducted for the purpose of the aforementioned study on multilingual organizations in which I participated. In three cases (Maximal 12-14), the interviews were analyzed for the first time.

found at Maximal. However, in some cases, they appeared with different features. I will present and illustrate the six interpretative repertoires found at Globalos and Maximal fully in the next chapter. As studying the role of English represents one important argument for this comparative study, in each case, the general features of the respective repertoire and its features specific to English will be addressed separately.

In the second step of analysis, I analyzed the interpretative repertoires with respect to the subject positions that developed out of them. A subject position incorporates both a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those who use that repertoire (Davies and Harré 2001/1990). The interpretative repertoires, in this context, are interpreted as discursive resources which enable the construction of subject positions. For the identification of the latter, I started with the metaphors at the core of each of the respective repertoires. I attempted to identify which subject position was related to the metaphors for members of multilingual organizations. I also, at each point, tried to think of the respective complementary position, since the process of positioning is always double-sided: whenever a person positions him/herself, this discursive act always implies a positioning of the one who is addressed, and, when somebody positions someone else, a positioning of the person him/herself is always implied (Davies and Harré 2001/1990). From this analytical step, a set of subject positions emerged, evolving from each of the interpretative repertoires.

The third and final step of analysis consisted in analyzing the implications of the positioning acts for the construction of power relations and for individual and collective agency. For each of the companies, I examined which "position" in power relations people put themselves and others into by their positioning acts. Based on the relational and agency-oriented understanding that underlies this study, I focused on how members of multilingual organizations defined their own and others' scope of action and how they created spaces for agency by adopting certain subject positions. In this respect, as in the entire analytical process, I stayed as close as possible to the interviewees' words. Whenever I identified power-relevant aspects in the analytic process, they were derived directly from the data. Also in this analytical step, I distinguished implications for the construction of power relations and for agency in a general sense from implications concerning English specifically.

In order to prepare the comparison of the two cases, I analyzed the Globalos and the Maximal company data separately throughout the whole process, and will maintain this division in presenting the findings in the next chapter. This will allow me to compare the dynamics in these two companies characterized by a different degree of "Englishization", and to examine the implications of their different mappings of interpretative repertoires and subject positions for the construction of power relations and agency. The presentation of the interpretative repertoires is an exception. Because the same repertoires were identified at Globalos and Maximal, I will present them together, distinguishing their general characteristics and their characteristics with specific regard to English, however.

3.4 Reflection on data production and maintaining quality in the research process

The data production has a number of limitations. I will address those and, at the same time, will describe how I attempted to maintain the quality of the research process. First of all, the Human Resources department in each company provided the interview partners and organized the talks. This selection might account for a certain distortion in the variability of the accounts produced. One could imagine that the HR department chose employees strategically in order to create a positive, tranquil impression of how that company dealt with linguistic diversity. However, the interviewees openly addressed concerns and difficulties and, on the whole, seemed not to have been inhibited or "briefed" with respect to the agenda of the talk. Furthermore, HR representatives did not interfere in the talks by being physically present or asking for feedback after the interviews. Rather, I was absolutely free to move in the respective company buildings. Also, the HR departments cooperated with my requests as to the varied organizational status of the interviewees and did not, for instance, try to prevent talks with service department employees who might not be as agile rhetorically as management representatives.

With respect to the method of data collection, a clear limitation of my project is that I conducted interviews only. Although interviews are well suited to the concept of positioning that is crucial to this research, they do not permit an immediate grasp of "real" practice. Recording real-life conversations (see e.g., Lüdi et al. 2010) and/or conducting an observation study with follow-up interviews would have been a different option for gaining insights into the power aspects of linguistic diversity. Including the analysis of documents such as job ads and company websites may have served also as a complement to the analysis of interviews (see e.g., Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010).

However, analyzing these alternative forms of data collection may well have involved more speculation than the interview-based analysis. Responses in such interview conversations can be viewed as discursive resources "drawn from practices and texts, that explain action while also providing a horizon for future practice" (Kuhn 2009: 684). In these accounts, participants were clear on language use in a linguistically diverse working context which made it possible to identify their subject positions and analyze the implications for constructing power relations and agency. While using these additional sources of data to supplement the interviews would have added interest, drawing conclusions from recordings, observations or documents would have been more challenging and tenuous.

Interviews as a form of data are also open to criticism. Since, from a social constructionist perspective, there is no objective reality, interviews also represent social construction and do not reflect "true facts", in my case about power relations in multilingual organizations. Rather, interviews represent accounts produced in an interaction with an interviewer. However, interview situations can be seen as locally organized interaction, with the responses resulting from the participant's wish to perform certain interactive functions, such as appearing to be a good interviewee or

convincing the interviewer that he/she is an expert on the topic (Smith 1995). An interviewee might also produce certain accounts assuming that these are socially more desirable than others. There are therefore circumstances which might influence an interviewee's responses without the researcher knowing whether this is the case or not.

With these conditions and limitations understood, the semi-structured interview allowed me to explore the complexity of the topic, including the consideration of new facets that emerged in interviews. I continued that process from one interview to the other. By attempting to build a rapport with the interviewee, I aimed at producing rich data by making interviewees feel comfortable to describe their experiences. This proved successful, as did formulating open questions and avoiding value-laded or guiding questions that might seem to impose my views. Thus, my interpretations on the political implications of the positioning acts can be seen as based truly on participant's accounts, and not on my leading questions or "prepackaged problematization attempts" (Alvesson and Sandberg 2011).

With regard to the interview language, one limitation concerns my offer to respondents that we conduct the conversation in the language of their choice. I made this offer in order to facilitate rapport-building and make people feel more at ease. One might argue therefore that interviewees whose native language I do not speak, or who did not speak the interview language very well, were in a less comfortable position which might theoretically lead to a certain inhibition and a less rich accounts. Although I am unaware of an example of such an effect, it may well have occurred.

Concerning the transcripts, I note that the interviews conducted in Swiss German were directly transcribed in Standard German, since a written version of Swiss German does not exist. This represents a "soft" form of translation, especially because some Swiss German expressions do not exist in Standard German. In order to maintain the validity of the original data, I included the original Swiss German expression in the transcript, next to the Standard German translation.

With respect to sample selection, including employees from the lower level of Maximal would have been preferable, as I was able to do at Globalos. However, a number of the Maximal participants – mostly lower middle managers – who are in close contact with shop floor employees on a day-to-day basis were able to provide that different perpective, especially because I encouraged multivocality by asking interviewees to take up other perspectives in the spirit of active interviewing.

With regard to the interviewees from other linguistic backgrounds, it would have been helpful to differentiate more precisely among expatriates or temporary international assignees, white collar workers from other countries whose stay in the specific location is undetermined, and migrants working on the shop floor. Furthermore, more interviews, especially at Maximal, would have been desirable, as would the opportunity to include additional Maximal subsidiaries instead of only one in the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

4. Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the empirical case studies I conducted in order to investigate power relations in multilingual organizations. By conducting a discursive analysis, I have examined how members of multilingual organizations create power relations by drawing upon discursive resources which they mobilize to describe their experiences with linguistic diversity. To analyze the role of English in these construction processes, I chose to compare two companies characterized by different degrees of "Englishization". I will first present the six interpretative repertoires on experiences of language use in multilingual organizations that emerged from the first step of analysis. Because these six repertoires were identified at both Globalos and Maximal, I will present them only once. However, I include examples from both companies. Furthermore, for every repertoire, I will address each repertoire's specific features with regard to English in a separate section. I will then present the subject positions which developed out of the six interpretative repertoires. In the following section, I will show the implications of the positioning acts for constructing power relations and for individual and collective agency. The focus is on how members of multilingual organizations define their own and others' scope of action, and how they create spaces for agency by adopting certain subject positions. Remaining faithful to my proposal to study multilingual organizations from the perspective of its members, I will remain as close as possible to the participants' words throughout this presentation.

4.2 Findings I: Six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations

4.2.1 Military repertoire: Multilingual encounters as fights between speakers of different languages[32]

4.2.1.1 General features of the military repertoire

The military repertoire is organized around the central metaphor of the "fight". It presents communicating in a multilingual context as an act of combat, and the interactions between speakers of different languages as meetings of adversaries on the battlefield. I distinguished two versions of the military repertoire: one concentrating on rhetorical battles, the other on battles between territories. The following quote introduces the core metaphor of the repertoire, and at the same time illustrates its rhetorically oriented variant. It was formulated by a graphic designer working for Globalos who described how she sometimes experiences meetings held in a language other than her native German:

[32] I will in the following designate in bold those metaphors and core terms from quotes that were the sources of names for the six metaphors. The designation does therefore not refer to any emphasis made by the interviewees during the talk.

> Man kann ja auch verbal dann einfach **niedergemacht** werden, ne. Das ist dann auch einfach ein **Kampf** der Wörter, und da **unterliegt** man einfach (Globalos 11, 15)[33]
>
> *You just can **get bashed** verbally. It is simply a **fight** of words, and you are just **defeated**. (Globalos 11, 15; my translation)*

In this rhetorically oriented variant of the military repertoire, language skills are depicted as the means to acquire superiority on the rhetorical battlefield. This might be the case for any language, as in the next quote which concerns German as it is spoken in Germany in the context of the German-speaking part of Switzerland. A Globalos interviewee recalled her time at University when she used to listen to lectures given by German and Swiss professors. While the German used their native language, the Swiss adopted Standard German, that is, the form of German used in German-speaking Switzerland in more formal and written contexts:

> Wenn man verglichen hat einen Deutschschweizer Professor, der [Hoch]deutsch geredet hat, und dann der deutsche Professor, (…) dann sind's zwei unterschiedliche Welten gewesen. Der Deutsche, das ist dann wie **aus dem Kanonenrohr geschossen** gekommen, (…) und der Deutschschweizer, der hat halt auch sich einfach durchgestammelt mit seinem [Hoch]deutsch. (Globalos 10, 258)
>
> *When you compared a Swiss German professor who was talking in [Standard] German, and then the German professor, that was two different worlds. [In the case o]f the German, that just came **fired out of the gun barrel**, and the Swiss German just stumbled through with his [Standard] German. (Globalos 10, 258; my translation)*

Once the stronger party has established military superiority, the weaker party risks being "**disarmed**" ("**entwaffnet**"; Globalos 11, 13) and losing the battle.

In its other variant, the military repertoire draws a connection between a language and a territory. The battle is presented as occurring between languages which are, in this case, defined as linguistic "terrains". In the following example, a French native speaker from Maximal described experiences interacting with native English speakers, or Anglophones, in equally military metaphors:

> Interviewer: [E]st-ce les gens qui participaient, les Anglophones, des fois ils se (…) rendaient compte [de vos difficultés] ou ils essaient de vous expliquer un peu (…) ?
> Maximal 6 : Non, rarement (rigole). (…) Rarement. Et **en terrain conquis**. (Maximal 6, 126-129)

[33] Quotations will always first be presented in their original language and then in their English translation. I include the original quote in order to make the linguistic diversity of my data clearly visible in the findings. Furthermore, I offer the possibility of reading them in the original language.

Interviewer: The people who participated, the Anglophones, did they sometimes notice your difficulties or tried to explain you a little bit?
*Maximal 6: No, rarely (laughters). Rarely. And **in conquered terrain**.*
(Maximal 6, 126-129; my translation)

The territorial variant of the military repertoire presents inhabitants of a linguistic territory as defenders of their language. In the following example, a Maximal employee reported his observations in Gruyère, a rural region in the French-speaking part of Switzerland:

> [J]'ai vu en Gruyère donc le patois gruyérien que les gens **défendent** fortement. Moi je trouve ça un peu folklorique, mais je comprends ces gens. Derrière la langue, ils cherchent à défendre leur identité, leur culture. (Maximal 9, 162)

> *I have seen in Gruyère the [regional dialect] that people strongly **defend**. I think that's a bit folkloric, but I understand those people. Behind the language, they try to defend their identity, their culture. (Maximal 9, 162; my translation)*

Here, the defended ground is portrayed as going beyond linguistic territory. Although the precise meaning is not specified, the illustration draws a connection between language, identity and culture, and presents language as an absolutely vital part of a person's, or a group's, emotional anchoring – contrary to a view of language as a simple tool for communicating or transmitting information.

In sum, the military repertoire portrays interactions between people with different linguistic backgrounds as fights. In one variant of the repertoire, the adversaries meet on the rhetorical battlefield. In the other, territorially oriented variant, people are presented as "representatives" of languages defending their languages against others.

4.2.1.2 Military repertoire focusing on English

With specific regard to English, I distinguished a rhetorically and a territorially oriented variant within the military repertoire. On the rhetorical level, skills in English were presented as attributing "power". Although the term does not necessarily belong in the military realm, it has relevance there. Certainly the term was used in a conflictual sense, as the following example from Globalos shows. Here, English proficiency is portrayed as fundamental, especially when something is at stake, in this case, making a presentation in a meeting:

> In Präsentation teilweise ist eine Sprache auch eine **Macht**. Besonders, wenn man mit Engländern zu tun hat. Oder es wird einfach vorausgesetzt, dass Englisch die Sprache, die Businesssprache ist. Und wenn man nicht perfekt ist und nicht die Nuancen versteht, dann empfinde ich das teilweise als **Macht**. (Globalos 11, 13)

> *In presentations, language sometimes also is **power**. Especially, when you have got to do with British people. Or it is just supposed that English is the*

> *language, the business language. And if you're not perfect and don't understand the nuances, then I sometimes perceive this as* ***power****. (Globalos 11, 13; my translation)*

The territorial dimension of the military repertoire is again organized around the concept of the "battle of languages". Here, it is English which is at war with other languages – or maybe other languages which are at war with English. In the case of Globalos, the battle is taking place between French and English, as the chef of the directors' canteen, who is a local and thus a native French speaker, suggests:

> [A] la fin j'sais pas si le français va encore **primer** vraiment. J'pense que petit-à-petit, l'anglais **prend quand-même le dessus**. (Globalos 15, 144)

> *At the end, I don't know whether French will still really be* ***dominant****. I think that step by step, English will* ***get the upper hand*** *after all. (Globalos 15, 144; my translation)*

By this logic, the English language is, within the military repertoire, presented as posing "a kind of permanent **threat**" (« une espèce de **menace** permanente »; Maximal 5, 51) to those who do not speak it.

At the core of this dimension of the military repertoire lies a notion of language as "belonging" to a certain group of people, not just in the sense of being used by them, but in a sense of real ownership. This can go as far as framing the ownership in military terms, for instance, in the following statement which comments on the British:

> England is (…) one island apart from the others, so they have (…) their own island and… (…) the land is English land. (…) It's their home, it's their **castle**, I can say. [England is the] [h]eart of the language, yeah. (Globalos 8, 217-229)

Also with specific regard to English, the military repertoire is organized around an understanding of interacting as fighting. Analogous to the general features of the repertoire, people with different degrees of English proficiency are described either as involved in rhetorical battles, or as owners of a specific language threatened by English.

4.2.2 Competition repertoire: Multilingual encounters as games between people of different linguistic backgrounds

4.2.2.1 General features of the competition repertoire

The competition repertoire conceives of communicating as a game involving various participants. This might include several types of games, as its core metaphors indicate. Communication is sometimes portrayed as "play with words" (Globalos 8, 263-265), but even more often as a "power game" ("Machtspiel"; Globalos 11, 109). Therefore,

language skills are presented as "**trumps**" (« **atouts** »[34]) which everyone "has to **play**" (« chacun doit **jouer** ») (Globalos 6, 190). Accordingly, people's "position" in the game of words is not the same if their proficiency in the language used in the interaction differs, as this quote suggests:

> [Ich] empfinde (…) das auch als Machtpotential, eine Sprache zu beherrschen. Und dann ist man einfach in einer schwächeren **Position**, wenn man das nicht gut kann. (Globalos 11, 15)
>
> *I also perceive it as a power potential to master a language. And then you just are in a weaker **position**, if you don't do [master the language] well. (Globalos 11, 15; my translation)*

Furthermore, the competition repertoire also includes a less competitive perspective on language skills. Using a sports metaphor, the following example from Maximal presents a common language as a uniting factor:

> [l]y a (…) cet aspect d'**équipe** [pour lequel] pour moi, [il] est important d'avoir une langue sur laquelle on puisse très bien se comprendre. (Maximal 7, 56)
>
> *There is this **team** aspect for which in my view, it is important to have a language in which people can understand each other very well. (Maximal 7, 56; my translation)*

In sum, the competition repertoire presents communicating as a game of words. This game might take different forms that are more or less competitive. In one variant, simply interacting represent a game. In another, more frequent, form, the game is portrayed as a contest between people who are in different starting positions. In this perspective, language skills represent "trumps". Viewed less competitively, the repertoire also sees common proficiency in a specific language as facilitating team spirit.

4.2.2.2 Competition repertoire focusing on English

Language skills as trumps in the game of words are also the central theme in the competition repertoire when it comes to English specifically. A frequent issue is the uneven distribution of the winning cards between the participants when English native speakers are involved in the game, which here takes the character of a contest. A French native speaker described the consequences of a communication setting with Anglophones and Non-Anglophones as follows:

> L'autre qui est anglophone de naissance a l'**avantage**, parce qu'il aura beaucoup plus vite compris et déjà préparé sa réaction. (Maximal 6, 125)

[34] As the reader will note, quotes in French utilize different quotation marks (« ») than those in English, German and Spanish (" "). Also, they contain a space between quotation marks and letters or other signs. I decided to do so in order to remain faithful to my claim to represent the linguistic diversity of my sample. This included following the French writing rules.

> *The other who is an Anglophone by birth has the **advantage**, because he/she will understand much quicker and will already have prepared his/her reaction. (Maximal 6, 125; my translation)*

Importantly, the native speaker's advantage does not seem to be limited to native English speakers within the competition repertoire; depending on the interaction partners, other languages might be named. A German, for instance, emphasized that being disadvantaged might occur "of course as well in French, in foreign languages [in general]" ("genausogut im Französischen natürlich, in Fremdsprachen [generell]"; Globalos 11, 133).

As much as good, or even native, proficiency in English is portrayed as "trump", "poor" skills are presented as "losing cards" in the organizational game. As an Indian HR manager put it, drawing on the game metaphor:

> If [people] are not able to converse in English as well as it's needed (…), they **lose out**. Globalos 1, 153)

"Losing out" does not have to be limited to rhetorical games, however. Within the competition repertoire, *becoming* part of the organizational game is often described as fundamentally depending upon English skills. Proficiency in English is frequently defined as a must for employment. This might not concern members of the service departments, but many others, as the following illustration from Maximal shows. In the statement, a board member who is not a native-English speaker described his requirements when hiring new employees:

> Je recrute beaucoup de gens chaque année. Pour moi l'anglais, c'est même pas une question, c'est exclu que dans n'importe quel rôle j'engage quelqu'un qui parle pas l'anglais. J'y pense même pas. (Maximal 6, 137)
>
> *I hire a lot of people every year. For me English is not even a question, no way that I hire someone for any role who doesn't speak English. I don't even think about it. (Maximal 6, 137; my translation)*

Therefore, also with specific regard to English, language skills as "trumps" are one of the core themes of the competition repertoire. However, the consequences of not having them is described more drastically here than in the competition repertoire in general. Those who do not speak English are described as "losing out" in the organizational game, or not getting employed at all. Also, the less competition-oriented variants, which appeared in the general form of the repertoire, were not found with respect to English specifically. Therefore, the competition repertoire seems to be more competitively oriented when it comes to English than in the general case.

4.2.3 Control repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issue of mastering the situation

4.2.3.1 General features of the control repertoire

This interpretative repertoire is organized around the central notion of "control" of an interaction. This might comprise "being at ease" as much trying to influence how one's utterances are received. In the following example, a native-Turkish speaker described his wish to be the master of what he utters, here with respect to English. The quote introduces the core term of the repertoire:

> Sometimes I feel "okay, my English is not really that good", (…) I have this feeling so that you know you want to **control** what you're saying and choosing the… - how do you say? - sophisticated words other than explaining something in an easier way, you want to (…) making it richer you know. (Globalos 8, 249-251)

A similar theme of attempting to control the outcome of one's utterances appears in the following example from Maximal. Here, an employee responsible for the IT standardization explained that he talks in German to people in a subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland in order to make sure his key messages come across. Coming from Alsace, a French region where a German dialect is spoken, he is easily capable of switching to German:

> Une des personnes de l'équipe là-bas [dans la filiale en Suisse alémanique] comprend très légèrement le français, mais comprend pas l'anglais. Donc la seule solution, c'est quand-même l'allemand. (…) [Moi,] j'arrive très bien à m'exprimer [en allemand], donc ça me permet de leur faire **passer les messages clé**. (Maximal 7, 16)
>
> *One of the persons of the crew in the subsidiary in German-speaking Switzerland understands a very little bit of French, but doesn't understand English. Thus the only solution is German. I manage very well to express myself in German, that enables me to **pass on the key messages**. (Maximal 7, 16; my translation)*

When it comes to keeping or gaining a certain level of rhetorical control, people emphasized again and again the relevance of feeling comfortable in interactions ("the **comfort** level"; Globalos 1, 133). Also here, one's proficiency in a language is brought into play as a decisive factor. A Spanish migrant, a receptionist at the Globalos hotel which accommodates world-wide employees visiting the headquarters, described this in the following terms:

> Je vais m'adresser certainement d'abord dans la langue que je maîtrise mieux. (…) Parce que je peux m'exprimer mieux. (…) [Et c'est] certainement aussi [sur le plan] de **me sentir plus à l'aise**. (Globalos 18, 326-336)

> *I will certainly first address people in the language that I have the better command of. (...) Because I can express myself better. (...) And it is certainly also on the level of **feeling more at ease**. (Globalos 18, 326-336; my translation)*

By the same logic, the control repertoire suggests that interacting with a person whose comfort level is perceived as higher might even "intimidate" ("schüchtert ein"; Globalos 11, 109). Correspondingly, being understood by others represents the other relevant side of the "feeling at ease" dimension of the control repertoire. The following quote from a French-speaking Maximal employee emphasizes the importance of understanding others to feeling comfortable:

> J'aime bien comprendre ce que les gens disent autour de moi. (…) [J]'aime bien **me sentir à l'aise**. Je **me sens à l'aise** si je comprends ce que les gens disent autour de moi. (Maximal 9, 158)

> *I like to understand what people around me say. I like to **feel at ease**. I **feel at ease** when I understand what people around me say. (Maximal 9, 158; my translation)*

Apart from the control and the comfort themes, the control repertoire includes another element: "access" to information and to contacts with people. Contrary to the "feeling at ease" issue, the focus here is not on the consequences of different levels of language skills for keeping/gaining/loosing mastery in an interaction. Rather, a long-term perspective emphasizes the range of information that becomes accessible due to language proficiency. In the following statement, a Swiss German native speaker described this access aspect she discovered after moving to the French-speaking part of Switzerland and learning the local language:

> Und ich habe dann realisiert, dass ich einfach hin- und herspringen kann von einer Sprache zur anderen, und durch das **Zugriff** habe auf doppelt so viele Informationen und doppelt so viele Kontakte in dem Sinn. (...) [F]ür mich ist es eine zusätzliche Dimension, eine zusätzliche Freiheit, eine Sprache mehr. (Globalos 10, 207)

> *And then I realized that I just can jump to and fro from one language to the other, and that through this, I have **access** to the double amount of information and the double amount of contacts. For me it is an additional dimension, an additional freedom, [to speak] one language more. (Globalos 10, 207; my translation)*

In sum, the control repertoire presents interacting in a linguistically diverse context as an issue of being or not being master of communicative constellations. It portrays a lesser command of a language when compared with other interaction participants as hindering one's ability to influence the communication process and its outcome. Furthermore, good proficiency in a language is interpreted as enabling access to information and thus control long-term.

4.2.3.2 Control repertoire focusing on English

Similar issues appear in the control repertoire with specific regard to English. Feeling comfortable in an interaction, making sure the audience understands one's message and access to information are the core themes. "Being at ease" is again portrayed as decisive for one's "comfort level". While some portrayed the use of English as a means or, at least, an attempt to control communication processes, in other cases people emphasized its negative influence on being at ease. The following statement is an example of the latter:

> Die Hauptmeetings [des internationalen IT-Standardisierungsprojekts] (…) [werden] auf Englisch abgehalten (…). Und die [Sitzungen der] Abteilung [des Standardisierungsprojekts] innerhalb, (…) die machen wir jetzt auf schweizerdeutsch. (…) [W]ieso soll man vier, fünf Leute auf Englisch **plagen**, wenn es auf deutsch einfacher geht? (Maximal 12, 292-301)
>
> *The main meetings of the [international IT standardization project] are held in English. And the meetings of the internal department of the [IT standardization project], we do them in Swiss German. Why should one **annoy** four, five people by talking in English when it's easier in German? (Maximal 12, 292-301; my translation)*

As with the control repertoire in general, making sure one's contribution to a conversation is heard is important with regard to English specifically. In the following example, a native French speaker explained how he quickly abandoned trying to speak German in meetings that were held in German. Lacking skills in this language, this board member had, in his own words "no value to add" to the meeting:

> [T]rès vite, je me suis rendu compte que je n'avais plus du tout de **valeur à ajouter** dans la réunion, parce que je comprenais pas ce qu'on disait ou très mal et j'étais incapable de m'exprimer en allemand. Donc on me disait toujours « Oui, mais t'as qu'à répondre en anglais ou en français, on comprendra ». Et en fait, assez vite, j'ai dit « Non, ben, on va parler en anglais et puis comme ça, on est plus **efficaces** ». (Maximal 6, 41)
>
> *Very quickly, I realized that I had absolutely no **value to add** any more in the meeting, because I didn't understand what was said or only very poorly, and I was incapable of expressing myself in German. Then people always said: "But just answer in English or French, we'll understand." But quite soon, I said, "No, well, we'll talk in English, and then we are more **efficient**". (Maximal 6, 41; my translation)*

The introduction of economic terms suggests that the board member asked to switch to English to serve the interests of the company. However, "adding value" might also be interpreted as contributing to the conversation in a more control-oriented sense, as in making sure that the audience understands one's statement.

Concerning this issue of making sure one's message is understood, non-spoken communication deserves special attention. Making sure that others receive one's statements clearly becomes even more relevant in written exchanges, especially in the context of e-mail communication. The central issue here is that authors often have very little or no influence on whether their messages might be forwarded to other people. This concern appeared variously within the control repertoire:

> Donc ici, tout [les e-mails sont] (…) en anglais, même entre des gens qui sont francophones de langue maternelle. Parce que justement après, ces e-mails, voilà, s'il faut les envoyer à quelqu'un qui est pas francophone, qui maîtrise pas le français, ben il faut qu'il puisse comprendre ce qui est écrit, quoi. (Globalos 5, 14)
>
> *Here, all the e-mails are in English, even between people who are French native speakers. Because afterwards, if these e-mails have to be sent to someone who is not a native French speaker, who does not speak French, well that person has to be able to understand what is written. (Globalos 5, 14; my translation)*

This example from Maximal highlights especially controlling the outcome of one's – here, written – utterance. It emphasizes the importance of preserving the original message:

> Dans des (…) e-mails (…), moi j'utilise très généralement l'anglais, parce que je ne sais jamais si mon e-mail va être copié à quelqu'un d'autre qui lui ne parle pas français. Peut-être que mon premier interlocteur, lui il comprendra mon e-mail en français, mais si il doit renvoyer ça à quelqu'un d'autre, j'ai pas envie qu'il soit obligé de traduire mon idée ou de la simplifier ou même de l'envoyer comme ça à quelqu'un qui va pas le comprendre. (Maximal 6, 41)
>
> *In e-mail, I very generally use English, because I never know whether my e-mail will be copied to someone else who doesn't speak French. Maybe my first interlocutor will understand my e-mail in French, but if he or she has to forward that to someone else, I don't want the person to have to translate my idea or simplify it or even forward it just like it is to someone who won't understand it. (Maximal 6, 41; my translation)*

The third aspect of the control repertoire, access to information, concerns employees on the lower echelons of the companies especially. In the following example from Globalos, a Spanish migrant who speaks French but not English, described how he and others in his situation sometimes miss information, in this case, official internal communication:

> [I]l y a eu des fois des circulaires, quelque chose comme ça, des choses que peut-être, c'était important pour nous, mais nous, on comprenait rien. C'était en anglais. (…) Eh bien, ma fois, on se dit « C'est comme ça ». (Globalos 21, 131-133)

They sometimes distributed circulars, things that maybe were important for us, but we didn't understand. It was in English. And then, you say "Well, that's how it is". (Globalos 21, 131-133; my translation)

In the specific case of English, feeling comfortable, attempting to controlling the implications of one's utterances or having access to information are the key themes of the control repertoire. The repertoire highlights a remarkable double-sidedness in its view of English. English is portrayed as making some feel uncomfortable, and others more comfortable; whether or not the participant was a native speaker, the issue was whether their English proficiency was better than their proficiency in the language of the interaction. Furthermore, because if the interlocutor understands English, the content of the interaction need not be translated, the control repertoire describes using English as facilitating the control of one's utterances. With respect to the dissemination of official internal communication, on the other hand, the repertoire emphasizes that employees who do not speak English are excluded from access to this information.

4.2.4 Equality repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issue of being on equal terms

4.2.4.1 General features of the equality repertoire

The equality repertoire is organized around the central metaphor of "equilibrium". Its central theme is fairness in interactions between people with different linguistic backgrounds – in verbal exchanges between individuals, and on the general organizational level. The term appeared in a statement from a Maximal board member who described his frustration about being the only representative of one linguistic group in a professional association composed by members of another linguistic group:

> [M]es chères collègues dans ce conseil (…) ne veulent pas parler autrement qu'en allemand. Et à la fin (…) [d'une] discussion très longue dans laquelle j'ai presque rien compris, je me suis levé et j'ai dit : « Ecoutez, je vais vous faire un cadeau : Au moins, je vous autorise à ne pas avoir une représentation **équilibrée** de la Suisse romande dans ça, parce que c'est déjà tellement compliqué (…) d'équilibrer entre les différents métiers que si en plus je vous impose d'**équilibrer** par langues, vous n'allez pas réussir. » (Maximal 6, 59)
>
> *My dear colleagues in this association don't want to talk in another language than German. And at the end of a very long discussion in which I almost didn't understand anything, I got up from my chair and said: "Listen, I'll give you a present: At least, I entitle you not to have an **equilibrated** representation of French-speaking Switzerland in [this association], because it's already so complicated to balance between the different occupations that if I additionally force you to to **equilibrate** between languages, you won't succeed." (Maximal 6, 59; my translation)*

Here, the "equilibrium" refers to the proportion of members of certain language groups; in other cases, it concerns individuals. In the following example, a balance of efforts is suggested as a means for achieving an equilibrium. Drawing upon the "both sides went part of the way" metaphor, a native-French speaker described her experience of such a balance on a trip to the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Both parties involved in the interaction talked to each other in a language which was not their own in order to communicate:

> [En Suisse alémanique] on a été chez des gens dans un restaurant où ils ne parlaient pas le français. Et cette dame a été charmante, parce qu'ils nous ont parlé en bon allemand [et pas en suisse allemand] tout le temps (…) Donc ils ont **fait un bout de chemin** et nous, on l'a fait aussi. (Globalos 9, 239)
>
> *In the German speaking part of Switzerland, we went to a restaurant where they didn't speak French. And the lady was charming, because they talked Standard German [and not Swiss German] to us all the time. So, they* ***went part of the way****, and we did, too. (Globalos 9, 239; my translation)*

According to the equality repertoire, such a balance of efforts does not necessarily have to be achieved in a conventional understanding of interaction; words are only one means of "going part way", as an Australian explained. Although this quotation refers to English, the unusual and balanced means of communicating is interesting:

> I've been to a service when I moved house. I had to get a guy to come in to redo the satellite and all that and he didn't speak English. That was quite interesting. We got there in the end (…) [by using a] few words that I knew [in French] and by basically drawing on a piece of paper. (Globalos 3, 194-198)

On an organizational level, the "equilibrium" theme often appears with a focus on imbalance between employees in different organizational functions. As the administrative director of the cleaning services suggested, only "persons of the business" (« personnes du business »; Globalos 12, 288) were sent abroad to work in other subsidiaries for a while. Therefore, people who fixed doors, maintained buildings or cooked lunch at the canteen lacked the opportunities to learn languages: "it's not we from the services who can do that" (« on est pas des services qui pouvons le faire »; Globalos 12, 288).

In sum, the equality repertoire is basically concerned with fairness issues around the use of language in multilingual encounters. These are, on one hand, understood as interactions between linguistic groups. In this case, the underlying question in many cases is the relation between linguistic majorities and minorities. On the individual level, it is the individual's effort to achieve a balance of effort which is emphasized. On the organizational level, fairness is brought into play as an uneven distribution of opportunities to learn languages as a consequence of an employee's organizational function.

4.2.4.2 Equality repertoire focusing on English

Fairness in interactions between individuals or groups and on the organizational level is also a central element of the equality repertoire with specific regard to English. One of the most recurrent themes is the practice of talking in English when someone does not understand the language of the other participants. According to this quotation from a Maximal interviewee, this also happened when the proportion between linguistic majority and minority was very unbalanced:

> Even if there is 10 people around the table (…) then if there are 9 who can actually speak French but only one does not speak French, then we will speak in English. (Maximal 3, 72-76)

The imbalance of efforts between native/very skilled English speakers and non-native/less-skilled English speakers when it comes to finding a common language thus represents one of the core elements of the equality repertoire with a specific focus on English. The other core element concerns the use of English on a broader organizational level, which interviewees presented as having important consequences for employees who do not speak the language. In the following statement, the Spanish co-head of the dishwashing facility, who had been working for the company for many years, offered as illustration the example of the welcome day. According to the interviewee, this information event for new employees used to be held in both French and English in the past and is now conducted only in English:

> [L]a journée d'accueil (…), je sais que mes collègues [n'y] vont pas, hein. C'est plus d'actualité, ça, pour nous. (…) Je sais qu'avant, ils allaient comme moi, je suis allé. C'était en français. Puis après, il y a une ou deux collègues qui sont allées il y a quelque années et puis qui disaient « Ah, tu vois, c'est en anglais, on comprend rien ». (Globalos 21, 345)
>
> *The welcome day, I know my colleagues don't go. It's no longer of interest for us. I know that earlier, they went, as I did. It was in French. And afterwards, one or two colleagues went a few years ago and said "Oh, you see, it's in English, we don't understand anything". (Globalos 21, 345; my translation)*

Interpreting the language change for the welcome day, the Globalos employee introduces one of the core terms of the repertoire: "equality". Commenting on this change, the interviewee said that he regrets the company's decision not to offer the welcome day in French anymore. He explained his statement thus:

> On nous a dit, puis je crois toujours, qu'on est tous à **égalité**. Chacun fait son boulot, voilà. (Globalos 21, 345)
>
> *We were told, and I still believe, that we are all **equal**. Everybody does his/her job, that's all. (Globalos 21, 345; my translation)*

In sum, the balance of efforts to find a common language is also one of the core concerns of the equality repertoire with regard to English specifically. However, the

imbalance is primarily stressed, which is explained by the practice of speaking English as soon as people who do not know another language which could be their common language are involved. The other main feature of the equality repertoire with specific regard to English also concerns imbalance, and consists in emphasizing that the widespread use of English in official internal communication might endanger the equality of the employees across all organizational levels and functions.

4.2.5 Participation repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issues of taking part in interactions

4.2.5.1 General features of the participation repertoire

In its general form, the participation repertoire is organized around several similar or complementary metaphors and core terms. Not to master a language is presented as a "barrier" to communication, and speaking a language thus means to "participate" or even to "integrate oneself". In this view, language skills play a fundamental role when it comes to joining a conversation in a linguistically diverse context, be it momentary or longer-term. The following illustration from Maximal presents the lack of language skills as a serious obstacle in this respect, and instantiates the experience of many employees from both companies with respect to lacking proficiency in a language:

> J'ai vécu dans un environnement suisse alémanique - ce qu'est pas le cas de tous les romands (…). [Donc] comme je comprends le Suisse allemand, je peux m'exprimer en Suisse allemand (…). [J]'ai pas cette **barrière** de la langue. (Maximal 1, 105)
>
> *I lived in a Swiss German environment – which is not the case for all French Swiss. Thus, because I understand Swiss German, I'm able to express myself in Swiss German. I don't have this language* ***barrier****. (Maximal 1, 105; my translation)*

When it comes to temporarily joining conversations, especially in the professional context, facilitating participation is a recurrent theme. Here, choosing a common language is presented as a means to make it possible for everyone to contribute to the discussion. A Swiss German working for Globalos explained a kind of informal guidelines for choosing a language in group interactions:

> Man sagt: „Du, schau, der versteht die Sprache nicht, dann nehmen wir die Sprache, wo alle verstehen, und dann kann er sich **beteiligen** an der Diskussion", oder. (Globalos 22, 382)
>
> *We say: „Look, that one doesn't understand the language, then we take the language everyone understands, and then he can* ***participate*** *in the discussion", right. (Globalos 22, 382; my translation)*

Furthermore, the repertoire comprises elements which emphasize participation on a more permanent level. In the following selection, a native-Turkish speaker argued for

adapting to the language of the place where one lives by introducing the integration argument:

> I believe personally that if you are working in a different country, you need to do as much as you can you know to learn the language. (…) It's just because of the integration, because you have to **integrate**. (…) I mean you are living here and you are **sharing an environment** with them. (Globalos 8, 129-131)

By introducing the "shared environment", the statement furthermore draws upon a territorial argument, which here is not understood in a military sense although it makes a connection between a language and a territory. In the logic of the "integration" argument, people are part of linguistic communities which belong to a certain physical "environment". In a complementary sense, the participation repertoire suggests that people who do not speak the local language tend to "**encapsulate themselves**" ("**sich abkapseln**"; Globalos 10, 234) and to "**form clubs**" ("**Club-Bildung**"; Globalos 10, 234) with other people who speak the same language as they do.

In sum, the participation repertoire presents the lack of language skills as barriers in communication. These can be overcome either by a group of people adopting, at least temporarily, another person's language in order to facilitate his/her participation, or by individuals learning the local language in order to participate long-term, that is, to integrate.

4.2.5.2 Participation repertoire focusing on English

With respect to English specifically, the participation repertoire comprises two very different facets. One consists in presenting English as facilitating communication. Here, English is sometimes described in rather pragmatic terms as the "**least common denominator**" ("**kleinster gemeinsame Nenner**"; Globalos 11, 139) or as the "**common factor**" (« **facteur commun** »; Maximal 5, 121). This argument is often associated with an understanding of English as a "**tool** to understand each other" ("**Werkzeug** zum sich verständigen", Globalos 22, 388), or as "a **working tool** rather than a language" (« un **outil** de travail plutôt qu'une langue »; Globalos 5, 27). In even more participatory terms, the global lingua franca is sometimes also represented as "common language" (« langue commune »; Globalos 20, 92) that makes it possible to "**include** everyone" (« **inclure** tout le monde »; Globalos 4, 52). The following quote from a native-French speaker introduces another strong metaphor which stresses how a common language can facilitate participation:

> Our friends are (…) people [from] all different countries and English helps us to have a **common platform**. Then (…) I can communicate with people where French in not the main language. (…) I think this is a great chance, otherwise we could not communicate to each other. (Maximal 3, 187-189)

At the same time, the lack of English is presented as a barrier within the participation repertoire. Employees who do not master it describe "**being blocked** with the language" (« **être bloqué** avec la langue » ; Globalos 12, 74). In a complementary

metaphor, many portray it as a "door opener" into the globalized world. The following statement from a local Globalos cafeteria employee who was of a certain age and did not speak any language other than French, illustrates this using a related metaphor:

> [S]i j'aurais pu choisir une langue, j'pense que j'aurais appris l'anglais. Parce que je me rends compte que c'est avec cette langue qu'on **passe partout** - au jour d'aujourd'hui. Surtout aujourd'hui, moi je trouve. (Globalos 7, 330)
>
> *If I had been able to choose a language, I think I would have learnt English. Because I realize that it's with this language that you **get in everywhere** – today. Especially today, I think. (Globalos 7, 330)*

That knowledge of English is essential to get in everywhere was also emphasized in various accounts specific to the organizational context. As suggested by the following statement from a Human Resources coordinator at Globalos, those who lack proficiency in the global lingua franca might be confronted with an internal glass ceiling. This might even be true when it comes to be assigned:

> [O]n a (…) une nécessité de connaître l'anglais dans certains domaines de l'entreprise, eh bien, c'est clair que ceux qui ne connaissent pas l'anglais auront bien sûr plus de mal à s'adapter ou à être embauchés peut-être. (Globalos 20, 262)
>
> *There is a need to speak English in certain parts of the company, so it's clear that those who don't speak English will have difficulties adapting or being employed. (Globalos 20, 262; my translation)*

Similar arguments were also put forward at Maximal, which was experiencing an increased use of English when these data were being collected. As a local employee in the subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland emphasized, introducing English as the default language of the IT standardization project can make participation impossible:

> Englisch war einfach eine Nicht-Sprache für [diese Filiale in der Deutschweiz]. (…) [M]it dem (...) [IT-Standardisierungsprojekt] war es dann wirklich voll praktisch eine Voraussetzung. Wenn du nicht Englisch kannst, kannst du dich nicht **beteiligen** an den Informationen, die da massenhaft verbreitet werden. (Maximal 13, 182)
>
> *English simply was a non-language for this [subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland]. With the [IT standardization project] it was then really completely virtually a requirement. If you don't speak English, you can't **participate** in the enormous mass of information that is distributed. (Maximal 13, 182; my translation)*

Thus, this repertoire strongly emphasizes the various and contradictory facets of English when it comes to describing its role for individual and collective participation in organizations and society. On one hand, English is portrayed as a "common

language" which makes it possible to "include everyone". On the other hand, not being proficient in English is presented as a reason for being "blocked" or not being able to participate when information is distributed and for encountering obstacles when it comes to climbing professional ladders or being employed.

4.2.6 Harmony repertoire: Multilingual encounters as matter of cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds

4.2.6.1 General features of the harmony repertoire

The core theme of the harmony repertoire is good relations among people, as shown by its many bodily metaphors. In this depiction, language represents "**common terrain**" ("**terrain commun**"; Globalos 4, 88) or a "**shared zone**" (« **zone de partage** »; Maximal 5, 111) which "**unites**" (« **réunit** »; Globalos 15, 216) people. To speak the same language then represents a prerequisite when wanting to "**approach**" (« **aborder** »; Maximal 9, 118) people or to "**build a rapport**"; Maximal 10, 93). And, sharing a language allows for a form of communication which goes far beyond understanding the content of an utterance. This understanding is summarized in the following statement by a French assistant working for Globalos who speaks six languages. Again, a body-based metaphor is used:

> On est au plus **proche** des gens (…) quand on arrive à parler une langue qui exprime au plus **proche** ce qu'ils ressentent. (Globalos 4, 113)
>
> *You get **closest** to people when you achieve to talk in a language which expresses the most **closely** what they feel. (Globalos 4, 113; my translation)*

Adapting to other people's language is presented only as one variant of building and maintaining good relations among people, however. The harmony repertoire comprises other possibilities which can be subsumed under the label of helping. One consists of "coming down to the level of language" (Globalos 8, 265) of the interaction partner. Offering active help to people who have difficulties expressing themselves due to their limited language competence is another form. A Venezuelan involved in standardizing the worldwide payment processes described the approach that her Anglophone superior used when meetings were held in English:

> [L]e **facilita a uno el camino**. (…) Por ejemplo, si (…) él se da cuenta que estoy buscando las frases, él empieza a preguntar. (…) „Es por esto?", „por esto?", „por aquello?". „No". "Entonces que quiere decir, que esto, esto, esto?". Y yo: „Si, por esto es." (Globalos 13, 239-246)
>
> *He **paves you the way**. For instance, if he realizes that I am struggling with sentences, he starts to ask: "Is it because of this?", "of this?", "of that?". "No." "Well, what is it you want to say then, that it is this, that, that?". And I say: "Yes, it is because of that." (Globalos 13, 239-246; my translation)*

Another form of helping appears in accounts introducing internal "contact points" ("points de contact"; Globalos 12, 216) between two people who have no common language by a third person who speaks the language of both.

Mixing languages represents another element of the harmony repertoire. In this view, what counts is finding a way to express what one intends to say, and not sticking to the rules of language use. One variant consists in everybody talking in his/her own language. In the following example, a German described what she sometimes tells people who prefer to talk to her in English rather than in French. The person had been living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland for many years and was thus very familiar with the language:

> Ich antworte Dir auf Französisch, aber Du kannst ruhig Englisch weiterreden. (Globalos 11, 99)
>
> *I answer you in French, but you can without problem continue talking in English if you want. (Globalos 11, 99; my translation)*

A variant of this mixing represents what the person describes as "change of language during a conversation" ("Manchmal wechselt auch die Sprache während eines Gesprächs"; Globalos 11, 33).

Such processes might even result in creating new languages, as the harmony repertoire suggests. In this context, technical vocabulary can have a significant role, as the following quote from Maximal shows:

> You **create** your own language (…) when you interact with the [IT] system. (…) If you document the result of the 'creativisation' (…), you can do it in English. (Maximal 2a, 453-459)

Although the term creativisation, as used in research,[35] embeds creativity in an economic context, that is not the case here. Rather, what counts is the emphasis on creation, on inventing a new language in an interaction, not with human beings, but with a technology.

In sum, the harmony repertoire, based on an understanding of communicating as approaching people, is characterized by its emphasis on good interpersonal relations among employees of different linguistic backgrounds. One variant of this repertoire emphasizes facilitating contacts through the use of a common language. Another focuses on support and tolerance in the context of linguistic diversity. Even the creation of language forms which do not follow the usual rules of grammatical "correctness" are included in the repertoire.

[35] In a recent study, creativisation is defined as the „search for creativity in service production and consumption" (Anttiroiko, Valkama and Bailey 2013).

4.2.6.2 Harmony repertoire focusing on English

Good relations are at also at the core of the harmony repertoire with specific regard to English. However, here, coming close to people thanks to a common language is less foregrounded. Rather, what counts is finding a shared way to communicate. In this regard, generosity and mixing languages are center-stage. Such generosity might consist of a general acceptance that many people do not have a perfect command of English, as the following quote from a native French speaker suggests:

> Les gens sont très **conciliants** parce qu'ils sont habitués aussi à avoir des gens qui ont un anglais pas extraordinaire (…). L'important, c'est qu'on se fasse comprendre. (Globalos 6, 160)
>
> *People are very **conciliatory** because they are used also to having people whose English is not extraordinary. The important thing is that you make yourself understood. (Globalos 6, 160; my translation)*

Another element of the harmony repertoire with specific regard to English consists in helping. A native-Portuguese speaker from Brazil working for Maximal described one variant: "We do our best we can, we slow down." (Maximal 10, 63). Next to just making oneself understood and helping, not being afraid to say something is another theme of the harmony repertoire with specific regard to English. In the following quote, a native-Turkish speaker from Globalos described his experiences in internal training sessions:

> [We have] (…) our [internal] training center (…). They organize courses - for a week or for two weeks. So people come from many countries. And the first thing the lecturer says when he kicks off the training, that "language is **broken English**". (…) So you don't need to be shy, because your accent, the way you try to explain, is not really good. So feel free. Feel free. It's broken English. So it's not English. It's broken English. I think the same mentality also applies here [in the company]. (Globalos 8, 406-412)

Mixing English with other languages is another element of this aspect of the harmony repertoire. Again, the emphasis is on making oneself understood, or, at least, being able to formulate adequately what one intends to say. The following statement by a native-French speaker on language switching in meetings illustrates this:

> Si c'est une réunion qui se tient en anglais et que je n'arrive pas vraiment à exprimer ce que je souhaite en anglais, je pense que je le ferais quand-même, et j'essaierais de me faire aider par quelques mots ou quelques phrases en français. (Globalos 20, 108)
>
> *If it's a meeting that is held in English, and I don't really manage to express what I want in English, I think I will do it all the same, and I will try to help myself with a few words or a few sentences in French. (Globalos 20, 108; my translation)*

In sum, regarding English in particular, being tolerant towards so-called errors and mixing languages is the harmony repertoire's general theme. The emphasis is on making sure that everyone understands each other rather than on the accurate use of the English language. However, creating common ground through a shared language, although an important theme of the harmony repertoire broadly, does not seem to be relevant with respect to English.

Table 3: Overview of the six interpretative repertoires and their understandings of multilingual encounters

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
Understanding of multilingual encounters	Multilingual encounters as **fights** between people of different linguistic backgrounds	Multilingual encounters as **games** between people of different linguistic backgrounds	Multilingual encounters as issue of **mastering the situation** between people of different linguistic backgrounds	Multilingual encounters as issue of **being on equal terms** in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	Multilingual encounters as issue of **taking part** in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	Multilingual encounters as matter of **cooperation** between people of different linguistic backgrounds

4.3 Findings II: Subject positions evolving from the repertoires

4.3.1 Subject positions evolving from military repertoire

4.3.1.1 General subject positions evolving from military repertoire at Globalos

The military repertoire is organized around the core metaphor of the fight and presents communicating in a multilingual context as an act of struggling. It comprises two elements: combat on the rhetorical battlefield and fights between languages. Regardless of specific languages, the military repertoire is based on a strict dichotomy: communicating in a linguistically diverse context is always interpreted in terms of victory and defeat. Based on this binary logic, four subject positions, two of which are always complementary, evolve from the military repertoire: the winners and losers, and the attackers and defenders.

In the case of Globalos, these positions are often mobilized with respect to the rhetorical battlefield between people of different linguistic backgrounds. As shown, people described the risk of getting "defeated" or "disarmed", implying that the other party wins the battle. Verbs such as "bashing" and "firing words out of the gun barrel" depict the position of attacking. The Globalos data did not, however, provide evidence for the defence position.

In the logic of the attack position, language skills represent weapons which might prove crucial in rhetorical battles taking place in linguistically diverse organizations. Those with better proficiency in the language used in a specific interaction are more likely to emerge victorious or to launch an attack. People whose command of a language is not "perfect" are therefore described as "vulnerable" ("angreifbar"; Globalos 11, 71), a vulnerability that their enemies might exploit. Linguistic superiority would make it possible for them to attack and eventually gain ground in the fight.

4.3.1.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from military repertoire at Globalos

With respect to English specifically, a rhetorically and a territorially oriented variant of the military repertoire emerged; again, the subject positions of the winners and of the losers on the rhetorical battlefield were referenced and those with better English skills are presented as those who win. Native-English speakers specifically, thanks to language skills acquired from childhood on, are portrayed as being in the best position to win the fight on the verbal battleground. Furthermore, these subject positions bring a situational aspect into play: the risk of winning and losing, and therefore the relevance of language skills, are emphasized especially in interactions in which

something is at stake. Formal meetings or presentations are examples of what is described as such "hard talk"[36].

At the same time, at Globalos, the subject positions of the attackers and defenders in a territorial sense are mobilized. This is illustrated in the following quote from the administrative director of the cleaning services, an employee with a local background, that is, a native-French speaker who grew up in the French-speaking part of Switzerland where the company is based. He positioned himself and his co-workers as defenders of the local language:

> On [service nettoyage] est un des rares départements où on se bat pour notre français. (Globalos 12, 19)
>
> *We [the cleaning services] are one of the few departments who defend our French. (Globalos 12, 19; my translation)*

This statement not only presents the position of the defender literally, but the use of the possessive pronoun "our" also emphasizes the underlying understanding of language as the possession of a group of people, a construct mentioned previously.

The subject positions of attackers and defenders in a territorial sense that emerged concerning English specifically contrast with the positions that evolve from the military repertoire generally where this theme does not appear. It is also worth nothing that the theme of defending the local language was connected to a specific department which explicitly relates language use and organizational function. With respect to fights on the rhetorical battlefield, the positions are similar, with one difference. Regarding English, native-English speakers are attributed the specific position of those with the best language skills and who are therefore most likely to win rhetorical fights.

4.3.1.3 General and English-specific subject positions evolving from military repertoire at Maximal

In the case of Maximal, the complementary subject positions of winners and losers, and attackers and defenders are only mobilized with respect to the "war of languages" theme and not the "fights on the rhetorical battlefield" theme. Therefore, the notion of language skills as weapons, which is tied to the subject positions related to rhetorical battles, does not apply to Maximal. This obtains both for the general positions that evolve from the military repertoire and for those which are specific to English. Furthermore, the "fight of languages" issue is more foregrounded with respect to English than in the general case; some employees are presented as those who "defend local languages" (« défendre les langues locales »; Maximal 5, 51) against English.

On an organizational level, however, an additional subject position evolved for blue collar workers in subsidiaries where English is not spoken. In the following example,

[36] The term was inspired by the BBC television program of the same name consisting of in-depth interviews with well-known personalities. These one-on-one talks are characterized by a style of tough questioning; the guests are said to be "grilled" by the interviewing journalists.

these workers are constructed as permanently threatened by the IT standardization process which led to a significant increase in English usage:

> La langue de communication [du projet de standardization informatique], (…) les documents, les meetings (..) est en anglais. Le défi, c'est de faire descendre toutes ces informations théoriques, conceptuelles (…) jusqu'à la ligne de production [dans les différents centres de production en Suisse alémanique] ou ailleurs. Et là, vous avez des gens qui ne comprennent pas l'anglais, qui ne le parlent pas, et à la limite à la limite pour qui l'anglais, c'est une espèce de menace permanente. (Maximal 5, 51)
>
> *The communication language of the IT standardization project, the documents, the meetings, is English. The challenge is to bring all this theoretical, conceptual information down to the production line in the different production centers in the German-speaking part of Switzerland or elsewhere. And there, you have people who don't understand English, who don't speak it, and for whom it might even represent a kind of permanent threat. (Maximal 5, 51; my translation)*

Thus, positions referring primarily to language wars emerged at Maximal. In many cases, the specific concern was defending the local languages against the invading language, English. Instead of fighting on the rhetorical battlefield, in this repertoire, and on an organizational level, employees not mastering English are constructed as "threatened" by the "new" language.

4.3.2 Subject positions evolving from competition repertoire

4.3.2.1 General subject positions evolving from competition repertoire at Globalos

The competition repertoire presents communicating in multilingual contexts as a rhetorical game between participants of different linguistic backgrounds. Similar to the military repertoire, it is based on the dichotomous view of communicating as winning or losing. Part of the repertoire is the notion of different starting points in the game, which are conceptualized as language skills. Based on this binary logic, four subject positions, of which two are always complementary, evolved: the winners and losers of the game, and those in the advantaged and disadvantaged position.

The following example shows how the subject positions of the advantaged is mobilized to construct someone as a winner. The statement includes indications about what winning might consist of:

> [J]e trouve toujours désagréable qu'un type puisse arriver et en fait avoir un avantage de par la langue. (…) [P]arce que quand on a un contrôle total de la langue, c'est plus facile de transmettre ses idées, plus facile de convaincre les gens (…). On a un meilleur contrôle de son audience, simplement. (Globalos 6, 184-190)

> *I always find it nasty that a guy can come and have an advantage by virtue of language. Because when you have a total control of the language, it's easier to transmit your ideas, to convince people. You simply have a better control of your audience. (Globalos 6, 184-190; my translation)*

As with the military repertoire in regard to English specifically, native speakers are positioned as being in a better starting position in the game. This uneven distribution of winning cards is described as especially relevant when something is at stake, as the following quote illustrates. A Swiss-German married to a French native with whom she had always communicated in French, recalled moments at the beginning of their relationship:

> In so Momenten, wo's halt vielleicht auch mal Konflikte gegeben hat, da ist dann eben die Frustration und auch das Gefühl von Unterlegenheit ist dann rausgekommen. (...) [U]nd es ist auch heute noch so manchmal, dass es dann halt einfach irgendwo blockiert, und uff, man bringt es einfach nicht raus. (Globalos 10, 97)
>
> *In moments in which there were maybe conflicts, then the frustration and also the feeling of inferiority came out. And also today it is still sometimes the case that it just blocks somewhere, and, uff, you just can't bring it out. (Globalos 10, 97; my translation)*

This situational aspect was also brought into play in the professional context. Language skills were described as especially decisive in competitive communicative settings. As in the following example, many presented official meetings as classic "hard talk" situations in which language skills really count:

> [W]enn man überzeugend sein will, dann sollte man die Sprache irgendwo durch beherrschen, und eben nicht ins Stottern kommen. (Globalos 10, 159)
>
> *If you want to be convincing, then you somehow should have the command of the language, and not start to stumble. (Globalos 10, 159; my translation)*

By the same logic, language proficiency is portrayed as losing relevance in what, analogously, could be labeled "soft talk", for instance, in informal conversations during breaks. The interviewee quoted above explained that, in those situations, "you less purposefully choose your words than in an official meeting, where you very precisely want to make your point" ("man tut weniger gezielt die Wörter aussuchen, als wenn man in einer offiziellen Sitzung ist, (…) wo man etwas ganz klar rüberbringen möchte", Globalos 10, 302; my translation).

In sum, four complementary subject positions evolved at Globalos from the general competition repertoire: the winners and losers in the rhetorical game, and those in an advantaged and disadvantaged position. In general, those having better language skills were constructed as being advantaged and thus winners, and those with less proficiency, disadvantaged and losers. Native speakers of a language were put in the

position of the most advantaged and thus the most likely winners in the rhetorical games. However, situational factors came into play also: The relevance of the position in the game was emphasized especially in "hard talk" interactions.

4.3.2.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from competition repertoire at Globalos

The subject positions of the winners and losers, and of the advantaged and the disadvantaged in rhetorical games were also mobilized with respect to English specifically. In this regard, native speakers are again put in a special position by constructing non-native speakers as disadvantaged. The following statement from a Human Resources manager from India who grew up with English illustrates this construction process:

> If you come from another country where English has always been your second language (…) you are disadvantaged because (…) you have the Americans and [British]. English (…) is their native language, the mother tongue. (Globalos 1, 97)

As demonstrated, those whose English proficiency is not "sufficient" are positioned as those who "lose out" in this logic. This might be true especially in the case of a multinational company like Globalos where the use of the global lingua franca has become "the rule of the game" (« les règles du jeu »; Globalos 6, 134-138), as one interviewee put it.

At the same time, this disadvantage can be re-framed as positive by constructing it as a commonality which all share. In the following example, a Swiss German native positioned herself and other non-native English speakers as having the same difficulties and thus as "sitting in the same boat":

> Weil wir so viele Nationalitäten haben da, hat es selten mal einen wirklich muttersprachlichen Englischsprechenden. Das heisst, es haben alle die gleiche Schwierigkeit (…), wir sind alle im gleichen Boot. (Globalos 10, 109)
>
> *Because we have people from so many nationalities, there only rarely is a real English native. That means everyone has the same difficulties (...) we are all in the same boat. (Globalos 10, 109; our translation)*

In sum, the same subject positions that evolved from the competition repertoire in general also evolved with regard to English specifically: there are winners and losers, and those with and without advantage in rhetorical competitions. Here also, native speakers were put in an especially advantaged position, and non-native speakers were constructed as "sitting in the same boat". In addition, those who do not speak English risk losing out in the organizational game.

4.3.2.3 General and English-specific subject positions evolving from competition repertoire at Maximal

With respect to its general features, subject positions evolving from the competition repertoire and concerning rhetorical competitions were not prominently represented at Maximal. Rather, people who share a language were positioned as (potentially) more united as team. However, skills in the national languages were brought into play with regard to the internal career game. In the following quote, a native-Portuguese speaker portrayed the national language spoken by the majority in Switzerland, German, as an important factor in this respect:

> I need to have a much better or at least a medium knowledge [of German] in order to have a long-term career in [Maximal]. I cannot assume that I work for many years here, because you need to know the language that people [speak] in that company, you need to know the language that people speak in the business. And most of the business is in German, it's not in French, although [Maximal] is here in the French part of Switzerland. (Maximal 10, 81)

As the person emphasized, learning a company-relevant language is worth the effort when climbing the internal ladders: "It's rewarded, you are given projects. If you don't, you get stuck." (Maximal 10, 131). A person from Belgium also emphasized that knowledge of German was relevant for her position in the company. Without explicitly using the term "career", her statement constructs those wanting a job at Maximal as having to speak local languages:

> We are going to have to go more and more (…) visiting clients and selling projects, negotiating something and etcetera (…) and because of the situation here in Switzerland most of the contact people are Swiss German and normally you are supposed to adapt yourself to the language of the client of course. (Maximal 4, 20-22)

With respect to English specifically, the subject positions relating to the rhetorical game theme are definitively mobilized. As shown above, native speakers are put in an advantaged position here also, and non-native speakers in a disadvantaged position.

As in the case of Globalos, this disadvantage was reframed by non-native English speakers, however. In the following example, a native Russian positioned himself and others in his situation as being united by "imperfection" and thus as being comfortable with English:

> Here, English is not the native language for my colleagues either, so I don't see big problems (…) We both speak English as a second or third or fourth language, so (….) I don't feel uncomfortable speaking English. (Maximal 8, 101-103)

Therefore, with regard to rhetorical games, people with "imperfect" English skills construct their situation as acceptable. When it comes to staff who do not speak

English at all, however, the picture looks different. This difference, however, has to be interpreted in light of Maximal's IT standardization project which resulted in a rapid increase in the use of English. In the following statement, the project director positioned those implementing the project at the lowest levels of the company as resisting the new system because "they think they are going to lose":

> I think that for me there is a big resistance in terms of accepting a [IT] system which is in English, because people they really think they are going to lose. You know, the way they use their language, (…) and sure, with their language, they can mean more that only using English. (Maximal 2a, 256)

While the project director positions the staff without English skills as being in a defensive position, it is hard to grasp what "losing" implies in this context. Clearly, more than language itself is suggested; "losing" may entail the fear of losing informal internal status or of having a say in the company.

Thus, at Maximal, a position is brought into play which consists in non-local employees having to learn the local languages as a requirement for their career advancement. The subject positions that emerge from the competition repertoire related to rhetorical games, then, are made relevant mainly with respect to English specifically. Here again, the advantage of the native speakers and the disadvantage of the non-native speakers are foregrounded. Furthermore, people without skills in English are positioned as having difficulties, especially when it comes to employment. In addition, people on the lowest levels of the company who are concerned about the implications of the new IT system are constructed as those who think that they are going to lose something beyond their everyday work language.

4.3.3 Subject positions evolving from control repertoire

4.3.3.1 General subject positions evolving from control repertoire at Globalos

This interpretative repertoire is organized around the central notion of "control" in an interaction. This might include "being at ease" as much trying to influence how one's utterances are received. Accordingly, the fundamental subject positions that evolved from the repertoire are, on one hand, being master or not being master of the situation. As with the military and the competition repertoires, good language proficiency and all it comprises – accuracy, fluency, sophisticated expression – is portrayed as fundamental.

Similar to the two other repertoires, the mobilization of these two control-relevant subject positions depends on situational factors in the context of Globalos. Also here, it is in "hard talk" constellations that people describe themselves as feeling especially uncomfortable when not masters of the language used in the interaction. This quote gives an example:

> Es hängt auch immer von dem Typ der Sitzung ab. Wenn es irgendwo um was geht. (…) Ja, manchmal geht's darum, den Anderen zu überzeugen, dass irgendwas gut ist (…). Da muss man wieder diese sprachliche Gewandtheit haben. (Globalos 11, 193)
>
> *It also always depends on the type of meeting. If something is at stake. (...) Yes, sometimes it's about convincing the other that something is good. (...) Then you need this linguistic dexterity again. (Globalos 11, 193; my translation)*

From the attempt to control one's utterances emerged a position of remaining silent in interactions. The person quoted above presents an example:

> Ich möchte (...) den Satz korrekt rauskriegen. Wenn ich weiss, ich krieg ihn nicht korrekt raus, dann halt ich lieber meinen Mund." (Globalos 11, 109).
>
> *I want to formulate a sentence correctly. If I know I can't formulate it correctly, I prefer to shut my mouth. (Globalos 11, 109; my translation)*

Another element of the control repertoire concerns access to information; here too, language skills have a fundamental role. As shown, people ascribe their access to information to language skills. Therefore, another subject position evolving from the control repertoire consists in having or not having access to information.

4.3.3.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from control repertoire at Globalos

With respect to English specifically, the non-native theme is again an important issue. Non-native speakers described themselves as experiencing limitations when wanting to express themselves. They therefore positioned themselves as less masterful in situations than they would be if the interaction occurred in their native language. The following quote by a native-French speaker gives an example:

> C'est clair que (…) je serais plus fluide, je trouverais peut-être un vocabulaire plus riche en français puisque c'est ma langue que peut-être en anglais. (Globalos 20, 102)
>
> *Of course I would be more fluid, I would maybe find a richer vocabulary in French than maybe in English given that it is my native language. (Globalos 20, 102; my translation)*

Understanding official internal information is an important subject position that emerged from the access to information theme within the control repertoire. People with limited or no English proficiency were frequently positioned as encountering hurdles. The following quote from a Spanish migrant who had long been living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland is a good example. With regard to himself and his subordinates and colleagues, this co-head of the dishwashing facility at the self-service restaurant positioned himself and his co-workers as "handicapped":

> [C]'est clair que nous, on parle pas anglais, donc on est un peu handicappé pour certaines circulaires ou certaines choses. (Globalos 21, 255)
>
> *Of course, we don't speak English, so we are a bit handicapped when it comes to [understanding] certain circulars or other things. (Globalos 21, 255; my translation)*

In the case of the control repertoire, then, the native vs. non-native speaker issue became very relevant with respect to the construction of subject positions. Being or not being master of an English-language interaction was portrayed as depending on whether one is a native speaker or not. Concerning the other element of the control repertoire, people without English skills positioned themselves as missing access to information.

4.3.3.3 General subject positions evolving from control repertoire at Maximal

In the case of Maximal, the positions of being master/not being master of the situation were also mobilized, which is often the case in descriptions of attempts to control the outcome of one's utterances. The following quotation gives an example of adapting to the language proficiency of the interaction partner. The statement suggests that what counts is not sophistication but being understood by one's interlocutor:

> Es nützt ja nichts, wenn ich so super gewählt mich ausdrücke, und ich sehe, der Gesprächspartner hat nur Fragezeichen. (Maximal 13, 150-152)
>
> *There is no point in expressing myself in a super refined manner and the person I am talking to just has quotation marks. (Maximal 13, 150-152)*

In addition, for this company, positions evolved regarding efforts to increase the understanding of people on the company's lower levels. In the following statement, the distribution manager of a subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland described finding a way to talk to blue collar team leaders, introducing a position specific to Maximal which could be labeled "adapting to the lower levels":

> Die Gruppenleiter, also Lagerchef, Chef [Lastwagen-]Chauffeurs, [Chef] Telefonverkauf, Leiter Gruppenebene (...) [sprechen] nicht durchgängig deutsch. Also im Tessin wird italienisch gesprochen, ein bisschen französisch. In der Romandie ist der Gruppenleiter im Verkauf des Deutschen mächtig. Ansonsten sprechen wir französisch und im Wallis zweigeteilt auf Französisch [und Deutsch]. Also mit Französisch kommt man noch relativ weit. Im Tessin, ja, muss man ein bisschen 'radebrechen', ich kann ein paar Brocken auf italienisch, für das meiste reicht es. Also, mit französisch und italienisch gemischt. (Maximal 14, 162)
>
> *The team leaders, so warehouse boss, [truck] drivers' boss, telesales boss, leader on the group level, don't all speak German. So in Ticino [Italian-speaking part], it's Italian, a little bit of French. In Romandy [French-speaking part] the team leader of the sales department masters German. Otherwise, we speak French and in Valais [a bilingual canton in Southern*

Switzerland where in some parts German and in others French is spoken] split in French and German. So with French you can go quite far. In Ticino, okay, you have to speak in a broken way a bit, I speak a few words of Italian, that's sufficient most of the time. So, French and Italian mixed. (Maximal 14, 162; my translation)

This subject position was also mobilized with regard to direct communication with blue collar employees. In the following example, an IT supporter described how he communicates with the warehouse staff. While these employees' team leaders seem to be Swiss, the staff themselves appear to be migrants working in Switzerland:

> Es gibt auch [IT-]Applikationen, die [ans generelle IT-System] angebunden sind. Darum gibt es auch dort verschiedene sprachliche Kontakte, weil in den Warehouses arbeiten sehr viele Ausländer, und da muss man dort auch ein bisschen probieren die richtige Sprache zu finden. [Das heisst], ich schaue wie [die Person] heisst und dann frage ich sie halt, ob sie spanisch, italienisch oder deutsch spricht. (Maximal 12, 73-76)

> *There are also IT applications that are connected to the general IT system. That's why there are many different contacts on the language level there, because in the warehouses, there are many foreigners working, and then you have to try a little bit to find the right language. So I look at the person's name and ask whether he or she speaks Spanish, Italian or German. (Maximal 12, 73-76; my translation)*

In sum, the "being master/not being master of the situation" position, which evolved from the control repertoire, was mobilized at Maximal also. Furthermore, specific to this company, employees in contact with blue collar staff in other linguistic parts of Switzerland positioned themselves as adapting to these employees by trying to speak their native language. The access to information theme was not relevant to any subject positions at Maximal. One might argue that this is implied: If the employees did not adapt to their interlocutors, as in the examples quoted above, they would be unable to access information.

4.3.3.4 English-specific subject positions evolving from control repertoire at Maximal

Being or not being master of the situation represented an important subject position related to English which evolved from the control repertoire. This subject position became relevant both in arguing for the use of English and in arguing against it. Some people described themselves as more comfortable when able to communicate in English, and others as less comfortable. The following statement from a Brazilian involved in the IT standardization project gives an example of the first case:

> I have no problem to say… you know some people send me a copy, mail messages in German, I send back, say "translation, don't understand". (Maximal 10, 83)

The position was also mobilized by attempts to control how a message is understood, especially with respect to written, that is, e-mail communication. An IT supporter described his reasons for formulating e-mails in English:

> Mailverkehr (…) ist halt projektbezogen, (…) da sind immer mehrere darin beteiligt. Wir haben dann gleichzeitig im CC [im outgesourcten Bereich tätige] Inder oder Spezialisten im Hauptsitz (…) [Dann] ist das schon Englisch, und zwar eher knapp gehaltenes Englisch und nicht ausgeblümelt, weil es muss ja jeder verstehen. (Maximal 12, 39)
>
> *Communication via e-mail is project related, there are always several people involved. So we have Indians [active in the outsourced part] or specialists from the headquarters in the cc. Then it's English, and a rather short and not flowery English, because everyone has to understand. (Maximal 12, 39; my translation)*

In some cases, these attempts to guarantee that a message was understood correctly combined with the position of "adapting to the lower levels" which emerged with regard to English specifically. In the following example, one of the responsibles for the IT standardization clearly distinguished between communicating with people on the same level – that is, with other middle managers – and communicating with people on lower levels when using English. In so doing, he positioned himself simultaneously as master of the situation and adapting to lower levels:

> Quand (…) j'ai un e-mail à envoyer à un directeur operation management, directeur supply chain etc. – là je sais très bien que tous les directeurs sont très à l'aise en anglais – je l'envoie en anglais. Mais dès que je commence à vouloir faire passer des messages à des personnes j'dirais – sans dégrader le boulot – (…) qui sont plus operationnelles où le critère de langue, le critère de l'anglais est peut-être moins fort dans la sélection du candidat, ben là, instinctivement, je passe directement au français/allemand, pour être sûr que mon message est bien compris. (Maximal 7, 128)
>
> *When I have to send an e-mail to a operation management director, a supply chain director etc. – I know very well that all the directors are very much at ease in English – I send the message in English. But as soon as I start to want to get messages across to people who – without degrading their job – work more on the operational level on which the language criterion, the English criterion is maybe less relevant in the selection of the candidate, I instinctively directly switch to German/French, to be sure my message is well understood. (Maximal 7, 128; my translation)*

At Maximal, furthermore, and in the case of English specifically, the access to information issue came up explicitly. The following statement, from the director of customer service in the subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, explicitly references consequences of the IT standardardization and the increasing use of English for employees who do not master English:

> [D]as ist eigentlich ein negativer Effekt, dass Leute Informationen kriegen, die nicht in der Sprache sind, die sie eigentlich gut beherrschen. (Maximal 13, 138)
>
> *It's actually a negative effect that people get information that is not formulated in the language they master well. (Maximal 13, 138; my translation)*

In sum, being or not being master of the situation is a subject position that evolved from the control repertoire which was often mobilized with specific regard to English and is based on the issue of comfortableness that is part of arguing for and against the use of the global lingua franca. Another important aspect concerns written communication via e-mail. In this context, the justification for using English is that everyone will understand one's message. At the same time, the position of "adapting to lower levels" is mobilized when attempting to control people with limited English proficiency "get the message". In addition, people who do not speak English well or at all are constructed as lacking access to information due to the IT standardization which increased English usage significantly.

4.3.4 Subject positions evolving from equality repertoire

4.3.4.1 General subject positions evolving from equality repertoire at Globalos

The equality repertoire is organized around the central metaphor of "equilibrium". Its central theme is fairness in interactions between people with different linguistic backgrounds. A number of subject positions evolved from this issue, some of which reference the individual while others reference to the organization. With respect to individuals, a recurrent debate at Globalos evolved around the question of whether employees who did not speak French, the local language, should learn it. In many accounts, they were positioned as having a certain moral "obligation" to make such an effort. The following example, articulated by a native-French local assistant who uses the strong term "shocking" to describe people who do not learn French, illustrates this clearly:

> Je trouve choquant que quelqu'un vienne ici (…) et qu'au but de trois ans ou deux ans est pas capable de (…) de dire quelque chose, d'aller au magasin, (…) d'aller au restaurant, de commander quelque chose. (Globalos 2, 130)
>
> *I find it shocking that someone comes here, and that after three years or two years, he/she is not capable of saying something, to go to a shop, to go to the restaurant, to order something. (Globalos 2, 130; my translation)*

The same interviewee continued to relate how non-speakers of the local language sometimes relied on her services when they could not maneuver without French in their everyday private life. She thus implicitly positioned the non-French speakers as able to refrain from learning the language only because they could rely on intermediaries like her:

> Moi j'ai souvent eu à faire à des expatriés qui allaient au garage et puis qui étaient incapables de communiquer avec le garagiste. Alors le garagiste il m'appellait moi. (…) [E]t puis même souvent moi je parlais avec le garagiste et puis je réglais le problème de la personne. (Globalos 2, 144-146)
>
> *I often had to do with expatriates who went to the garage and who were incapable of communicating with the garage owner. Then, the garage owner called me. And often it was me who talked to the garage owner and solved the person's problem. (Globalos 2, 144-146; my translation)*

Viewed from the other side, a person from Venezuela emphasized the appreciation of locals when people from "outside" learn "their" language. She described experiencing this in Brazil, where she worked formerly,and then in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. Her statement positions non-locals as preferably making and herself as making such efforts:

> La población local (...) se sienten agradados o les gusta cuando un extranjero está aprendiendo su lengua. (...) Aquí cuando por casualidad alguien que es de Suiza francesa, y yo le digo no sé, „Tengo que terminar la reunión puntual porque tengo clase de francés", les agrada. (Globalos 13, 445)
>
> *The local population appreciates or likes it when a stranger learns its language. Here when by coincidence someone is from the French-speaking part of Switzerland, and I say to him/her, I don't know, „I have to finish the meeting in time because I have French class", they like that. (Globalos 13, 445; my translation)*

In the next statement, a native-French speaker from Canada positions herself, with a hypothetical example, as someone who would not be afraid of efforts to adapt to the locals' language:

> Si j'déménageais au Japon demain, eh bien, je prendrais des cours de japonais. Ça me serait extrêment penible (rires), j'aurais énormément de difficultés, mais je ferais ce geste. (Globalos 9, 314)
>
> *If I moved to Japan tomorrow, well, I would take classes of Japanese. It would be extremely hard for me (laughters), I would have enormous difficulties, but I would make this gesture. (Globalos 9, 314; my translation)*

The following example even brings into play a famous U.S. president to emphasize the importance of the position that non-speakers should learn the local language:

> Es gibt doch das berühmte Zitat von Kennedy, als er [1963] in Berlin war: „Ich bin ein Berliner". Warum macht er das? Warum hat er das gemacht? Doch auch nur, um denen irgendwie zu zeigen „Ich sprech Eure Sprache" oder „Ich geb mir Mühe" oder „Ich möchte von Euch verstanden werden", das ist irgendwo auch so ein Zeichen dann. (Globalos 11, 79)

> *There's this famous quote by Kennedy when he was in Berlin [in 1963]: „Ich bin ein Berliner". Why does he do that? Why did he do this? Only because he wanted to show them somehow „I speak your language" or „I make an effort" or „I would like to be understood by you", that's somehow a sign then. (Globalos 11, 79; my translation)*

Another position evolving from the repertoire suggests that each side should "go part of the way". This could consist of both parties involved in the interaction talking to each other in a language which is not their native language, or even choosing non-verbal forms of interacting.

On the organizational level, a very different subject position evolved from the equality repertoire which related to service department employees who positioned themselves as lacking the opportunity to learn languages because of their organizational function. The following statement by the administrative director of the cleaning services is an illustration. Notably, other Globalos employees, who were sent abroad by the company for work, are constructed as being in a privileged position:

> Si on avait la possibilité – malheureusement on ne l'a pas – si on avait la possibilité d'aller à l'étranger nous aussi pour la société et puis d'apprendre des langues, j'pense qu'on le ferait. Mais on est pas des services qui pouvons le faire. On (…) va pas m'envoyer moi à l'étranger pour gérer un budget de l'entretien d'un bâtiment ou savoir comment on va démonter une porte ou transformer un plan dans les sites. (…) On va pas envoyer en principe un cuisinier ou un casserollier pour aller voir comment on fait à manger dans un autre pays. (Globalos 12, 288)

> *If we had the opportunity – unfortunately, we don't have it – if we had the opportunity, too, to go abroad for the company and learn languages, I think we would do it. But it's not we from the service departments who can do that. They won't send me abroad to manage the budget of a building's maintenance or to know how to disassemble a door or transform a plan in the sites. They won't basically send a cook or a person who does the dishwashing to see how they prepare food in another country. (Globalos 12, 288; my translation)*

Therefore, three different basic positions evolving from the equality repertoire are mobilized in the case of Globalos. One on the individual level concerns people who do not speak French: these employees were constructed as having a certain moral "obligation" to learn the local language. Another suggests that each side should "go part of the way" to make communication possible. On the organizational level, the staff in the service departments positioned itself as lacking opportunities to learn language due to their organizational function, and positioned employees who are sent abroad as privileged.

4.3.4.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from equality repertoire at Globalos

With regard to English, the same two basic positions emerged from the equality repertoire at Globalos: "non-speakers of the local language should learn it", and "the service departments' staff lacks parity of opportunities". Furthermore, an additional position references English speakers' greater ability to choose the language of an interaction. The first subject position here specifically concerns native English speakers' lack of efforts to learn French. A number of positions that non-native English speakers put on native speakers related to it. The first appears in the countless statements which emphasized that the English speakers could learn French, but apparently "do not feel like it" (« ils ont pas envie »; Globalos 14, 292-294). According to this statement from a native-French speaker, there is a clear indication that Anglophones lack interest:

> Ils auraient le temps s'ils voulaient de trouver une heure par semaine pour faire un cours [de français] (…). Mais (…) ça les intéresse pas. (Globalos 6, 88)
>
> *They would have the time if they wanted to find an hour per week to do a French course. But they're not interested in that. (Globalos 6, 88; my translation)*

The second position appears in statements which emphasized that "English is established as the international language" („el inglés está establecido como idioma internacional"; Globalos 13, 279). As a consequence, native English speakers "simply assume everyone has to speak English" ("die setzen einfach voraus, dass jetzt alle Englisch müssen können"; Globalos 19, 396). The following quote from a native-Turkish speaker brings the arguments together:

> By the majority of people it's been accepted that [English] is the number one language in the world. (…) [S]o can you imagine I mean the feeling that [people from Britain] have? (...) "[I]t's my language, and it's spoken everywhere, all over the world. So it's the language of the world". (Globalos 8, 145-147)

Therefore, native-English speakers, here from Britain, are in the position of thinking that they speak the foremost language of the world and need not bother learning other languages. Third, a lack of need argument emerged which constructed Anglophones as "taking the easiest path":

> En général, (…) l'anglais est tellement facile, il y a quand-même beaucoup d'Anglophones, donc pourquoi est-ce qu'ils devraient apprendre la langue. (Globalos 6, 88)
>
> *Generally, English is so easy, there are so many Anglophones after all, so why should they learn the language. (Globalos 6, 88; my translation)*

A person from India who grew up with English positioned herself similarly when explaining why she always opts for English, even when having lunch or a cup of coffee with a French speaker. Not only in formal meetings, but during her "relaxation time" too, she did not feel like "having to struggle to say something" (Globalos 1; 123), she said. Fourth, Anglophones are constructed as having more choices than others when it comes to whether or not they want to learn the local language:

> Eux, en venant ici, ils ont le choix. Et le choix fait que maintenant l'anglais ils peuvent se débrouiller avec, beaucoup de gens parlent l'anglais. S'ils avaient pas le choix, j'pense qu'ils feraient l'effort et ils apprendraient le français, puis terminé. (Globalos 2, 232)
>
> *They, when they come here, they have the choice. And the choice makes that they now get by with English, many people speak English. If they didn't have the choice, I think they would make the effort and learn French, and that's it. (Globalos 2, 232; my translation)*

These four positions could be summarized as comprising a position of created self-privilege which is unique to Anglophones. An Australian expatriate presented the opposing position. As this interviewee suggested, it is the duty of the English-speaking native to make communication possible:

> I'm in [another person's] country. (…) If you are the person in that country, you need to be able to understand, you have to make the concession rather than the person. (Globalos 3, 218)

Next to the "Anglophone privilege" and the "need to make a concession" position, the position that the English speakers have more possibilities than others in choosing the language of an interaction also emerged from the equality repertoire. This quote from a native-Spanish speaker working for the Globalos company is an example, focusing on native-English speakers in particular:

> Puede haber una reunion con 25 personas y todas hablan español y una no, entonces la reunión es en inglés. Porqué una cosa que sucede – y no es [Globalos], que noto mundialmente – es que las personas de hable inglesa, de origen hable inglesa, no hacen el esfuerzo en general de aprender otras lenguas. (Globalos 13, 279)
>
> *There can be a meeting with 25 people and all speak Spanish and one not, then the meeting is in English. Because what happens – and that's not Globalos, it's something I notice worldwide – is that people who speak English, native English speakers, in general don't make the effort to learn other languages. (Globalos 13, 279; my translation)*

Complementing these positions of privilege, a position of Anglophone guilt also emerged. This quotation from the person from India who grew up with English is representative:

> I've been in some meeting where, you know, everybody was speaking French. (…) [And] when I wanted to say something, I said it in English, and after that either they switched back to English or answered me in English and went back to French. Every time I came to a point where it doesn't work for me anymore. (...) I feel guilty sometimes: Just because of me, all of them have to do it in English. (Globalos 1, 257)

Furthermore, with regard to English specifically, the position evolved from the equality repertoire that "those at lower levels have fewer opportunities". In the following example, the Spanish co-head of the dishwashing facility commented on the change, mentioned already, of language from French to English at the welcome day:

> Je trouve dommage parce qu'on a toujours dit qu'on avait les mêmes droits que tout le monde, que tous les autres employés Globalos. (Globalos 21, 187)
>
> *I think it's a pity because we were always told that we have the same rights as everyone, as all the other employees from Globalos. (Globalos 21, 187; my translation)*

By drawing on the "same rights" argument, the employee positions himself and his co-workers who do not speak English as no longer being on equal terms with other Globalos employees. The speaker (who has been working for the company for many years) explicitly compared the present with earlier times, saying in the past tense that "we *were* always told we had the same rights as everyone". Implicitly, then, Globalos employees who speak English are positioned as privileged because of their language skills.

In sum, two very different privilege-related subject positions were mobilized at Globalos with specific regard to English. The first concerned the self-created Anglophone privilege to not learn the local language based on the positions of "lacking interest", "just assuming they speak the foremost language of the world", "taking the easy path" and "having the choice not to adapt". A complementary position of guilt emerged for Anglophones. A second position concerned employees who do not speak English who put themselves in a de-privileged position in relation to an English speaker.

4.3.4.3 General and English-specific subject positions evolving from equality repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, with respect to the positions that evolved from the repertoire in general, the position that non-speakers of the local language should learn it was mobilized frequently. Many interviewees emphasized that learning local languages is a question of willingness, and that the goal can be achieved if the interest is there. Upper management was not excluded from these arguments, as the following statement by a local native-French speaker shows:

> C'est clair que si les leaders sont d'une langue que [d'autres employés], ils maîtrisent pas, ça, ça peut (…) être un problème. Mais on peut faire un effort, j'veux dire on peut faire un effort personnel et puis on peut prendre des cours. (Maximal 1, 125)
>
> *Of course, if the leaders are native speakers of a language that other employees don't master, it can be a problem. But one can make an effort, I think one can do a personal effort and take [language] courses. (Maximal 1, 125; my translation)*

People who themselves study new languages invoked the argument that learning the majority language is simply a matter of individual willingness. In this example a French-native speaker who had worked in different countries emphasized that he always tried to adapt to the local language, despite difficulties. By doing so, he contructed himself as interested in local languages and as not letting himself be discouraged by obstacles:

> Au début – je l'ai vécu dans toutes les langues que j'ai apprises – (…) j'avais énormément de mal à créer mes phrases, à trouver mes mots (…) Mais je faisais toujours l'effort d'essayer. J'ai jamais eu la peur de me dire « Maintenant je suis trop mauvais, je vais pas parler parce que les gens vont dire 'Il est trop mauvais' ». J'ai jamais eu cette appréhension-là. Et je sais que (…) quand je parle anglais ou espagnol, j'ai un affreux accent français (…) Mais j'ai pas peur de me lancer. (Maximal 9, 148)
>
> *At the beginning – I experienced that in all languages l learnt – I encountered enormous difficulties to build my sentences, to find my words. But I always made the effort to try. I was never afraid and thus never told myself "Now, my skills are too poor, I won't talk because people will say 'He's too weak' ". I never had that fear. And I know that when I talk in English or Spanish, I have an awful French accent. But I'm not afraid to take the plunge. (Maximal 9, 148; my translation)*

Although this example does not refer explicitly to native-English speakers, it would certainly be applicable to them. However, contrary to Globalos, the question of whether Anglophones should adapt to the local language was not highly debated at Maximal. Instead, very skilled English speakers at Maximal were positioned as having more liberty than others to choose the language of an interaction. The following quote from an Italian Human Resources employee gives an illustration:

> [S]ouvent, ce qui se passe c'est qu'autour d'une table, vous pourrez avoir quelqu'un qui sera plus à l'aise en allemand, quelqu'un en français et l'autre en anglais. Donc de toute façon, [le meeting] sera en anglais. (Maximal 11, 137)
>
> *Often, what happens is that around a table you might have someone who is feeling more at ease in German, someone who is feeling more at ease in French and someone who is feeling more at ease in English. Then in any*

case, [the meeting] will be held in English. (Maximal 11, 137; my translation)

Furthermore, a new position evolved at Maximal which is similar to one that had already emerged from the control repertoire: adapting to lower level employees. In the following example, the director of the IT standardization project explained how he approaches employees in the German-speaking part of Switzerland whose language he does not speak:

> When I go to visit the factories, and I go often to visit the factories when I am in the Swiss German part of Switzerland, I speak English and people they answer in English. And you know (...) saying (...) "you should speak English to talk to me" (...) is often not a good way of starting a communication. If you come and you say "I'm sorry I don't speak your language, but I do every effort to understand what you mean and please try", it's completely different and people they try and you understand. (Maximal 2a, 330)

Here, all people involved are constructed as making an effort: the superior who does not speak German, and the staff who do not speak English. At the same time, the interviewee positioned himself as the one who suggests this form of communication, and thus as the one who had the opportunity to shape the interaction. However, another position suggests compromise-building rather than thoughtfulness in interaction with non-English speakers. An IT superuser who was responsible for internal communication proposed this:

> Je trouve que (…) on doit (…) pousser [les employés des centres de distribution] un peu en direction d'une langue commune. C'est quand-même très pratique de tout faire dans la même langue. Mais ne pas forcer, [plutôt] inciter, [créer] des petites motivations, [dire] «voilà, l'écran est en anglais, je vous explique en français ce qui est marqué à l'écran, mais l'écran est en anglais ». Qu'il y ait toujours un peu ce compromis. (Maximal 5, 103)

> *I think that we should push the employees of the distribution centers towards a common language a bit. It's very convenient to do everything in the same language after all. But not force them, rather encourage, create little motivations, say "look, the screen is in English, I explain in French what is written on the screen, but the screen is in English". So that you always have this compromise a little bit. (Maximal 5, 103; my translation)*

In sum, the position that non-speakers of the local language should adapt to it was mobilized at Maximal also; however, the debate was much less heated than at Globalos. At Globalos, especially with regard to English, Anglophones' privileged position was frequently put forward. At Maximal, the privilege argument is brought into play when it comes to language choice in interactions, however. The "adapting to the lower level" position emerged at Maximal, including a thoughtful approach to non-English speakers. At the same time, another position suggested compromise-

building instead of thoughtfulness, implying that non-English speakers should be nudged towards learning the language "on the job".

4.3.5 Subject positions evolving from participation repertoire

4.3.5.1 General subject positions evolving from participation repertoire at Globalos

The participation repertoire, in general, was organized around several similar or complementary metaphors and core terms. Not to master a language was presented as a "barrier" to communication; speaking a language thus means "participating" or even "integrating oneself". One important sub-position evolved from the repertoire concerning facilitating participation: adopting one common language. The following statement brings this position into play:

> Il y a 150 langues [chez Globalos] et (…) il faut bien en avoir une qui met tout le monde d'accord. (Globalos 6, 134)
>
> We have 150 languages at Globalos and we simply need one that everybody can agree upon. (Globalos 6, 134; my translation)

Another, similar statement emphasized that the choice of the specific language is of secondary importance to having a common language, as the chef of the directors' canteen at Globalos, a native-French speaker, argued. It would not even have to be French which, in case of the service departments, served as lingua franca:

> [C]'est mieux d'avoir ou le français ou (…) [une autre] même langue. A la rigeur on dirait c'est l'italien, mais il faudrait que ça soit tout de l'italien. (Globalos 15, 220)
>
> *It's better to have or French or (...) [another] same language. We could possibly say it's Italian, but it would have to be all Italian. (Globalos 15, 220; my translation)*

Another sub-position within the "facilitating participation" position was on a more individual level. In the following example, automatic language switches, that occur when people joining a conversation do not understand the language in use, were presented as a means of facilitating participation:

> Die [bei uns im Team], die französischsprachig sind in dem Sinn, die reden Französisch miteinander. Aber sobald eine Person dazukommt, die eben nicht Französisch redet, (...) dann ist es gar nicht die Frage, sondern es wird automatisch gewechselt. (Globalos 10, 137)
>
> *Those in our team who are French speakers talk to each other in French. But as soon as a person joins [the conversation] who doesn't speak French, then it is no question, [the language] is automatically changed. (Globalos 10, 137; my translation)*

Another position emerging from the participation repertoire concerns integration. In the following example, a team leader is portrayed as learning Spanish in order to be part of his team, and is thus positioned as making an effort to integrate into the group:

> My boss [who is the only one in the meeting of ten people who doesn't speak Spanish, so everyone speaks English because of him] (…) is now taking class of Spanish, because he knows the team. (…) So he is trying to give an example of "I'm trying to learn, be part of the team, because I arrived here". (…) [T]he message that he is giving to us, it's good. He is trying to adapt himself (...) not to the French, but to the group of work at least. (Globalos 16, 171)

The integration position was also mobilized on a more societal level. Here, a Spanish migrant who had been living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland for many years, commented on other Spanish migrants he met who did not learn French:

> Quand je suis arrivé ici, j'avais connu des (…) [Espagnols. Cela faisait] 30 ans qu'ils étaient là et puis pff… ils parlaient presque pas français parce qu'ils allaient tout le temps dans des centres espagnols, tous les week-ends, tous les soirs. Puis je me suis dit « Bon, soit on est là, soit on est pas là ». (Globalos 21, 359)
>
> *When I arrived here, I met Spanish people. They had been living here for 30 years and pffff... they almost didn't speak French because they went to Spanish centers all the time, every week-end, every evening. And then I said: "Well, or you're here, or you're not here". (Globalos 21, 359; my translation)*

Thus, the Spanish concluded, once he had decided to stay in Switzerland, he said to himself: "I'm here, I have to learn French." (« Je suis là, il faut que j'apprenne. »; Globalos 21, 305). Thus, he constructed himself as willing to integrate, while the others, who were positioned as being unwilling to integrate, were described in other statements as facing the risk of "always remaining among strangers" ("toujours rester entre étrangers"; Globalos 12, 236).

Furthermore, on the lower levels of the company, a position which could be described as "non-locals have to adapt to the local language" was mobilized. Combined with the position above, these comprise the argument that there is a need for a working language that all can agree upon. The following example concerns the employees' self-service restaurant and was articulated by the co-head of the dishwashing facility:

> Il y a toutes nationalités. Il y a des Portugais, il y a des Tunisiennes, il y a une dame marocaine (rires), il y a un collègue du Zaïre, il y a... Mais la langue que nous parlons là-bas dedans, même s'il y a deux personnes de la même nationalité – c'est clair, il y a peut-être quelque mots qu'entre eux qu'ils [disent en leur langue] – mais autrement, c'est la langue d'ici (…). Donc on parle le français. (Globalos 21, 87)

We have all nationalities. We have Portuguese, women from Tunisia, a lady from Morocco (laughters), there is a colleague from Zaire, there is… But the language we speak in there, even if there are two persons of the same nationality – of course, there are maybe some words among themselves they say in their languages – but otherwise, it's the language from here. So we speak French. (Globalos 21, 87; my translation)

"It is from here" seems to be the crucial argument for justifying the choice of the local language as a "common platform" on the company's shop floor. Or, as it appeared in another statement: "I think we talk in French because we are here, we are in Romandy." (Globalos 28, 251-253; my translation) (« Je pense qu'on parle français parce qu'on est ici, on est en Suisse Romande. » (Globalos 28, 251-253). This statement from a local cafeteria employee illustrates the assumption that migrants at Globalos have to speak French:

En principe les étrangères qui sont là, elles, elles causent français. (Globalos 7, 205-206)

Basically, the foreigners [here: women] who are here, they speak French. (Globalos 7, 205-206 ; my translation)

Adding the participation argument to this request to adapt, this interviewee also described situations in which she explicitly asked her colleagues to switch to the local language, French. She cited an example in which she joined a group of three Portuguese colleagues during their coffee break. As they were talking to each other in Portuguese, the cafeteria employee said to them, she reports: "Okay, now you talk in French." (« Bon maintenant, vous causez en français. »; Globalos 7, 219-222)

In sum, three different subject positions emerged from the participation repertoire. One concerned facilitating participation. Adopting a common language as a "common platform" on the organizational level is one variant, while the other consists in facilitating participation on an individual level by switching languages in conversations in order to guarantee that all understand. Integration, as an individual effort for the team or on the societal level, is another position evolving from the participation repertoire. On the lower levels of the company, a position described as "non-locals have to adapt to the local language" emerged. It combined with the position outlined above arguing that there is a need for a working language all can agree upon, and drawed upon the "French because we are in the French-speaking part of Switzerland" argument.

4.3.5.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from participation repertoire at Globalos

As shown earlier, adopting English as a "common platform", a "least common denominator" or a "common factor" on the organizational level is a position that was mobilized at Globalos prominently. Also the individual-level language switch in order to facilitate participation appeared often. The following quote is an example:

> [D]ans notre équipe on a… bon, moi je suis italien, mais je parle le français, les autres, c'est soit des français, soit des suisses, il y a quand-même une fille qui est Bulgare qui maîtrise pas le français. Donc forcément, tout ce qui est communication au niveau de l'équipe, ben ça se fait en anglais, quoi, donc ça, c'est quand-même une forme de politesse, on va pas mettre… on va pas justement empêcher la fille de comprendre ce qu'on est en train de se dire là. (Globalos 5, 23)
>
> *In our group we have… well, I'm Italian, but I speak French, the others are French or Swiss, but we have a girl who is Bulgarian and who doesn't speak French. So of course, when it comes to communicating within our team, we do it in English. It's a form of politeness. We won't prevent the girl from understanding what we are saying to each other. (Globalos 5, 23; my translation)*

At the same time, those lacking skills described themselves as "being blocked with the language" (« être bloqué avec la langue »; Globalos 12, 74). Based on these experiences, the administrative director of the cleaning services said the following:

> Ce que je relève surtout c'est dans des sociétés comme chez nous, c'est de pas oublier, ouais, la partie française. Et puis ce que je disais à un moment, c'est ces histoires que les sites deviennent de plus en plus en anglais. Et ça, ça reste des fois quelque chose qui est quand-même un peu embêtant, quoi. (Globalos 12, 288)
>
> *What I especially emphasize is that in companies like ours, the French part should not be forgotten. And what I said a while ago, this stuff about the internet sites that are more and more in English. And that, that's something which is sometimes a bit annoying. (Globalos 12, 288; my translation)*

In this statement, the organization (implicitly the management) is positioned as increasingly forgetting the "French part" of the company, probably the service department employees. There, as shown, French serves as the "common platform". This process is not portrayed as voluntary exclusion, but as de facto neglect, as use of the verb "to forget" indicates. Furthermore, by introducing the term "part", the quote suggests a clear separation between employees who speak English and those who do not – or, put another way, between those departments where French is used and the others.

Thus, two opposite positions evolved from the participation repertoire with regard to English. One proposed adopting English as the "common platform" in the organization or in conversations in order to facilitate participation. The other emphasized that the staff who do not speak English are separated from the other employees and increasingly forgotten by the company management.

4.3.5.3 General subject positions evolving from participation repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, integration was one position, frequently mobilized, that evolved from the participation repertoire. In order to be or become a member of a speaking community, people described the language skills of their group of choice as crucial, and their effort to learn that language as fundamental. A French native who was often confronted with German speakers in the professional context and who did not speak German said:

> Je vais aussi faire l'effort d'apprendre [l'allemand] parce que (…) je pense que c'est quelque chose d'important de (…) être capable de comprendre ce qui est écrit ou pouvoir lire ce qui est écrit. (…) Pour moi, c'est un moyen d'assimilation à l'endroit où on est. (Maximal 9, 116-118)
>
> *I will also make the effort to learn German because I think it's something important to be able to understand what's written or be able to read what is written. In my view, that's a way of assimilating to the place where one lives. (Maximal 9, 116-118; my translation)*

This French-native speaker positioned himself as willing to integrate, or even assimilate, as he formulated it. In an opposite example, a native-Russian speaker explicitly positioned himself as unwilling to take on German or French, the two most important national languages of Switzerland, and also at Maximal. The employee justified his decision as follows:

> I'm not planning to stay the whole life in French or German speaking country, that's why I don't really believe that's [learning the local languages] something which is really necessary. (Maximal 8, 69)

One might argue that the integration position is also mobilized here, however. By stating that he does not intend to live in a French or German speaking country for a long time, he confirmed the argument that learning the local language is necessary for long-term integration. Getting through without learning the local language is possible, however, as the Russian-native speaker suggested by recalling the following anecdote:

> I was going to mention one case when I was stopped without knowing French. (…) So once I wanted to have my hair done, any nobody spoke any English (…). [But then] We found some client (laughter) who spoke English. And he, she translated what I wanted (laughter). (Maximal 8, 326-328)

Learning the local language was presented as only one way to achieve integration at Maximal, however. People might also become a member of a speaking community which is not based on the traditional notion of language, one interviewee suggested. Instead of a territorially oriented understanding, a Portuguese native speaker from Brazil presented languages as evolving permanently and only temporarily as the stabile outcome of social processes:

> I think there is a point of no return for companies like we do or for our society. If you live in Switzerland you have so many immigrants (…) So what types of jargons or slangs or jokes (…) people [are used to]. I have some cousins that live in Frankfurt. And my cousin he talks Russian with his colleagues, because all these Russians are there. (…) Of course you gonna have some Russian words (…) some popular guys use and then everybody starts to use and then you have this mix of languages floating in the air. (Maximal 10, 133)

Such a language, created cooperatively and perpetually transformed, has, according to the interviewee, nothing to do with a "pure language" of which some might be the "guardians" (Maximal 10, 145). In another quote, this person showed some sympathy for such reactions: "People might get threatened and [say] 'okay, you should preserve my language'" (Maximal 10, 145). But people with such a preservationist orientation have to face the consequences of what they attempt to do, the argument continued:

> If they say, (…) "I will only speak and communicate in this limited set of languages", then the persons basically have a limited communication with the surroundings because people talk differently and then that person becomes the outlayer, becomes the person different than the society. (Maximal 10, 133)

Thus, in this statement, "guardians of the pure languages" were positioned as "outlayers" facing the risk of marginalization. This is also emphasized in the following quote from the same person:

> People age, new people come, generations change, people grow up (…). It's not gonna be the language of their grandfather that lives in the mountain. (…) It's (…) gonna be what the mainstream speaks. And the mainstream is this multicultural people that grew up with multilanguage and they have friends from different backgrounds and they will use the language that they've learnt. (Maximal 10, 145)

The integration position was thus mobilized, also drawing upon another understanding of language. While the goal is still being part of a linguistic group, language skills are depicted as less important than in conventional views of participation. Previously, proficiency in "existing" fixed local languages has been touted as fundamental to the integration position. This last example, however, defines language, at least as it appears currently, as a mix. Thus, following this argument, only those who co-create and use the "multilanguage" belong to the mainstream in society.

In sum, the integration position evolving from the participation repertoire was mobilized primarily at Maximal generally. In addition to the conventional variant, that is, learning the local language, a variant emphasized adapting to the linguistic majority which is here defined, not as speaking the local language but as adopting a multilanguage co-created by its speakers, who comprise the societal mainstream.

4.3.5.4 English-specific subject positions evolving from participation repertoire at Maximal

Also at Maximal, the position of facilitating adaptation by switching to English came into play. The Portuguese native-speaker from Brazil quoted above explained the reasons for opting for the "common platform" of English in the professional context:

> By coincidence there is a guy from [one of our subsidiaries in the German speaking part of Switzerland] (…) who is Portuguese. And then of course, we joke around and sometimes say some things in Portuguese. But we work in English. We communicate in English (…), because there is an Italian girl who works in the team, so we go in English. (Maximal 10, 99-101)

Then, a position emerged which is related to the understanding of English as a "working tool", related to the "common platform" position. Here, the culture argument was invoked also. As one interviewee, a French and English bilingual native-speaker, expressed it:

> Je crois qu'il y a un mythe aujourd'hui : C'est qu'on peut séparer la langue anglaise de son origine (…) Je crois qu'on perd quelque chose en pensant que on peut avoir une langue qui se balade au milieu indépendemment des cultures. Donc (…) pour moi, une langue exprime une culture, c'est une espèce de carte de visite d'une culture. (Maximal 5, 121)
>
> *I think there is a myth today: That one can separate the English language from its origin. I think we lose something by thinking that we can have a language that drifts along in the middle independently from the cultures. So for me, a language expresses a culture, it's a kind of calling card of a culture. (Maximal 5, 121; my translation)*

By expressing criticism towards using English as a "tool", the interviewee positioned himself as being aware of the cultural dimensions of language. This position is also mobilized in the following quote which explicitly addresses the tension between viewing language as culture and using language as a "common platform":

> J'aime beaucoup la littérature française, je lis pas mal, j'écris plutôt bien on me dit (…). Donc j'attache de l'importance à la langue, et puis notamment à la langue française (…) Et je me rends compte que tout le monde parle dans un [Anglais standardisé] qui est pas de l'anglais non plus, qui ressemble à de l'anglais mais qui est extrèmement simplifié. Et voilà. Donc ça m'agace de voir que moi-même, j'adopte ce vocabulaire dans ma relation quotidienne avec mes collègues. En même temps, je le comprends et je le défends presque. (Maximal 6, 41)
>
> *I love French literature a lot, I read quite a lot, people say I write rather well. So language is important for me, and especially the French language. And I realize that everyone talks in a standardized English which is not English either, that resembles English but an English that is extremely*

simplified. Okay. So it annoys me to see that I adopt this vocabulary myself in my everyday relations with my colleagues. And at the same time, I understand it and I almost defend it. (Maximal 6, 41; my translation)

Others did not describe such a tension. As the following quote suggests, the positions of "using a language as a tool" and "viewing language as culture" might coexist. The quote refers to the heated discussions on the increasing use of English in French-speaking countries:

> [People] interact with the [IT] system in English. Yeah, I think we shouldn't be afraid of that. (…) I know that in France, for example, there was a big thing about you know "We lose our roots and our identity". I don't think so. I don't think so. (Maximal 2b, 140)

On an organizational level, a very different position emerged concerning people who do not speak English. Blue collar workers might encounter barriers due to the increasing use of English, the local employee in charge of the IT standardization in the German-speaking subsidiary suggested:

> Das ist festgelegt worden [in] diesem [globalen IT-Standardisierungs-] Projekt, dass alles auf Englisch abläuft, auch die Dokumentationen (…). [Aber] da kann lange nicht jeder Englisch in den Fabriken oder Lagerhallen. (Maximal 12, 190-194)

It was defined in this [global IT standardization] project that everything is in English, also the documents. But by far not everyone in the factories or in the warehouses speaks English. (Maximal 12, 190-194; my translation)

How concrete such barriers might appear was conveyed in this quote from the customer service director of the subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. His statement describes the situation of a person sitting at the computer and confronting limited choices:

> Am Bildschirm, dann ist die Sprache wählbar. Ich kann deutsch, französisch, italienisch oder englisch als meine Sprache am Bildschirm wählen. Das geht leider nur bis zu einem gewissen Grad. Auf einmal taucht irgendeine Maske auf, die halt nur auf englisch verfügbar ist. Und der Benutzer, wenn er das wirklich braucht, sollte verstehen, was da auf dem Bildschirm steht. (Maximal 13, 136)

On the computer screen, you can choose the language. I can choose German, French, Italian or English as my language on the computer screen. But unfortunately, this is only possible up to a certain degree. Suddenly, a template appears which is only available in English. And the user, if he/she really needs that, should understand what's written on the screen. (Maximal 13, 136; my translation)

Those who do not speak English are positioned as not being able to understand what the IT system "tells" them, although they should. Here, one might ask whether the

statement also implicitly included the management who have chosen the system and supposedly could have taken greater efforts to make the system accessible. In any case, the director of the IT standardization project emphasized that people using English do not do so intentionally to bring about exclusion:

> We use English most of the time (…) but only for communication purposes. (…) I don't think that (…) someone wants to use the language as a political instrument to exclude other people. (…) I think (…) people, they speak English, because they have got to communicate. (Maximal 2a, 33-37)

In sum, at Maximal, the positions of facilitating participation by adopting English as the common platform or switching to English in interactions was mobilized frequently. At the same time, those without English skills were positioned as being unable to understand the written communication produced by the new IT system, although they should. Furthermore, a position of language as culture, as opposed to language as a tool, was noted.

4.3.6 Subject positions evolving from harmony repertoire

4.3.6.1 General subject positions evolving from harmony repertoire at Globalos

Good relations among people, represented by bodily metaphors, was the core theme of the harmony repertoire. In this conceptualization, language represents "common terrain" or a "shared zone" which "unites" people. To speak the same language in this view is a prerequisite when wanting to "approach" people or to "build rapport". Several positions evolved from the harmony repertoire. One consists of "gathering in one language" (Globalos 16; 157), and another in adapting to the language of one's interlocutor in order to facilitate contact or build rapport.

An additional position was helping people whose proficiency in a language is lower. This might consist in "coming down to the level of language" (Globalos 8, 265) of the interaction partner, "paving the way" (Globalos 13, 239-246) by asking the other what he/she actually means, or adopting the position of a mediator. In the following example, a local cafeteria employee described how, thanks to such intermediaries, she managed to chat with people who were not skilled in her language, French:

> [Ç]a arrive ça aussi que si il y en a un qui comprend pas bien le français, qu'on a envie de dialoguer, et puis qu'il y ait l'autre qui sache, il va traduire pour qu'on arrive à dialoguer un petit peu. (…) [J] e trouve que c'est une complicité assez sympa. (Globalos 7, 256-258)
>
> *It also happens that if there's someone who doesn't understand French well, when you feel like having a dialogue, that there's another one who understands it will translate in order to make possible a little dialogue. I think that's quite a nice complicity. (Globalos 7, 256-258; my translation)*

Mixing languages is another position which emerged from the harmony repertoire. An Italian, for instance, described how, especially in the professional context, people

sometime borrow terms from other languages. As he described it, this happened even if the other participants understand one's language, as in the following example of team meetings he used to have with Italian-speaking people:

> [C]'est vrai que parfois voilà je devais chercher des mots, « comment dire ça en italien, comment dire ça en italien », et puis voilà, c'était des phrases où on y rajoutait des mots soit en anglais carrément soit en français. (Globalos 5, 35)
>
> *It's true that sometimes I had to search words, "how do I say that in Italian, how do I say that in Italian", and then, there were sentences where we added words directly in English or in French. (Globalos 5, 35; my translation)*

In some cases, mixing languages was even presented as an unconscious act, jumping back and forth between one language and the other. As a German, who was a skilled French speaker due to living in the French-speaking part of Switzerland for years, said, for instance:

> [I]ch merk's bei mir manchmal, (...) dass ich manchmal gar nicht mehr richtig höre, in welcher Sprache ich bin, ne. Dass ich anfange, genauso wohl in Französisch zu denken wie im Deutschen. Und da (...) rutschen mir Wörter raus. Wenn ich Deutsch spreche, rutschen mir französische Wörter raus oder andersrum. (Globalos 11, 35)
>
> *I sometimes notice that I sometimes don't really hear anymore in which language I am. That I start to think in French as well as in German. And then words come out. When I speak German, French words come out or the other way round. (Globalos 11, 35; my translation)*

An evolving position consisted of generosity towards "errors". Here a person who "just speaks" languages with more or less proficiency is positioned as "not caring about errors":

> [M]ein Mann ist im Ausland aufgewachsen, der spricht mehrere Sprachen einigermassen fehlerhaft (lacht). Und das ist ihm aber egal, er spricht einfach. (Globalos 11, 109)
>
> *My husband grew up abroad, he speaks several languages more or less incorrectly (laughters). But he doesn't care, he just speaks. (Globalos 11, 109; my translation)*

In sum, several positions evolving from the harmony repertoire were evident at Globalos. Two related positions consisted in uniting through one language and in adapting to the interlocutor's language in order to create connection. Others concern helping and adopting the position of a mediator between people who do not understand each other by translating. Mixing languages and "not caring about errors" represent other, related positions.

4.3.6.2 English-specific subject positions evolving from harmony repertoire at Globalos

With respect to English specifically, one of the positions mobilized at Globalos was helping. Here, a native-French native speaker described how an American, who she constructs as a patient helper on her team, communicated with non-native English speakers:

> Elle a toujours de la patience, elle va soit corriger ou aider ou rephraser, pour essayer de communiquer. (Globalos 9, 350)
>
> *She is always patient, she will either correct or help or rephrase, in order to try to communicate. (Globalos 9, 350; my translation)*

Similarly, native-English speakers were positioned as making efforts to adjust their language use to the English level of their interlocutors. A Swiss German middle manager described his experiences as follows:

> [I]ch muss sagen, sie strengen sich eigentlich wirklich an, dass sie erstens langsam reden, und auch, dass sie irgendwie die Sprache brauchen, wo sie denken, dass die anderen Leute sie auch verstehen. (Globalos 22, 214)
>
> *I have to say, they really make an effort; first to talk slowly, and then also to somehow use a vocabulary of which they think that the other people understand them. (Globalos 22, 214; my translation)*

The position of "mixing languages" at Globalos was also mobilized with specific regard to English. A local native-French speaker gave an illustration:

> [Pendant un lunch avec une collègue qui parle pas bien français, mais parfaitement l'anglais] j'ai commencé la phrase [en français] avec ce mot que j'arrivais pas à retrouver en anglais, puis je suis partie sur le reste du sujet en français. Puis après, je suis revenue en anglais. (…) Puis elle pareil. Si par exemple elle parlait en français, tout-à-coup elle retrouvait pas le mot en français, elle faisait l'inverse de moi. Voilà. Elle (…) retrouvait le mot en anglais puis elle repartait. (Globalos 2, 92-94)
>
> *During a lunch with a colleague who doesn't speak French well, but English perfectly, I started the sentence in French with the word I didn't manage to find in English, and I continued to talk about the rest of the subject in French. Then afterwards, I came back to English. And her the same. If for instance she talked in French, suddenly she didn't find the word in French, she did the contrary than I did. That's it. She found the word in English and she went on. (Globalos 2, 92-94; my translation)*

Furthermore, the "not caring about errors" position was mobilized with specific regard to English. As shown, the use of simplified English – "it's not BBC English" (« c'est pas l'anglais de la BBC »; Globalos 5, 137) – allowed people to "feel free" (Globalos 8, 406-412).

4.3.6.3 General subject positions evolving from harmony repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, a number of positions emerged from the harmony repertoire. One consisted of adapting to the language of the interlocutor in order to establish a relationship. In the following example, an IT standardization employee who regularly visited subsidiaries in German-speaking Switzerland explained why he speaks to the staff there in German. By doing so, he positioned himself as a facilitator in creating relationship with them:

> J'veux dire si je veux arriver là-bas [dans notre filiale en Suisse alémanique] et que je parle que anglais ou que français, ça va être beaucoup plus difficile pour se comprendre. Et aussi, si on se comprend pas, c'est plus difficile d'établir des liens entre les deux. (Maximal 7, 58)
>
> *I mean if I arrive in our subsidiary in German speaking Switzerland and I only talk in English or French, it will be much more difficult for us to understand each other. And furthermore, if we don't understand each other, it's more difficult to establish a relation between us. (Maximal 7, 58; my translation)*

Furthermore, the "generosity" position was also mobilized at Maximal. Here, a native-French speaker, describing a multicultural "spirit" in the company, positioned company employees as generous towards people who do not speak a language and accepting of diversity:

> [Chez Maximal] on considère que c'est une richesse, la multiculturalité, c'est jamais un handicap (...) C'est pourquoi que jamais on va dire à quelqu'un « Tu parles pas la langue, t'es pas bien (...) [S]i tu sais pas, ben, écoute, t'essayes de comprendre et tu t'exprimes dans ta langue ». (Maximal 1, 127)
>
> *At Maximal, we think multiculturalism is a richness, it's never a handicap. That's why we will never say to someone "You don't speak the language, you're not okay. If you don't know the language, well, listen, you try to understand and you express yourself in your language". (Maximal 1, 127; my translation)*

In a similar vein, a number of positions could be summarized as "people sort it out somehow". The following quote includes the sub-positions of asking for help and finding shared ways to communicate:

> Ich habe jetzt nicht das Gefühl, dass da grosse Spannungen herrschen, man kann sich irgendwie arrangieren oder findet irgendwo ein Level, wo man halb-halb etwas versteht. Oder man fragt sich gegenseitig, (…) oder man feedbackt der Person, das, was man gemeint hat und dann sagt die Person ja oder nein. (Maximal 12, 345)
>
> *I don't think there are big tensions, people arrange things somehow or find a level to understand each other half and half. Or people ask each other, or*

they tell the other person want they intended to say, and then the person says yes or no. (Maximal 12, 345; my translation)

Another emerging position foregrounded the idea that good language skills cannot be equated with communicating well. As one interviewee states: "You can master languages and can be a very poor communicator (...). And you can be very poor in languages and communicate very well." (Maximal 3, 202). Or, as the following quotation puts it:

> [Y]ou could speak 10 languages and be a terrible communicator, because you don't communicate with people. [Good communication is] I think it's understanding, it's mutual understanding, if you know what's going on, if you get someone and people get you. (Maximal 10, 157-159)

Good communicators were thus positioned as those who understand their counterparts and know what is going on. How proficient they are in the languages used in the specific interaction is described as secondary. Similarly, this quote mobilizes the empathy position to explain how to approach interactions with people of other linguistic backgrounds:

> Das ist ja irgendwie Empathie, also kann ich mich in den Gesprächspartner hineinversetzen, möchte ich versuchen, seine Sprache zu sprechen? Oder warte ich mal ab, was er mit mir anstellt und im Notfall, im Notfall versuche ich mich in seiner Sprache auszudrücken? (Maximal 13, 195)

> *It is empathy in a way, so can I put myself in my interlocutor's position, do I want to try to speak his language? Or do I first wait what happens and if it is really, really necessary, I try to express myself in his language? (Maximal 13, 195; my translation)*

An additional position emerged at Maximal concerning the employees on the shop floor. In the following example, an IT standardization employee expert emphasized his efforts to communicate organizational changes to a subsidiary in German-speaking Switzerland in German. He thus positioned himself as adapting to lower level employees:

> Quand j'envoie des communications pour dire [aux gens] « Attention, voilà des changements » etc., je m'efforce toujours de le faire en allemand et en français, ce qui n'était jamais fait auparavant, et c'est très apprécié. (…) [S]ouvent, il y avait des communications qui ne partaient qu'en français ou en anglais et je dirais, même moi, ça m'embettait, parce que je disais « Mais c'est des personnes en face qui recevront peut-être pas le même message, alors il faut qu'on s'efforce à les mettre correctement dans la langue [des autres], alors quitte à se faire aider par quelqu'un qui parle mieux allemand pour rédiger correctement les choses. » (Maximal 7, 68-70)

> *When I send out announcements to people saying "Pay attention, we have some changes" etc., I always make the effort to do it in German and*

French, something which was never done before, and it is very appreciated. Often, announcements were sent out only in French or in English and I would say, even me, I found that annoying, because I said "But there are people on the other side who maybe won't get the same message, so we have to make the effort to write these announcement in [the others'] language correctly, even if this means you have to ask someone who speaks German better than you do to help you in order to write things correctly." (Maximal 7, 68-70; my translation)

In sum, of the harmony repertoire positions that emerged at Maximal, one consisted in adapting to the interlocutor in order to facilitate the creation of relations, and another in generosity towards people who do not speak a language. Furthermore, employees were positioned as somehow sorting out their communication issues, including asking for help and finding shared ways to communicate. A position which consisted in "being a good communicator means understanding one's interlocutor, not mainly having good language skills" evolved. In addition, middle management employees in some cases positioned themselves as adapting to lower level staff.

4.3.6.4 English-specific subject positions evolving from harmony repertoire at Maximal

One of the positions mobilized at Maximal concerned helping people who do not speak English. The director of the IT standardization described how this might look:

> Everybody's got to (…) be open and to say: "Okay, if you try to understand, most of the time, you manage to understand." But it requires an effort. So you got to listen to people and and reformulate: "Is it what you want to say?" "No, not quite exact… not quite". So they say it again and you wait. It get's fine. (Maximal 2b, 142)

Another position consisted in "not caring about errors". In this example, a native-French speaker presented her relaxed view on her own and other persons' levels of English skills in interactions. She thus positioned herself as unconcerned with other people's language level, regardless of whether their English skills are better or worse than hers:

> [Si quelqu'un parle nettement moins bien l'anglais que moi], ça me pose pas de problème. (…) Moi je m'en fiche du niveau, hein. Parce qu'il y a bien, bien meilleur que moi, donc j'vais pas regarder « Ah, lui, il a fait des fautes ». (Maximal 11, 397)

> *If someone's proficieny in English is clearly much lower than mine, I don't have any problem with that. I don't care about the level. Because there are people whose proficiency is much, much better than mine, so I won't say: "Oh, look, he's made an error". (Maximal 11, 397; my translation)*

Another position consisted in bridgebuilding for people who do not speak English by people who do. The position was mobilized especially by lower managers in

subsidiaries who took care that blue collar workers were informed about what was happening in the company. In the following, a member of the IT support staff emphasized the relevance of the position he adopted, seemingly informally and without instruction from management:

> Interviewerin: Sie haben ja kurz angedeutet, das die Leute in den Lagern kein Englisch können.
>
> Maximal 12: [D]as ist die Brücke, die wir dann brauchen, so Leute wie ich (…) [W]ie soll es sonst funktionieren, dass (...) das Know-how ganz nach unten, also in Anführungszeichen ganz nach unten, verschoben wird [d.h. auf die untersten Stufen]? (Maximal 12, 213-217)
>
> *Interviewer: You briefly suggested that people in the warehouses don't speak English.*
>
> *Maximal 12: That's the bridge we need, people like me. How else should it work that the know-how is transferred totally down, totally down in quotation marks [i.e. onto the lowest levels]?*

In sum, three positions emerged at Maximal with specific regard to English. One consisted in helping people with limited or no English skills by slowing down and reformulating an utterance. Another position concerned "not caring about errors" and a third consisted of people with English mastery bridgebuilding for people without it.

Table 4: Overview of the subject positions evolving from the six interpretative repertoires

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
General subject positions	*Rhetorical battles:* -Winners -Losers -Attackers	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Being in an advantaged position (especially native speakers) -Being in a disadvantaged position	*Situation control:* -Being master of the situation -Not being master of the situation *Access to information:* -Having access to information -Not having access to information	*Individual level:* -Non-speakers of local language having moral "obligation" to learn local language -Each side having to "go part way" *Organizational level:* -Staff in service departments lacking opportunities to learn languages -Employees sent abroad being in a privileged position	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation (by adopting a language as "common platform" or by switching languages) -Making integration efforts by learning local or team language *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-locals having to adapt to local language	-Uniting through one language -Adapting to the interlocutor's language to create connection -Helping -Adopting the position of a mediator by translating -Mixing languages -Not caring about errors

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Maximal					
General subject positions	*Territorial battles:* -Winners in war of languages -Losers in war of languages -Attackers of a language -Defenders of a language	*Career game:* -Non-locals having to learn local languages for their career advancement	*Situation control:* -Attempting to control the outcome of one's utterances (e.g., by adapting to language proficiency of interaction partner) *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Adapting to the language of those on the lower levels and of blue collars	*Individual level:* -Non-speakers of national languages having moral "obligation" to learn national languages	*Individual/group level:* -Making integration efforts by learning local language or by adopting to a multilanguage co-created by its speakers	-Adapting to other's language to create relation -Generosity towards people who do not speak a language -"Sorting it out somehow" (by asking for help & finding ways to communicate) -Being a good communicator is understanding, not having good language skills -Showing empathy *Specifically regarding lower levels:* Middle management adapting to lower levels

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
English-specific subject positions	*Rhetorical battles:* -Winners (especially native-English speakers) -Losers *Territorial battles:* -English speakers as attackers of a language -Speakers of local languages as defenders of their languages against English	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Being in an advantaged position (especially native-English speakers) -Being in a disadvantaged position (especially non-native English speakers) -"Sitting in the same boat" (non-native English speakers) *"Organizational game":* -Risking to loose out without English skills	*Situation control:* -Being master of the situation as native-English speaker -Not being master of the situation as non-native English speaker *Access to information:* -Missing access to information without English skills	*Individual level:* -Anglophones creating self-privilege (by not learning local language & having more possibilities to choose interaction language) -Anglophones expressing guilt *Organizational level:* -English speakers being privileged -Non-English speakers no longer being on equal terms	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation by adopting English as "common platform" or switching to English *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-speakers of English separated from other employees and increasingly forgotten by management	-Helping -Native-English speakers making efforts to adjust their language use -Mixing English and other languages -Not caring about errors

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Maximal					
English-specific subject positions	*Territorial battles:* -English-speakers as attackers of local languages -Speakers of local languages as defenders of their languages against English *Organizational level:* -Non-English speaking blue collars in subsidiaries being "threatened" by English	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Native-English speakers in advantaged position -Non-native English speakers in disadvantaged position -Non-natives united by "imperfection" *"Organizational game":* -Difficulties to be employed without English skills -Lowest levels losing informal status through increasing use of English	*Situation control:* -More comfort thanks to English -Less comfort when having to communicate in English -Using English in written communication to be understood *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Adapting to the language of lower levels and of blue collars *Access to information:* -Missing access to information without English skills	*Individual level:* -English-speakers creating self-privilege (by having more possibilities to choose interaction language) *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Employees in contact with lower levels adapting to their language -Compromise-building instead of thoughtfulness (nudging non-English speakers towards learning English "on the job")	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation by adopting English as "common platform"or by switching to English *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-speakers of English being unable to understand written communication produced by new IT system	-Helping -Not caring about errors -Bridgebuilding by people with English mastery (often lower managers in subsidiaries for blue collars)

4.4 Findings III: Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation

4.4.1 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in military repertoire

4.4.1.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in military repertoire at Globalos

From the perspective of the military repertoire as it appeared at Globalos, multilingual encounters were seen as fights between people with different linguistic backgrounds. Language skills represented weapons; those with good language proficiency were described as being in a better position to launch attacks and win and thus as having a greater scope of action. Consequently, native speakers were positioned as those most likely to emerge victorious in battles, while those with less proficiency seemed almost condemned to be the victors' victims and thus to having very little agency.

The broad military repertoire also applied to English specifically. Because the global lingua franca was so widely used at Globalos, good English skills represent invaluable weapons on the verbal battlefield. In the resulting hierarchy of agency, native-English speakers were portrayed as occupying the best position. Due to their fluency and ability to express subtleties, they were constructed as the strongest party in the battle. Non-natives with very good proficiency were positioned as the second strongest. After that, the more limited a person's English skills, the more probable it was, within the military repertoire, that he or she would be defeated in the verbal wars.

With respect to creating spaces for agency or regaining agency, one subject position evolved from the military repertoire: resistance against the use of English. The administrative director of the cleaning services formulated this position, emphasizing that his department was "one of the few departments who defend our French" (Globalos 12, 19).

4.4.1.2 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in military repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, the complementary subject positions of winners and losers, and attackers and defenders were mobilized only with respect to the "war of languages" theme. Speakers of certain languages were positioned as invading and possibly conquering linguistic territory. Defending this terrain – by defending its language – was a position that encompassed the creation of agency in the face of the enemy.

With respect to English specifically, a number of native speakers of the various local languages represented at Maximal described themselves as especially concerned by this state of war. In this view, English speakers are positioned as invading local linguistic territory; those "representing" one of the local languages positioned themselves as being in a defensive position. One form of agency creation in this context, as at Globalos, was resistance. Here, an employee from Belgium described experiences with resistance that she faced when she was new at Maximal:

> At the beginning I was sending emails in English, but I received a remark: "Are we in England?". And since then I didn't do that. It's really not well seen. (Maximal 4, 168)

The same employee also described such forms of opposition in contexts other than e-mail communication. When it came to making presentations, her talking and writing in the global lingua franca were not appreciated, she said:

> I'm really used to do presentations in English and it's taking me more time to do it in French, because you know, you have these typical sentences to use, and (…) once (…) I received a remark: "You have to do it in French or in German (...)". It's really a must. (Maximal 4, 168)

As the statement shows, at least in this person's case, the acts of resistance against her use of English were successful: she now does presentations in French, although that costs her additional effort.

4.4.2 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in competition repertoire

4.4.2.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in competition repertoire at Globalos

At Globalos, looking at multilingual encounters through the lens of the competition repertoire means viewing them as rhetorical games between people with different linguistic backgrounds. The decisive factor with respect to agency is the distribution of "trumps" in the game of words, that is, the level of skill in languages that are relevant to employees' interactions. By this logic, native speakers were positioned as having the best cards in the game. People with lower or no language proficiency, however, were constructed as the disadvantaged.

Even more than in the general case at Globalos, English language skills were described as crucial in the competition repertoire. Company members with higher levels of English skills were described as having increased levels of agency. With this logic, native-English speakers were portrayed as possessing an advantage they were born with compared to even the best trained non-native English speakers. On the other side of this agency spectrum stood people who do not speak and understand English, who were positioned as facing the risk of "losing out" in the organizational game, as one interviewee put it.

With respect to creating spaces of agency, one position appeared. Non-native English speakers were constructed as "being in the same boat" in rhetorical contests, because of the "imperfection" they share.

4.4.2.2 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in competition repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, one agency-relevant position indicated that non-local employees had to learn local languages in order to climb the career ladder within the organization. Thus, learning these languages could be viewed as a form of gaining agency, as articulated here by a Maximal employee from Belgium:

> People here hesitated to hire me, because (…) [I don't speak German]. (…) The point regarding languages and "we are talking French and German here in [Maximal]" was really an important point. (…) [N]ow I'm following some classes in German. (Maximal 4, 16)

With specific regard to English, a number of agency-relevant subject positions evolving from the competition repertoire were mobilized at Maximal. First, those with less proficiency in English were described as starting rhetorical games with the losing card when compared to those with greater proficiency. Native-English speakers were, again, positioned as advantaged vis-à-vis non-native English speakers. Secondly, employees without English skills were constructed as confronting a glass ceiling with respect to employment. Thirdly, non-English speakers were positioned as losing more than their everyday work language due to the increasing use of English resulting from the ongoing IT change; this loss might concern their informal organizational status.

Concerning creating spaces for agency or regaining agency, the competition repertoire included a position for non-native English speakers specifically. When viewed as participants in a rhetorical competition, they could be viewed as united by their common disadvantage vis-à-vis native-English speakers.

4.4.3 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in control repertoire

4.4.3.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in control repertoire at Globalos

From the perspective of the control repertoire, multilingual encounters represented a search for interactional control by people from different linguistic backgrounds. Again, language skills are a key factor. With respect to "controlling what one says", especially in "hard talk", those speaking the language of the interaction best were positioned as masters of the situation and thus as having a greater scope of action. People with insufficient skills in the relevant language were, in turn, constructed as lacking access to information. By this logic, choosing the language with which one has the greatest ease represents one way of gaining agency in an interaction; the language of choice may also be the native language.

Looking at English specifically, as with the control repertoire in general, agency was strongly related to language skills. When trying to express themselves, non-native English speakers positioned themselves as limited due to their lack of fluency and a restricted vocabulary. At the same time, the control repertoire gave these same people

other possible positions for gaining agency, especially concerning interactions with native-English speakers. A French native assistant gave one example:

> Moi je me gêne pas pour dire aux gens au téléphone « Can you speak slowly ? » (Globalos 2, 112)
>
> *I'm not afraid to say to people on the phone "Can you speak slowly?" (Globalos 2, 112; my translation)*

Many others described similar attempts to regain control and thus agency in interactions with native-English speakers in similar words. The director of the Globalos pension fund, a Swiss German, listed a number of sentences he used when talking to Anglophones he does not understand: „ ‚Please speak slowly', yes, or ‚Can you repeat' or whatever." („ ‚Please speak slowly.' Ja. Oder ‚Can you repeat' oder was auch immer, oder."; Globalos 19, 409-412). The receptionist at the company's hotel, a Spanish-native, also mobilized the latter position for gaining agency: „I ask them to repeat" (« Je leur demande de répéter »; Globalos 18, 297).

The situation was completely different for employees without English skills, however. They positioned themselves as at risk for missing internal information that is disseminated only in English. They also did not reclaim control by asking English speakers to reformulate their sentences. But they did create other forms of agency. The administrative director of the cleaning services described the approach that he and others chose when they were approached in English by employees needing their support:

> Moi comme d'autres de mes collègues on pas de gêne à dire (…): "Ben voilà, hein, écoutez, désolés, on arrive pas à vous dépanner comme ça. Donnez-nous l'explication en français." (Globalos 12, 88)
>
> *Me and others of my colleagues, we are not afraid to say: "Well, listen, sorry, we can't solve your problem this way. Give us the explanation in French." (Globalos 12, 88; my translation)*

However, such responses to English-language requests seem to have meant more than just addressing a communication problem. On the contrary: in the statement that follows, the same interviewee positioned those addressing him in English as depending on him to satisfy a request or solve a problem. Expressed somewhat differently, the cleaning services director constructed himself and his co-workers as crucial to the entire company, regardless, implicitly, of individuals' organizational function:

> [L]es gens, ils ont pas le choix. (…) [Q]uelque part, c'est très facile ce que je vais dire, mais s'ils veulent que leur demandes soient exaucées, ou bien que leurs problèmes techniques ou leur problèmes de logistique soient faits, faudra bien qu'à un moment on se comprenne. Donc c'est peut-être un peu facile, mais si nous on arrive pas, faudra bien qu'eux ils trouvent la solution pour nous faire comprendre ce qu'ils veulent nous demander. Ça c'est clair (...). Il y a pas de miracle à un certain moment. (Globalos 12, 91-92)

People have no choice. In a way – it's very easy what I'm going to say – but if they want their requests to be fulfilled, or their technical problems or their logistics problems to be solved, we have to understand each other at a certain point. So, it's maybe a bit easy, but if we don't manage to [understand] them, it's them who will have to find the solution to make us understand what they want to ask us. That's for sure. There's no miracle at a certain point. (Globalos 12, 91-92; my translation)

For people without English skills, compelling those who need their support to adapt to their language was thus proposed as a means of regaining agency. Those who speak English in turn mobilized the position of those who ask native-English speakers to slow down or repeat.

4.4.3.2 General scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in control repertoire at Maximal

Also at Maximal, those with better skills in the language relevant in a specific conversation were positioned as having more opportunity to maintain control of the interaction's outcome. One core position for agency creation evolving from the control repertoire mobilized at Maximal thus consisted of attempting to remain master of an interaction. Choosing the language in which one has the most fluency was one variant of this position. The following statement offers an example, here with respect to French, the local language at Maximal headquarters:

J'dirais le français [ici, dans le siège situé en Suisse romande] est la base de toutes les réunions. Après, il y des moments [où] effectivement, ça peut tout à coup passer rapidement à l'anglais (…) Si – j'dirais instinctivement – [une] personne a du mal à s'exprimer, ben, elle va s'exprimer dans une langue où elle a plus d'aptitude à tout faire passer. (Maximal 7, 112)

I'd say French is basically the language in all meetings here at the headquarters located in the French-speaking part of Switzerland. But then, actually, there are moments in which the language might quickly switch to English. If – I would instinctively say – a person has got difficulties to express him-/herself, well, he or she will express him-/herself in a language in which he/she will have more ability to get the whole message across. (Maximal 7, 112; my translation)

Thus, what counts is not only that people make themselves heard, but that they try to make sure that others hear what is intended. Using the native language was another variant in trying to control what happens with a statement in the course of communication. One Maximal employee explained his reasoning behind this language choice as follows:

Wenn ich Leute erlebe, die ganz verkrampft versuchen eine fremde Sprache zu sprechen, nur um den Gesprächspartner einen Gefallen zu machen, kommt es wahrscheinlich weniger gut heraus. Wenn nämlich der Gesprächspartner einigermassen versteht, was ich sage, dann kann ich mich

besser ausdrücken in meiner Sprache, und ich kann dann prüfen, ob der andere das verstanden hat, was ich gesagt habe. (Maximal 13, 120)

When I see people trying to speak a foreign language at all costs only to please the person they are talking to, they will probably achieve less. Because if the interlocutor more or less understands what I say, I can express myself better in my language, and I can check whether the other person understood what I said. (Maximal 13, 120; my translation)

In their attempt to make sure that their message would arrive as intended, conversation participants described themselves as adapting to the proficiency level of others. People cited the "reduction of vocabulary" ("der Wortschatz wird eingeschränkt"; Maximal 13, 150-152) to accord with the level of the person with the weakest language skills ("bis auf den Wortschatz desjenigen, der am schlechtesten die Sprache beherrscht"; Maximal 13, 150-152) in order to ensure "the others understand them" („sicher sein können, dass der andere versteht"; Maximal 13, 150-152).

Another, related position for agency creation consisted in strategically choosing a certain language in order to achieve certain goals. As one interviewee put it, "I get most information out of people" when "I adapt to his/her language" (ich kriege am meisten aus jemandem raus", wenn "ich mich der Sprache des anderen anpasse"; Maximal 12, 89). In the following example too, adapting to the other's language is portrayed as motivated by the goal of being master of the interaction in order to influence its outcome positively:

[Ein Mitglied des oberen Managements im IT-Standardisierungsprojekt] ist Franzose, (…) und wenn wir [das mittlere Management des IT-Standardisierungsprojekts] Probleme haben, gröbere Probleme haben, bespreche ich die mit [ihm] (…) [W]enn ich freundlich sein will und ihn bauchpinseln will, dann rede ich französisch mit ihm. (Maximal 14, 179-181)

One member of the upper management of the IT standardization project is French, and when we [the middle management of the IT standardization project] have problems, major problems, I talk about them with him. When I want to be friendly and flatter him, then I talk to him in French. (Maximal 14, 179-181; my translation)

Also the "adapating to the lower levels" position that evolved from the control repertoire was mobilized in creating agency. Again and again, lower managers in direct contact with blue collar workers and their team leaders in subsidiaries described their improvised strategies for making sure that their interlocutors would follow them. For instance, some German-speaking lower managers described providing more or less "correct" French versions of important procedural documents to contact persons in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland:

Bei komplizierteren Beschreibungen [an unsere Verteilzentren im Tessin] werden wir versuchen noch eine französische Version zu erstellen, die

möglichst korrekt ist, aber meistens ist es auch ein Zeitproblem. Wir schicken es in der Regel auf deutsch - im Bewusstsein, dass die meisten schon den Sinn verstehen im Deutsch, und dass ansonsten der regionale Betriebsleiter versteht. (Maximal 14, 225)

When we send out more complicated descriptions to our distribution centers in Ticino, we will try to elaborate a French version which is as correct as possible, but most of the time, it's also a time issue. Normally, we send it in German – knowing that most of the people understand the meaning in German, and that otherwise, the regional facility leader understands. (Maximal 14, 225; my translation)

While these managers did not explain why the German text was informally translated into French, a possible reason might be the assumption that, for Italian natives, the Latin language French is easier to understand than German.

Thus, a range of variants of the "master of interaction" position emerged, all aiming at increasing the individual's scope of action. Other positions had the goal of increasing the scope of action for all people involved. One, adopted by employees in the "middle range" also included "adapting one's language to those on the lower levels".

4.4.3.3 English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in control repertoire at Maximal

As with the control repertoire in general, agency with respect to English specifically was strongly related to language skills. Here too, the "master of the interaction" position was mobilized for agency creation. One variant consisted of asking directly that a less-familiar language be replaced by English in order both to understand a conversation and be understood; another, in using English in written communication to make sure that one's messages were not simplified. Thus, assuming good – or better than other people's – English proficiency, the global lingua franca potentially allowed for gaining agency. At the same time, others argued against the use of English in order to feel more comfortable in their own language of choice and thus have a greater scope of action in a specific interactions.

People with different starting points in English, including those who did not speak or understand the language, were positioned as losing access to information as a consequence of their deficient skills. They too, however, were portrayed as finding ways to gain agency. The customer service director in the Maximal subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland described one of these strategies:

Es gibt auch diese im Internet Übersetzungstools, [so] dass man einigermassen versteht, was daherkommt. (…) [E]s gibt halt Leute, die weniger Sprachkenntnisse haben, gerade im Englisch, die helfen sich dann irgendwie. (Maximal 13, 138)

There are also these translation tools in the internet, so you understand more or less what comes in. Because there are people who have fewer

language skills, especially in English, and they help themselves somehow. (Maximal 13, 138; my translation)

People without English skills were thus positioned as "do-it-yourself problem solvers". For employees who speak English, "adapting to the lower levels" constituted agency creation for people without English skills. One of the IT support staff, for instance, described voluntary efforts by "in-betweens" like himself to enable lower level employees to read documents, written in English, related to the IT standardization:

> [W]enn [ein Verantwortlicher des IT-Projekts] jetzt in seiner Landessprache noch Dokumentationen schreibt, damit die Anwender ein bisschen näher am Zeug sind, (…) ist es [ihm] überlassen, (…) kleinere Beschreibungen und Kurzanleitungen zu definieren, zu schreiben, zu hinterlegen (…). Aber grundsätzlich läuft auf der anderen Ebene, auf der internationalen Ebene alles auf Englisch ab. (Maximal 12, 190-194)

> *If an [IT project employee] now writes documents in his/her national language so that the users are at bit closer to the stuff, he/she is free to define little descriptions and short instructions, to write them, to provide them. But generally, on the other level, on the international level, everything is in English. (Maximal 12, 190-194; my translation)*

Thus, very different agency-relevant positions evolved from the control repertoire at Maximal, depending on employees' English skills. For those speaking English, using the global lingua represented a means of gaining agency by better controlling one's utterances. Those without proficiency in the global lingua franca were positioned as losing access to information as a consequence of their deficient proficiency. For them, agency creation consisted in "do-it-yourself problem solving" or in being assisted by intermediaries who voluntarily translated documents for them.

4.4.4 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in equality repertoire

4.4.4.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in equality repertoire at Globalos

In the perspective of the equality repertoire, multilingual encounters represent instances of being on equal terms. With respect to agency, though, the positions evolving from the repertoire differ strongly. The position of asking non-French speakers to learn French (the local language) suggests that not adapting to the local language is only possible because local speakers translate and offer other assistance. Implicitly, the non-adapters are positioned as ignoring the moral and symbolic request to learn the local language, creating self-privilege on the shoulders of locals who assist them in managing their lives.

At the same time, when it comes to communicating on the individual level, another agency-relevant position emerged from the equality repertoire. A more balanced

position, it suggested that each side should "go part way", either by interacting in a language which is native to no one, or by communicating non-verbally.

On the organizational level, an uneven distribution of agency emerged again. Service department staff positioned themselves as not having the opportunity to work and learn languages abroad. Consequently, they constructed as privileged employees of the "business" parts of the company who were given these options.

Two distinctive agency-relevant features emerged within the equality repertoire with respect to English specifically; both related to English proficiency, but in very different ways. On one hand, Anglophones and English speakers were portrayed as having more agency for choosing the language of an interaction. By this logic, they were positioned as privileged because, although they might be in the minority, they could compel others to use English. This privilege includes the "freedom" not to learn the local language, French, drawing on the positions of "lacking interest", "assuming that they speak the world's foremost language", "taking the easy way" and "having the choice not to adapt".

On the other hand, shop floor employees at Globalos were put in a position of losing agency due to the widespread use of English. They positioned themselves as being afraid of losing their "being on equal terms" status since the global lingua franca was increasingly accepted as the company language.

4.4.4.2 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in equality repertoire at Maximal

The important agency-relevant positions mobilized at Maximal often concerned English specifically. One was related to English speakers' large scope of action in choosing the language of an interaction. English speakers were constructed as privileged because everyone adapted to their language, even though they were relatively few. On the other hand, shop floor employees were positioned as losing agency due to the increasing use of English, resulting from the organizational change. As some suggested, this loss might go beyond language and include informal status.

Creating space for agency focused on this second English-specific agency-relevant position of the equality repertoire. The "adapting to lower levels" position proposed that English-speaking employees try to understand non-English speaking blue collar employees, even if they do not speak their language. Another position suggested compromise-making instead of thoughtfulness: non-speakers of English should be nudged towards learning English "on the job". Here, agency creation is not central; rather, what counts in the spirit of the equality repertoire is that both sides make an effort.

4.4.5 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in participation repertoire

4.4.5.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in participation repertoire at Globalos

Looking at multilingual encounters through the lens of the participation repertoire means viewing them as issues of taking part in interactions. Within the repertoire, again, an individual's level of agency strongly depends on his/her language skills. People lacking proficiency in a language used in communicative contexts were positioned as encountering serious barriers, while those with language skill found "open doors".

At the same time, the participation repertoire included a number of positions allowing for the creation of spaces of agency. A collectively oriented variant consisted in adopting a language as a "common platform". Such a choice was portrayed as making it possible for people with different linguistic backgrounds to participate together. But while such a "platform" facilitates participation, it also requires knowledge of the designated language. Another variant of agency creation suggested facilitating the participation of people with different linguistic backgrounds by switching to a conversational language that all understand. With respect to individually oriented agency creation in the private context, learning the local language was presented as the best means of becoming part of the local community.

With regard to English specifically, English speakers were again positioned as finding doors within the organization and the globalized world open, while non-speakers were "blocked by language". A further position, indicating loss of agency, consisted in service department staff who do not speak English positioning themselves as separate from other employees and increasingly forgotten by the company management. With respect to agency creation, using English as a "common platform" was again presented for including people of different linguistic backgrounds. However, this requires having English skills.

4.4.5.2 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in participation repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal also, those without skills in a language relevant to a particular interactional context were positioned as encountering barriers. The main position which was mobilized however, concerned adapting to the local language to achieve integration. At Maximal, this included an additional variant: adapting to a local multilanguage co-created by its speakers, which is distinguished from "pure" languages in the conventional sense. In both cases, learning the local language was interpreted as a form of agency creation on the individual level.

With respect to the role of English specifically, one one hand, agency-creating positions were mobilized which consisted in adopting English as the "common platform" or switching to English in order to facilitate participation. On the other hand, employees without English skills were positioned as being unable to understand the written communication produced by the new IT system.

4.4.6 Scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in harmony repertoire

4.4.6.1 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in harmony repertoire at Globalos

Seen through the lens of the harmony repertoire, multilingual encounters represent cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds. In such a view, language skills are significantly less foregrounded than in the other repertoires, and many positions evolving from the repertoire could be interpreted as forms of agency creation by facilitating shared understanding. This applies to helping as much as to adopting the role of a translating mediator between persons who do not understand each other, to mixing languages as much as to "not caring about errors". These agency-relevant positions were also mobilized with regard to English specifically.

In addition, other agency-creating positions related to the "not caring about mistakes" position emerged. One consisted of constructing expertise – mastery of one's field of knowledge – as compensating for the limited mastery of a language which is not one's own, as illustrated in the following quotation:

> Da wo irgendwo guter Wille ist und man unter Kollegen ist, (...) sieht man die fachliche Kompetenz und sieht durch diese sprachlichen Schwierigkeiten hindurch. (Globalos 11, 15)
>
> *Where there is goodwill and you are among colleagues, you see the expertise and ignore those linguistic difficulties. (Globalos 11, 15; my translation)*

A similar position suggests using specialized language to compensate for possible "errors" in the choice of more conventional vocabulary, as in this example:

> Je pense que l'important, c'est de savoir ce qu'on veut dire, et si on utilise pas les bons termes, aujourd'hui, on se comprend les uns les autres, parce qu'on a aussi un jargon un peu du monde professionnel où on se trouve (Globalos 20, 104)
>
> *I think the important thing is to know what you want to say, and if one doesn't use the right terms, nowadays, we understand each other, because we also have a jargon a bit of the professional world we are in. (Globalos 20, 104; my translation)*

Thus, the agency-relevant positions mobilized at Globalos, in many cases, represented forms of agency-creation. Helping, adopting the role of mediator by translating, mixing languages and "not caring about errors" were described as means of allowing people to express themselves and to understand what others say to them.

4.4.6.2 General and English-specific scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in harmony repertoire at Maximal

At Maximal, most positions evolving from the harmony repertoire could also be interpreted as forms of agency creation, including generosity towards "errors" and letting people sort out their own language issues, which requires asking for help and finding common ways to communicate. Similarly, the following quote suggests that acts of spontaneous mutual aid were very common at Maximal. The statement cites as an example the situation of migrants in the production sector of Maximal subsidiaries in the French- and in the German-speaking parts of Switzerland:

> Vous allez trouver chez [Maximal] je pense, même dans les parties francophones et germanophones, beaucoup d'entreaide spontanée par rapport aux gens qui ne comprennent pas. Parce qu'on a beaucoup beaucoup de nationalités différentes. Vous imaginez bien qu'à la production, on a des gens qui ne parlent même pas bien la langue du coin, parce qu'ils viennent d'un autre pays, donc ils parlent à peu près le Suisse allemand, ou à peu près l'allemand ou le français. (Maximal 5, 39)
>
> *You will find a lot of spontaneous mutual aid in relation with people who don't understand at Maximal I think, even in the French speaking and in the German speaking part. Because we have many different nationalities. You can imagine that in the production sector, we have people who even don't speak the local language well, because they come from another country, so they speak Swiss German more or less, or [Standard] German or French more or less. (Maximal 5, 39; my translation)*

Another form of agency creation mobilized a position proposing that everyone speak his or her own language in interactions involving people with different levels of language skills. The consumer services director based in the subsidiary in the German-speaking part of Switzerland described an example:

> Sagen wir mal eine Telefonkonferenz [mit] drei von [einer Deutschschweizer Filiale], die können alle deutsch und einigermassen französisch, und drei Leute [vom Hauptsitz in der Romandie], die können alle sehr gut französisch und ein wenig deutsch. Man könnte das Meeting sowohl auf deutsch als auch auf französisch halten. Wahrscheinlich hätten gleich viele Leute gleich viele Vor- und Nachteile, jeweils immer auf der anderen Seite. (…) [D]ann würde ich vorschlagen, dass es nicht einfach auf deutsch ist, sondern dass die [Vertreter der Deutschweizer Filiale] deutsch sprechen dürfen und die [vom Hauptsitz] französisch. Wenn man einander versteht, ist es ja okay. (Maximal 13, 205)
>
> *Let's say in a telephone conference with three [people] of a [Swiss-German subsidiary], they all speak German and French more or less, and three people [of the headquarters in Romandy] who all speak French very well and a little bit of German. You could hold the meeting in German as well as in French. Probably the same amount of people would have the same*

amount of advantages and disadvantages, on the one and on the other side respectively. Then I would suggest that the meeting is not simply hold in German, but rather, that the [representatives of the Swiss-German subsidiary] may speak German and those from [the headquarters] in French. If people understand each other, it's okay. (Maximal 13, 205; my translation)

Another option, which could be labeled "anticipating problems", consisted in avoiding imbalances when they become relevant in an on-going interaction. The interviewees quoted above suggested ways to prevent such problems:

> Man kann [solche Treffen] auch (...) vorbereiten, man kann auch Dokumente austauschen, wo der Inhalt schon vorbereitet ist. Man kann dann Sachen, die man nicht versteht, schon abklären. Dann ist es viel einfacher (...), zweisprachige Meetings abzuhalten. Das wäre schon schön, immer mit dem Ziel, dass der, der spricht, sich in der Sprache ausdrücken kann, die er am besten beherrscht. (Maximal 13, 205)

> *You can also prepare such meetings, you can exchange documents in which the content is already prepared. So you can already clarify things you don't understand. Then it's much easier to hold bilingual meetings. That would be nice, always with the aim that the one who is speaking can express him-/herself in the language he or she masters best. (Maximal 13, 205; my translation)*

Furthermore, the position comprising an adaptation to lower level staff also includes an agency-creating element. Here, "middle sector" employees position themselves as increasing the blue collar employees' scope of action by talking to them in their language. In general, adapting to those with less proficiency in a language was portrayed as a form of creating agency which benefitted those with lesser skills. In the following example, a middle manager described his efforts to make sure that people with different linguistic backgrounds could participate in a workshop:

> J'avais organisé (…) un work-shop avec tous les acheteurs operationnels, donc il y avait ceux (…) [du siège] qui parlent français, ceux (…) de la filiale qui parlent plus allemand. Donc effectivement, au début du work-shop, on a défini qu'on allait le faire en français parce que du côté (…) [de la filiale suisse alémanique], il y a deux personnes qui comprennent bien, une personne qui comprend un peu moins bien. Donc là, ce qui s'est passé, c'est que on s'arrêtait regulièrement, on traduisait et puis (…) on faisait réagir aussi la personne en allemand (…): « Est-ce que tu as compris ? Est-ce que tu as des questions ? ». On le laissait pas comme ça en disant « C'est bon, il a tout compris ». On le challengeait un peu pour voir si effectivement tous les messages sont passées ou pas. (Maximal 7, 116)

> *I had organized a workshop with all the operational buyers, so we had those of the headquarters who speak French, those of the subsidiary who rather speak German. So at the beginning of the workshop, we defined that*

> *we would do it in French, because two people from the Swiss German subsidiary understand it well, another understands it a bit less. What we did then it stop regularly, translate and make the German speaking person react: "Did you understand? Do you have questions?" We didn't leave him like that by saying: "That's all right, he's understood everything." We challenged him a bit to see whether all the messages had come across or not. (Maximal 7, 116; my translation)*

Another agency-creating position relates to the use of IT. Similar to professional jargon, talking in a language based on IT terms is positioned as facilitating "talking the same language" (Maximal 8, 262), in spite of conventional language differences.

With regard to English specifically, agency-creating positions similar to the case with Maximal in general were mobilized. One consisted in helping people with limited or no English skills by slowing down or reformulating what they said. Another, again, proposed "not caring about errors". A third could be called bridgebuilding for people without English skills by people with proficiency in the global lingua franca.

Table 5: Overview of scopes of action and forms of agency-creation in the six interpretative repertoires

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
General scopes of action	*Regarding rhetorical battles:* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills -Very little agency for those with less proficiency	*Regarding rhetorical games:* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills -Very little agency for those with less proficiency	*Regarding situation control:* -Greater scope of action for speakers of the language of an interaction *Regarding access to information:* -Lacking access to information when not speaking the language of an interaction	*Individual level:* -Greater scope of action for non-French speakers through creation of self-privilege & relying on locals -More balanced scopes of action when all go "part way" (e.g., by using language native to no one) *Organizational level:* -Greater scope of action for white collars because of opportunity to learn languages abroad	-Greater scope of action for those with good language skills because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for those lacking proficiency in a language because they encounter "barriers"	Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
General forms of agency-creation	(none)	(none)	-Choosing the language with which one has the greatest ease	(none)	-Adopting a language as "common platform" -Switching to a language all understand	-Helping -Adopting the role as translating mediator -Mixing languages -Not caring about errors -Expertise compensating for limited mastery of a language -Using specialized language to compensate for possible "errors"

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
English-specific scopes of action	*Regarding rhetorical battles:* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency -Scope of action the smaller, the more limited the English skills	*Regarding rhetorical games:* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency *Regarding "organizational game":* -Almost no scope of action for non-English speakers (risk of "losing out")	*Regarding situation control:* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Smallest scope of action for non-speakers of English	*Individual level:* -Greater scope of action for Anglophones and English speakers because of opportunity to choose interaction language *Organizational level:* -Employees on shop floor losing agency due to widespread use of English	-Greater scope of action for English speakers because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for non-English speakers because they are "blocked by language" *Specifically on lower levels:* -Loss of agency by service staff because separated from other employees and increasingly forgotten by management through use of English	Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Globalos					
English-specific forms of agency-creation	*Regarding territorial battles:* -Resistance against use of English	-Non-native English speakers "sitting in the same boat"	-English speakers: Asking native-English speakers to slow down or repeat -Non-English speakers: Compelling those who need their support to adapt to their language	(none)	-Adopting English as "common platform" -Switching to English	-Helping -Adopting the role as translating mediator -Mixing English with other languages -Not caring about errors -Expertise compensating for limited mastery of English -Using specialized language to compensate for possible "errors"

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Maximal					
General scopes of action	*Regarding territorial battles:* -Greater scope of action for speakers and users of certain languages	*Regarding rhetorical games:* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills - Very little agency for those with less proficiency	*Regarding situation control:* -Greater scope of action for speakers of the language of an interaction *Regarding access to information:* -Lacking access to information when not speaking the language of an interaction	*Individual level:* -Greater scope of action for non-speakers of national languages because of opportunity to choose interaction language	-Greater scope of action for those with good language skills because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for those lacking proficiency in a language because they encounter "barriers"	Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires
General forms of agency-creation	-Defending a language	-Learning local languages to succeed in career game	-Remaining master (using language one is most fluent in / native language) -Increase agency for all (adapting to interlocutor's proficiency level or adapting to lower levels)	(none)	-Learning the local language	-Generosity -"Sorting it out" -Mutual aid -Everyone his/her language -Anticipating -Talking to blue collars in their language - IT jargon as "same language"

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Maximal					
English-specific scopes of action	*Regarding territorical battles:* -Greater scope of action for English speakers and users	*Regarding rhetorical games:* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency *Regarding "organizational game":* -Small scope of action for non-speakers of English due to glass ceiling concerning employment -Loss of agency for non-speakers of English due to its increasing use	-Greatest scope of action for speakers of 2 national languages & English -Second greatest scope of action for speakers of 1 national language & English -Smaller scope of action for speakers of English only -Even smaller scope of action for non-speakers of English	*Individual level:* -Greater scope of action for English speakers because of opportunity to choose interaction language *Organizational level:* -Employees on shop floor losing agency due to widespread use of English	-Greater scope of action for English speakers because they find "open doors" *Specifically on lower levels:* -Small scope of action for non-English speakers who do not understand written communication produced by IT system	Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires

Interpretative repertoire	*Military repertoire*	*Competition repertoire*	*Control repertoire*	*Equality repertoire*	*Participation repertoire*	*Harmony repertoire*
	Maximal					
English-specific forms of agency-creation	*Regarding territorial battles:* -Resistance against use of English	-Non-native English speakers united by common disadvantage	-Using English to understand/be understood -Avoiding English to feel more comfortable -"Do-it-yourself problem solving" -Being assisted by intermediaries -Adapting to lower levels	-Adapting to lower levels	-Adopting English as "common platform" -Switching to English	-Helping people with limited or no English skills by slowing down or reformulating their statements -Not caring about errors -Bridgebuilding for people without English skills

5. Discussion

5.1 Introduction

With this dissertation, I have investigated power aspects of multilingualism in organizations by adopting a bottom-up perspective on linguistic diversity. Based on an understanding of multilingualism as a process of negotiation and as a shared construction effort characterized by tensions and situative factors, I have examined empirically the micro-processes of creating, reinforcing and changing power relations in multilingual companies. With the goal of deepening our understanding of real-life experiences of linguistic diversity and of everyday practices of multilingualism, I have joined other organizational scholars who, based on their critique of "traditional" critical approaches, examine organizations from the perspective of their members. In this view, researchers engage with the practical concerns of social actors and listen to participants' words instead of imposing their assumptions upon their subject of study.

At the same time, I have aimed at contributing to a more differentiated understanding of the multiple meanings of power in linguistically diverse organizations. Research on power in multilingual organizations so far has often foregrounded a negative perspective on power, emphasizing influence on the individual level, divisions between language groups or inferiority/superiority on the meso level and economic imperialism or cultural dominance on the macro level. Also, research on power in organizations often focuses on "power over" instead of "power to" get active, seize opportunities, create possibilities, take responsibility, make decisions and relate to others. While I have further investigated the micro and meso level themes which research on multilingualism has shed light on so far, an important addition was to study more positive aspects of power which emphasize agency. For my study, I conceptualized power based on a number of writings out of the large body of work of Michel Foucault. This notion of power includes a more dynamic view which does not conceive of power as of a zero-sum game, but rather as acting upon others. Furthermore, based on the philosopher's late writings, individuals in power relations (as opposed to repression or dominance) are seen as "free" in the sense that they are confronted with a field of possibilities to act – which might include resistance, but also other, more creative forms of action. In all cases, the presence or creation of various, competing, maybe contradictory discourses represents an important resource for agency. For this study, I operationalized the concept of agency using the concept of positioning. According to this idea, any discursive act of positioning oneself always implies positioning the one who is addressed; similarly, when positioning someone else, that always implies a positioning of the person him/herself (Harré and van Langenhove 1991). The positioning concept emphasizes the social consequences of positioning acts as much as the variety of positionings, implying that choice is possible.

In this study, I have also considered limitations of agency suggested by the many scholars whose work I have presented and discussed. From research on multilingualism, I take account of exclusion, described in this case as a consequence of lacking language skills, usually English, and then often in combination with low

organizational status. Foucault put forward similar terms in his list of questions for the analysis of power relations, where he mentioned the system of differentations such as status, privilege, linguistic differences or differences in competence. Similarly, positioning scholars Harré and van Langenhove (1991) emphasized the differences in rights for self- and other-positioning which depend on different locations in social orders and networks. In this sense, I include "structural" issues in this study, but adopting a definition of structure as diverging conditions of possibilities rather than as determining a social object. Looking for "stable" elements shaping power relations, along with the situational and mobile ones, was thus part of this research project. In a similar vein, I also took into account the role of non-discursive elements, for instance, IT technology, in the context of a multilingual organization.

Another focal point consisted in looking closely at the role of English in power relations in linguistically diverse organizations. By doing so, I intended to further investigate the various and sometimes contradictory facets of English that research has explored so far. On the critical side, scholars have emphasized the role of English skills as a source of individual power, as producing divisions between employees of different organizational status and as restricting access to information for those without English skills. On the positive side, research has highlighted the role of English as facilitating participation and the "democratizing effect" of using English as lingua franca. However, while keeping these findings in mind, I have still adhered strictly to the perspective of the organization members. A number of researchers (e.g., Angouri 2013) have called for more studies on the role that employees ascribe to English and on how English as lingua franca is actually used (House 2003).

I have empirically examined the construction of power relations and the role of English in linguistically diverse organizations by conducting a comparative case study. The two companies I studied, Globalos and Maximal, are characterized by different degrees of "Englishization", mainly because Globalos is a multinational corporation (MNC) and Maximal is not. At the same time, the companies are similar in that neither has an explicit language policy in place. This makes them especially suitable for exploring the processes for constructing of power relations. Compared to organizational contexts in which company management regulates language use, organizations without an explicit language policy have much more space and need for negotiating language use. I was able to study these negotiation processes in very different organizational contexts and to compare power aspects of multilingualism in general with power aspects of multilingualism with regard to English specifically.

This comparative study contributes to the field by investigating the under-researched experiences of middle- and lower-echelon organizational members with linguistic diversity. I endeavored to develop more insights into how multilingualism is experienced not only in multinational corporations (MNCs), but also in national companies, and hoped to make a contribution to researching linguistic diversity *within* organizations instead of focusing on relations between headquarters and subsidiaries, as often happens in research on International Business.

Following my plan to study power aspects in multilingual organizations from the perspective of their members and through their words (Jermier, Knights and Nord 1994), I focused on organizational members' experiences with linguistic diversity from the bottom-up as the starting point of my analysis. Taking a social constructionist perspective, I have considered talk about multilingualism as a constitutive part of the social construction of multilingualism. Within the general social constructionist framework, I adopted a discursive approach, viewing discursive practices as resources people draw on to organize their conduct. In such an understanding, linguistically diverse organizations can be defined as discursively produced by their members. With respect to power relations in multilingual organizations, this means that people create power relations by drawing on discursive resources to describe experiences with diversity. In order to grasp these discursive resources analytically, I have worked with the notion of the interpretative repertoire as put forward by discursive psychology. These "clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images" serve as "resources for making evaluations, constructing factual versions and performing particular actions" (Wetherell and Potter 1992: 90). The notion was used to "discover" and label patterns in people's descriptions of their experiences of multilingualism.

Adopting a relational understanding of power and focusing on agency aspects of power relations, I formulated the following research questions for investigating the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations with a special focus on English from a discursive perspective: 1) Which interpretative repertoires do members of multilingual organizations with a different degree of "Englishization" draw upon when describing their everyday experiences with linguistic diversity? 2) Which subject positions do organizational members define for others and themselves based upon these interpretative repertoires? 3) What are the implications of these positioning acts for the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations with different degrees of "Englishization", especially for individual and collective agency? In the following three chapters, I will answer these research questions by comparing the two companies I examined empirically, always addressing the role of English separately.

5.2 Interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations in companies with different degrees of "Englishization"

When comparing Globalos and Maximal with respect to the interpretive repertoires that were identified, two main similarities stand out. First, all the six repertoires and their core metaphors were found in both companies; the six repertoires helped to map the descriptions of experiences of multilingualism in both cases. Secondly, for both Globalos and Maximal, language skills were a core element, generally and in a number of repertoires especially. They are described as "trumps" in the competition repertoire, as controlling instruments in the control repertoire, as impeding fairness in the equality repertoire and as opening doors in the participation repertoire. In both companies, language proficiency was less central only in the harmony repertoire.

At the same time, the view of language skills as a means of acquiring superiority on the rhetorical battlefield (military repertoire) was specific to Globalos, as were rhetorical contests in the competition repertoire. It could be argued that these different emphases are due to the different organizational contexts. At the Globalos site, as the headquarters of a multinational, white collar employees in particular might be involved in projects and discussions which concern company-wide strategic issues. These questions were often debated in "hard talk" constellations; indeed, the "hard talk" aspect emerged as relevant at Globalos with respect to the military, the competition and the control repertoires. Although the Maximal site was also company headquarters, interviewees were involved in many interactions with subsidiaries in different parts of Switzerland. In this case, the combination of the country's linguistic complexity and the limited language skills of employees in factories, distribution centers and warehouses might explain why defending one's project with sophisticated vocabulary was less foregrounded.

With respect to the relevance of proficiency in specific languages, the two main languages of Switzerland, German and French, played a noticeably more important role at Maximal than at Globalos. French is portrayed as an important language used by white collar employees at headquarters, on the shop floor in the subsidiary in French-speaking Switzerland and by the lower management communicating with subsidiaries in French- and Italian-speaking Switzerland. Standard German was said to be the language that non-native German-speaking white collar workers used when communicating with subsidiaries in German-speaking Switzerland and with customers, and the language among shop-floor employees in the subsidiaries in German-speaking Switzerland. Italian is the language that the lower management was described as adopting when communicating with the subsidiary in Italian-speaking Switzerland and on the shop floor in that subsidiary.

Also within the harmony repertoire, the variant that everybody speaks his/her language ("lingua receptiva" in linguistic terminology) was cited more often at Maximal than at Globalos. A number of examples from the interviews showed how employees from different linguistic regions of Switzerland, talking together, each expressed themselves in their native language; this often involved German and French. The company's stronger anchor in its Swiss context might explain this. Traditionally in Switzerland, high priority is given to the egalitarian mode of the "lingua receptiva" (Lüdi 2013).

"Lived" linguistic complexity thus seems to be rather high at Maximal, while "common platforms" play a more important role at Globalos. This primarily concerns English, but extends also to French, the local language, which was adopted informally as the common language in the internal service departments (encompassing the cleaning services and the employees' restaurant and cafeteria) of the company.

This leads to questions about the role of English as it emerged from the repertoires in the two companies. On the whole, the global lingua franca played a less important role at Maximal. There, according to employees' accounts, using English was only one among many options. English seems to have served occasionally as the "common platform" among the white collar workers at the headquarters, and as the common

language of the IT standardization project. At Globalos, however, English was often presented as the "common platform" for basically all employees except for those on the lower levels, that is, the service departments.[37] As one interviewee put it, communicating in English has "become a rhythm, a habit" (« devenu un rhythme, une habitude », Globalos 12, 78-80; my translation) at Globalos.

At the same time, both companies share a number of features with regard to the role of English. At Globalos and Maximal, the more conflict-oriented repertoires were activated to a stronger extent with respect to English specifically than in general. Within the military repertoire, the "war between languages" theme was mobilized in both cases regarding the global lingua franca. Furthermore, at Globalos in particular, the "rhetorical battle" aspect was brought into play. The competition repertoire was in both companies more pointed when it concerned English specifically. At Globalos and Maximal, people emphasized the relevance of good or native-level skills in English for successful performance in the rhetorical games. Furthermore, reasonable English proficiency was, in both companies, portrayed as necessary for taking part in the organizational game, for instance, regarding employment.

With respect to the control repertoire, speaking in English was, in both companies, portrayed as a way to control the outcome of one's utterances in an interaction where one participant's English was better than the other language in use. Furthermore, the repertoire emphasized the importance of English skills for having access to information in both companies. In the case of the equality repertoire, the *imbalance* aspect was stressed with specific regard to English in both companies, more than in the repertoire in general. At Globalos in particular, it was established practice to revert to English if interlocutors did not have a shared language. Also at Globalos, one concern with English was that its widespread use might endanger the equality between organizational members, because all did not have mastery. The participation repertoire in both companies stressed the contradictory facets of English. On one hand, English is portrayed as the common language which makes it possible to "include everyone". On the other hand, lacking proficiency is presented as a reason for "being blocked" within everyday organizational life and encountering obstacles with climbing professional ladders or being employed. Finally, for both companies, being tolerant towards "errors" and mixing languages are variants of dealing with "imperfection" in English within the harmony repertoire; these aspects appeared as frequently with specific regard to English as in the repertoire in general.

At both Globalos and Maximal, the role of English seems to be connected with organizational change processes. At Maximal, this obviously concerns the IT standardization project which the company was undergoing at the time of data collection. Due to the increasing use of English that was entailed, not speaking English was portrayed as having negative consequences for access to information. According to many accounts, this concerned everyone, not only the middle and lower management directly involved in the change process. Employees in the factories,

[37] Note that the "lower levels" in the case of the Globalos mainly consist of these service departments. There are no production centers at the Globalos headquarters.

distribution centers and warehouses of the subsidiaries were increasingly confronted with the challenge of deciphering written information on their computer screens in English. Although Globalos was not experiencing such fundamental change, there was evolution there too. Employees who had been working for the company for many years described the recent increasing use of English and, especially, the decreasing use of French in internal communication (see, for instance, the examples of the welcome day and internal circulars). A small observation study that I conducted at Globalos at the time of data collection (Gaibrois 2009) confirmed this. It showed that, although this change was not systematic, more recent "texts" written for internal communication were sometimes only produced in English. One prominent example is an exhibition of company products, accessible to all employees, in which all information panels were in English only.

Finally, in both companies, English use in e-mail communication was emphasized. Drawing on arguments from the control repertoire, people emphasized that, by writing their messages in English, they were trying to make sure all recipients would understand the content they intended without having to rely upon translations. This is an example of an extra-discursive factor playing an important role in shaping the construction of power relations in multilingual organizations. This attempt at controlling the outcome of an utterance was available only to people with English skills, however.

5.3 Subject positions members of multilingual organizations define for others and themselves in companies with different degrees of "Englishization"

With respect to the subject positions evolving from the repertoires in the two companies, one important similarity again is related to language proficiency. In both companies, those with good language skills were positioned as winners in rhetorical competitions, masters of the situation, having more opportunities and finding open doors. Those with "poor" language skills were accordingly constructed as losing out on organizational life, missing information, not on equal terms with colleagues and encountering barriers. Furthermore, in both companies, native speakers were positioned as advantaged in rhetorical competitions and in controlling interactions. Those who were not native speakers of a language relegated themselves to the position of "being in the same boat" evolving from the competition repertoire. These two complementary positions apply to native/non-native speakers in general; the argument was often made with respect to both English and other languages, and generally.

In both companies too several positions evolving from the harmony repertoire were oriented explicitly or implicitly towards creating good relations at work. While some suggested adapting to the language of the interlocutor in order to create closeness, others stressed helping, tolerance and generosity. Also, language skills played a distinctive role in the harmony repertoire: because, within the harmony repertoire, even people with limited language skills were positioned as finding ways to

communicate, even limited language skills represent resources which can be mobilized in interactions.

Furthermore, in both companies, migrants working on the shop floor were largely positioned, not by managements but by co-workers, as having to adapt to the local language. At Globalos, this position was combined with the position evolving from the participation repertoire which proposed agreeing upon a "common platform". This adaptation was explicitly justified with the territorial argument that "we speak French because we are in the French-speaking part of Switzerland".

The two companies differed with respect to the constellation of subject positions that evolved from the repertoires. The Swiss national context seemed to be more relevant at Maximal, which led to some of this difference. One distinctive feature at Maximal related to this was the voluntary adaptation of middle managers and those responsible for the IT standardization project to the language of their interlocutors on the lower levels of the company, especially in subsidiaries. This element emerged in various repertoires regarding the three main Swiss languages, German, French and Italian, and even towards migrant languages such as Spanish. In the case of the control repertoire, the position could be described as compensating for the lack of access to information; in the harmony repertoire, as making the – appreciated – effort to communicate in all the languages that colleagues spoke.

The national context was also relevant with respect to skills in national languages. Speaking and understanding German, the most important national language (if only in its Standard German variant), was positioned as important for a long-term career or for relationships with clients. Also, those using English instead of any of the national languages were, in some cases, constructed as those who break informal rules. However, this did not apply to non-national employees hired for the IT standardization project who did not intend to work for the company after completing their specific task.

In addition, in the case of the participation repertoire, for example, the integration position was mobilized by drawing on an unconventional understanding of language: "multilanguage", or a "mix of languages floating in the air". As the interviewee (Maximal 10) suggested, membership in a speaking community could include speaking communities which are not mainly territorially bound. In this understanding, while becoming part of a linguistic group is still the goal, language skills are less central because the focus is not on becoming member of a pre-existing speaking community, but on participating in societal and organizational life by being involved in the creation of a common language. The interviewee combined this unconventional meaning of the integration position with distancing himself from the orientation towards preserving languages, which would come close to the "defending language" position within the military repertoire.

With respect to English specifically, the two companies again shared a number of features in the constellations of subject positions evolving from the six repertoires. One concerned the consequences for lower-echelon employees of the increasing use of English. According to many interviewees, these employees often did not speak and

understand the global lingua franca and were thus put in a position of encountering barriers of all types, from saying a few words to customers as a cafeteria employee (Globalos) to understanding internal personnel information issued by the management (Globalos) or interacting with the IT system (Maximal). Especially in the latter case, lower level staff could be seen as encountering more than "just" barriers, but as facing the risk of being excluded from parts of organizational life and missing access to information. In both companies too, the danger to lower level employees of losing informal status was an issue. In the case of Maximal, the theme emerged in the context of the IT standardization process and the increasing use of English that resulted. At Globalos, the status difference related to a symbolic event. In their interpretation of the change in language used at the welcome day event, once conducted in French, the local language, and now held in English, the lower level staff positioned themselves as no longer being on equal terms with the white collar employees. From this perspective, addressing new employees in several languages in order to make sure that non-English speakers would understand represents viewing the new employees as "having the same rights", as one interviewee put it.

At the same time, using English was positioned as an inclusionary act at both companies. Those who adopted it as the "least common denominator" or the "common platform" allowed everyone who was able to join their brief or extended conversations. In a similar logic, actively switching to English was positioned as facilitating the participation of persons unable to use the language being utilized in an interaction. Users of the global lingua franca also constructed themselves as people who can enter into relationships with those who would otherwise be out of reach due to the lack of a common language.

In order to benefit from the inclusionary facets of English, however, people were positioned as needing the "key to the door", that is, the ability to speak and understand English. This is another fundamental feature that the Globalos and the Maximal cases share with regard to the global lingua franca. From the perspective of the competition and the control repertoires, English skills become even more important in both companies because they represented "trumps" in rhetorical competitions or means of trying to control the effect of one's utterances. By this logic, native-English speakers were constructed as being especially advantaged, particularly in interactions in which there was something at stake, due to their linguistic superiority. At the same time, this implies that, from a competitive perspective, non-native English speakers were positioned as united by their common disadvantage; having difficulties and experiencing frustrations in expressing themselves united them and landed them all "in the same boat".

Also, In both companies, a number of positions evolving from the harmony repertoire emphasized native-English speakers' tolerance and efforts to adapt to their interlocutors, by slowing down, suggesting terms or choosing "simpler" vocabulary.

At the same time, both companies shared the strong theme of the English speakers' privilege. Evolving from the equality repertoire, the English-speaking minority was positioned as creating a self-privilege by expecting everyone to adapt to English. The

issue becomes even hotter when native English speakers were concerned, possibly because of a combination of the "advantage of the native speaker" position with the "English speakers' privilege" position. At Globalos, the "Anglophone privilege" position additionally comprised the strong theme of native-English speakers declining to make the effort to learn French, the local language. Thus, at Globalos, Anglophones were positioned as claiming multiple privileges for themselves. This particular issue of Anglophones' lack of efforts to adapt to local languages was not in evidence much at Maximal, perhaps because of the limited number of native-English speakers working there. Apart from the IT standardization project, expatriates rarely seemed to work in this national company, contrary to the multinational corporation Globalos, where expatriates have a much stronger presence.

Within the military repertoire, positions evolving from the "being at war with English" theme were related to employees' organizational functions. At Globalos, members of the service departments constructed themselves as defenders of the local language; at Maximal, it was the blue collar workers who do not speak English in the subsidiaries who were positioned as "threatened".

Looking at differences in the subject positions evolving from the repertoire, each company had a different emphasis with respect to English skills. While at Globalos, the issue of good language skills combined with "hard talk" appeared frequently (not only with regard to English), it seems less important at Maximal. There, on the other hand and uniquely, informal ways of making understanding possible were relevant, for instance, the use of online translation tools by staff who do not understand English, or informal translations by the middle and lower management for employees on the shop floor. One might again argue that these differences are the result of the different organizational contexts. At the headquarters of the multinational corporation Globalos, white collar employees in particular might be involved in projects and discussions which concern company-wide strategic issues. The interviewees at Maximal, on the other hand, seemed to be involved in many interactions with subsidiaries in different parts of Switzerland; the combination of the linguistic complexity of the country and the limited language skills of employees in factories, distribution centers and warehouses might explain why "getting through" and "finding a way" was, on the whole, positioned as more relevant than defending one's project in sophisticated vocabulary.

However, more pragmatic views on English emerged quite prominently at Globalos. Using a simplified version of English ("broken English", as one interviewee called it) was positioned as allowing people to "feel free". This position suggests that, rather than bothering with accents and rhetorical sophistication, one should just speak – regardless of "errors", which are not merely acceptable, but may simply be ignored. This position on the use of English was reinforced viewing the global lingua franca as a "business tool". One might argue that this form of English approaches a "neutral" language like Esperanto which – although it hardly surfaced in the interviews[38] – is

[38] The Esperanto theme does not appear at all in the Globalos data. At Maximal, the Esperanto subject has been briefly touched on in 3 out of 14 interviews – always after the interviewer explicitly asked whether Esperanto was used at Maximal and what the interviewee thought about it. The first (Maximal 1) said one might have

praised for putting people on equal terms. The advocates of Esperanto, created in 1887 by Ludwik Zamenhof, claim that neutrality is one of its key advantages, since it "privileges no one particular group of speakers" (Edwards 2012: 53). Apart from not being the property of any community of native speakers, Esperanto is a universal secondary language (Van Parijs 2011: 40f.).[39]

An additional position specific to Maximal (and mentioned already) evolved from the harmony repertoire: bridgebuilding for people without English skills by people with English mastery. This could be interpreted as a variant of "adapting to the lower levels" which has been identified at Maximal and discussed already.

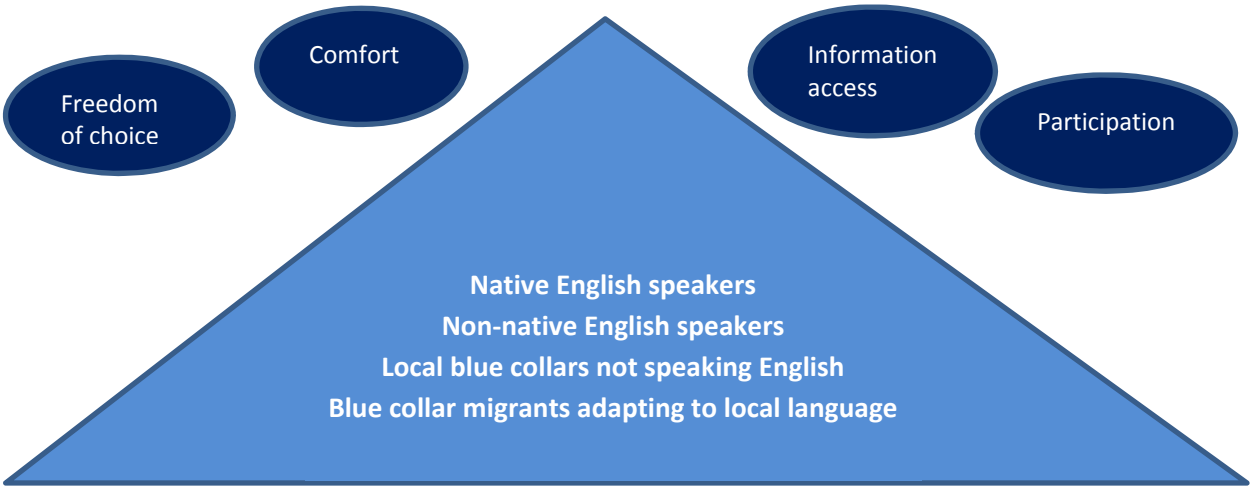
5.4 Implications of positioning acts for the construction of power relations and agency in companies with different degrees of "Englishization"

Both companies exhibited a hierarchy of agency, when it comes to implications of the positioning acts for people's scope of action. Depending on the organizational context and the languages which play a role, the hierarchies look different in the two cases. At Globalos, a hierarchy of agency relates to English skills. At its top are native English speakers; under them are non-native English speakers, who are followed by local blue collar workers not speaking English. At the bottom are blue collar migrants adapting to the local language, French. The main elements of agency consist of freedom of choice, comfort, access to information and participation.

imagined that Esperanto would work, but that apparently, it was English which had imposed itself (« [T]out le monde aurait pu imaginer que ça marcherait un coup, l'Esperanto, mais visiblement, non. (...) [C]'est je pense vraiment l'anglais (...) la langue qui s'est imposée. » (Maximal 1, 51); the second (Maximal 3) answered that he had never thought about Esperanto (Maximal 3, 248). The third person (Maximal 4) had never heard about it. After the interviewer informed her briefly on Esperanto, she said: „English is so easy and I'm so used and I don't see the point. Why should I change?" (Maximal 4, 215)

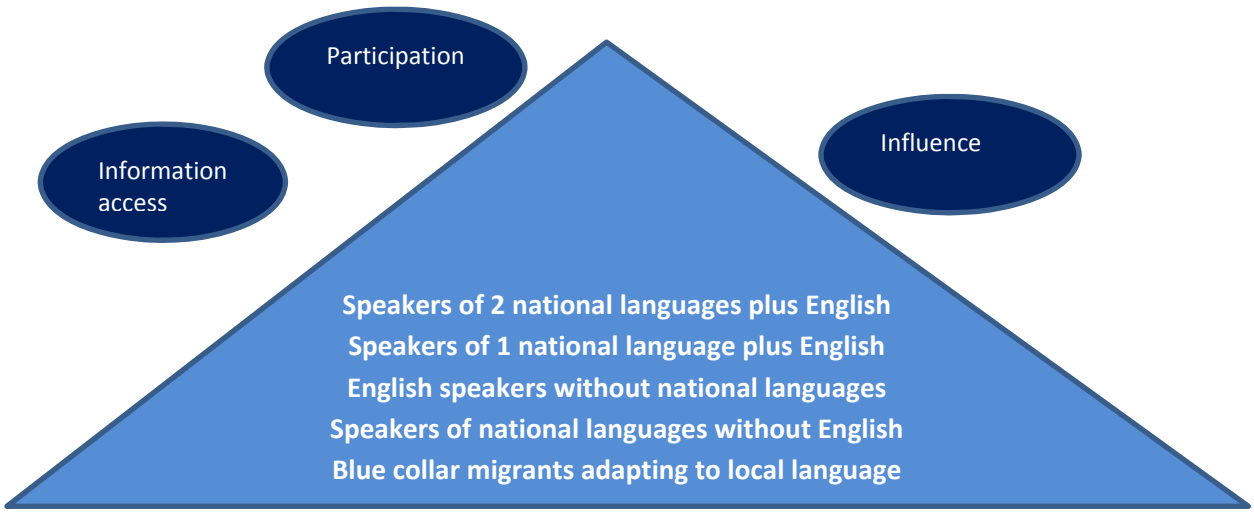
[39] Whether Esperanto indeed represents a neutral lingua franca is an issue of debate among researchers. Van Parijs, for instance, remains critical. Among other arguments, the philosopher claims that Esperanto is composed by Latin, Germanic and Slavic ingredients. It thus, in his view, cannot claim to be „equidistant from all existing languages" and thus to be „neutral" – not in a European, and even less in a global context (Van Parijs 2011: 40).

Figure 4: Hierarchy of agency related to English skills in the Globalos case



At Maximal, the hierarchy of agency is related to skills in as many languages as possible. Here, speakers of the two most important national languages, German and French, and English as well, are positioned at the top. This is followed by speakers of one main national language (German or French) and English. After that come English speakers without skills in the national languages. This was especially true for employees working on the IT standardization project; but, as illustrated, English proficiency was in general becoming increasingly a requirement for employment. Speakers of national languages without English skills might thus be placed under the English speakers without proficiency in national languages. At the bottom of the hierarchy are blue collar migrants adapting to the local languages. At Maximal too, the primary elements of agency consist of access to information and participation; an additional element is influence, referencing the understanding of written as well as oral communication and being a voluntary informal translator between middle and lower levels.

Figure 5: Hierarchy of agency related to skills in as many languages as possible in the Maximal case



At the same time, the stable scopes of actions in each company are balanced by various forms of agency-creation. What Globalos and Maximal share here is that agency creation, broadly speaking, is mainly based on positions evolving from the control, the participation and the harmony repertoires. Choosing the language one is most comfortable in is one position evolving from the control repertoire which appeared in both companies. The "common platform" position, which can be interpreted as a form of agency creation if the participants speak the "platform" language, prominently emerged from the participation repertoire. In the case of the harmony repertoire, helping, "not caring about errors", mixing languages and compensating for "imperfect" language skills with expertise (Globalos) and expert language (Globalos) or IT jargon (Maximal) are positions which all viewed as creating agency.

At Maximal specifically, a range of further forms of agency-creation emerged which could be grouped under the label of "creating spaces for agency for people with lower language skills"; these aspects of agency focused mostly on blue collar employees in the subsidiaries in German-speaking Switzerland. From the control repertoire, these include reducing the vocabulary to the level of the person with the weakest skills or informally translating complicated documents. From the harmony repertoire emerges the position that everyone use his/her language (lingua receptiva) and "problem anticipation" which recommends preparing for multilingual meetings in advance by exchanging documents.

When it comes to English-specific positions of creating spaces for agency, the two companies share some features. First, active resistance against the use of English appeared at Globalos and Maximal. At Globalos, the staff of the internal services departments insisted that other employees address them in French if they wanted their heating systems fixed or their logistics problems solved. At Maximal, resistance consists of making critical remarks on the use of English in e-mails or presentations. These acts of resistance are sometimes successful, as in the example of the Belgian employee who makes presentations in French although it costs her more effort than making them in English. This aspect of agency creation is strongly linked with the "war of language"' theme which is present in both companies, but is explicitly related to English only at Globalos. There, making use of dependencies in order to regain control and asserting that "the local language has to be defended against the invasion of the English speakers" go hand in hand. This combination of positions is especially explosive with the addition of another element: employees of the internal services departments (Globalos) or in the production sector (Maximal) are put in the position of experiencing a loss of informal status due to the increasing use of English.

Other forms of collective resistance by non-English speakers did not appear. One can imagine other resistance scenarios: temporary strikes, asking the management to systematically translate internal communication in all company-relevant languages or finding someone at the middle/higher management levels to defend their cause. Such top-down efforts were not in evidence in either company, nor did interviewees describe systematic efforts by top company management to facilitate access to

information (control repertoire), being on equal terms (equality repertoire) and taking part in organizational life (participation repertoire) for all members of the organization.

At the same time, improving one's English skills appears as a theme only within the military, the competition and the control repertoires, as a form of acquiring a "trump" or a control instrument for white collar workers involved in "hard talk". However, taking English classes was barely mentioned as an option with respect to getting access to information or participating in company life. Why this was the case is an important question with several possible answers. As shown, the increasing use of English is connected to a concern about a loss of informal status in both companies. Thus, there seems to be much more at stake than "simply" not understanding internal information because it is only written in English. One might argue that the fear, or the experience of losing the "equal terms" status does not represent a good motivation to learn English. Furthermore, it is an open question whether "regular" language classes represent the best setting for learning English for the internal services departments' employees (Globalos) or for those in the factories, warehouses and distribution centers (Maximal).[40]

A number of agency-creating positions come from the participation and the harmony repertoires. Using English as the "common platform" is described as facilitating participation, provided all participants master the language. From the harmony repertoire evolved a number of positions which create spaces for agency: helping people with limited English skills, "not caring about errors" and mixing languages. The position of "not caring about errors" in particular could be interpreted as attenuating the potentially competitive character of interactions, thus allowing for a high degree of freedom to act. Therefore, the notions of superiority or inferiority due to rhetorical control or lack of it are replaced by a perspective that emphasizes freedom of action and a similar degree of situational control for everyone.

In the case of Maximal specifically, using online translation tools is one form of agency-creation that emerged from the control repertoire. Another, evolving from the control and the harmony repertoire, concerned middle and lower management translating documents and other written communication from English into the local languages used at the subsidiaries.

5.5 Contribution to research on multilingualism in organizations

This study has, in a general sense, contributed to studying multilingualism from a bottom-up perspective by focusing on practices of everyday language use and people's

[40] Although the language course theme was not systematically examined, it was addressed in a series of interviews. These indicate that Globalos as well as Maximal offer their employees the possibility of taking language classes. With regard to employees on the lower levels specifically, it showed that participating is viewed as difficult by the staff. At Globalos, interviewees mentioned having taken English and other classes, but that it had not been easy for them (because it was too much after a day of work, Globalos 7; because it was in their free time, Globalos 12; because their need to learn languages was not as obvious as for employees on higher levels, Globalos 21).

experiences of linguistic diversity. It has investigated the "ways in which the presence of multiple languages in the workplace is managed by employees" (Sherman and Strubell 2013: 511) and thus studied the micro-processes through which multilingual organizations are created (see the call for papers from the *Journal of International Business Studies*, November 2012). By defining multilingualism as a negotiation process (e.g., Angouri 2013; Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011; House 2003) and common construction effort (Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010), it has contributed to further studying linguistic diversity, not as the sum of languages, but rather as dynamic language use.

With respect to power aspects of multilingualism specifically, my study confirms a number of findings by scholars from the fields of International Business and sociolinguistics. The first concerns language competence as a source of individual power and influence, a theme which has been addressed by various researchers such as Peltokorpi and Vaara (2014), Barner-Rasmussen et al. (2014), Angouri (2014), Vaara et al. (2005), Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert (2004) and Tietze, Cohen and Musson (2003). As the Globalos and the Maximal cases both show, those with good proficiency in a language are positioned as winners in rhetorical competitions and controlling a situation, but also as those having access to information. Furthermore, in the specific case of Maximal, middle managers put themselves in an influential position by taking the role of intermediaries who voluntarily translate documents or adapt themselves to the language of their interlocutors with reduced language competency. Using Barner-Rasmussen et al.'s (2014) term, these intermediaries could be called "boundary spanners". In their study of four Finnish companies and their subsidiaries in China and Russia, Barner-Rasmussen et al. found, interestingly, that these "individuals who engage in and facilitate significant interactions between two groups" (p. 887) were evenly distributed at all levels of the company hierarchy, ranging from assistants to managing directors. Remarkably, language competence as a source of individual power and influence in my research emerged as very relevant in a context which is not regulated by language policies. Scholars focusing on this aspect have often highlighted its relevance in relation to the official corporate languages (Vaara et al. 2005; Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert 2004 and Tietze, Cohen and Musson 2003).

Secondly, this study confirms findings which concern collectively oriented aspects such as participation and inclusion/exclusion. The various barriers encountered by people with little or no skills in the relevant languages, according to previous research, were also found at Globalos and Maximal. Remaining quiet in the context of episodic social interaction due to lacking language skills (Vaara et al. 2005) emerged as a notable position as much as encountering serious obstacles in career progression (Lønsmann 2014; Gunnarsson 2014; Angouri 2013; Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2011) or accessing the job market (Angouri 2014). At the same time, the Globalos and the Maximal cases confirm the relevance of language skills for participating in workplace interactions (e.g., Angouri 2013; Kingsley 2013; Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart 2010; Vaara et al. 2005).

A third important theme concerns the relation between language competence and employees' organizational, educational or societal status. In this respect, my study confirms Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio's (2011) conclusion that linguistically diverse companies are "internally stratified with regard to language", and that there is a "faultline" between higher management positions and blue-collar jobs (p. 293). In the case of Globalos, this finding could be extended to the existence of a "faultline" between white collar workers in general and the service departments. In the case of Maximal, not only the upper management, but also middle managers and project managers were concerned. The Globalos case, confirms, almost literally, Gunnarsson's (2014) conclusion that "language knowledge creates a divide between those who master the corporate language and those who do not" (p. 22). One employee of the Globalos service department positioned himself and his co-workers as the "French part" that company management had forgotten.

Fourthly, my study investigates the under-researched experience of migrants – as distinguished from expatriates – in multilingual organizations. In both companies, migrants have to adapt to the local language which serves as the common platform in the service departments (Globalos) or in the production centers and warehouses (Maximal) where they work. They are thus positioned on the lowest levels of the agency hierarchy. In the case of Globalos, this adaptation is explicitly legitimized with what Lønsmann (2014) calls the national language ideology, in her case "Danish because we are in Denmark". At Globalos, analogously, the "French because we are in the French-speaking part of Switzerland" language ideology applied. Thus, as Lønsmann posited, a divide between in-group locals and out-group "foreigners" is constructed.

Fifthly, I have also further explored the experience of expatriates, which stands in strong contrast to that of migrants. Especially in the case of Globalos, expatriates are described as creating a position of self-privilege thanks to their ability to "impose" the use of English and their unwillingness to learn the local language. This confirms similar findings by Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois (2011) who identified a clash between a local "majority" of French-speaking employees and the expatriates who, even if they constituted a minority, were able to impose the use of English on others. However, other aspects that scholars who study expatriates in multilingual organizations have indexed did not appear in these data. It would be going too far to conclude, with Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert (2004), that expatriates are in a "dominant and control position" (p. 425). Also, I did not find indications that expatriates took the role of language mediators and interpreters, as did Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999) in their study of the headquarters-subsidiaries relations of a Finnish company. This confirms Barner-Rasmussen et al.'s (2014) findings that it "would be a serious mistake to equate boundary spanners in the MNC context with expatriates" (p. 901).

The findings concerning blue collar workers, migrants and expatriates also show that linguistic diversity intersects with other diversity categories when it comes to negotiating agency in multilingual organizations. As Tatli and Özbilgin (2012) emphasized, the literature on workforce diversity tends to focus on a single diversity

category as a "stand-alone phenomenon, overlooking the role of intersectionality between multiple forms of difference in the construction of diversity categories" (p. 180).

In this study, hierarchies in the traditional sense do not play an important role in the context of multilingualism practices in everyday work life. Lauring and Klitmøller (2014) suggest that "individuals are more avoidant when communicating with high power others". However, I did not find evidence which would support such a conclusion. Rather, there were examples of native English-speaking team leaders positioned as helping their counterparts to express themselves, or superiors learning the language spoken by the majority of their team, even if it was not the local language. Intimidation in the face of superiors was not a mobilized position, however. This finding supports Angouri's (2013) view that, in the context of organizations characterized by "flat" egalitarian systems, the employees assume roles and responsibilities for standardizing practices in their workplace. Thus, the author concluded, the "top-down and bottom-up power struggle that has been widely addressed in language policy and planning research becomes blurred" (p.: 576f.).

Furthermore, this study has made a number of contributions to investigating power aspects in multilingualism in novel ways. First, by basing itself on a relational, dynamic and non-deterministic understanding of power and by emphasizing agency, it has expanded the study of power beyond the often negatively oriented issues of individual influence and the division between linguistic groups. This rather negative perspective on the power aspects of multilingualism, which emerged in the literature review at the beginning of this study, also prevails in a number of studies published in the recent special issue of the *International Journal of Business Studies*. Barner-Rasmussen et al. (2014) and Peltokorpi and Vaara (2014) both focus on language skills as a source of power. Hinds, Neeley and Cramton (2014), who understand power as "asymmetric control over valued resources in social relations" (p. 552), state that asymmetries in language fluency can reinforce subgroup dynamics and can even serve as "lightning rod" when activated by power contests. In addition to studying such competitively oriented aspects of power, my research has identified forms of agency creation across a number of repertoires and in both companies. Creating agency aims at counterbalancing the temporarily stabilized hierarchies in scopes of action which are often related to language skills. Forms of agency creation include[41]:

- Resistance (protest against the use of a certain language or making use of dependencies)
- Pragmatic approaches (asking for explanations)
- Facilitating participation
- Cooperation (helping others, finding a way together by mixing languages, "just talk"/"not caring about errors", creating new languages, using expert language or compensating for weak language skills through expertise)

[41] Note that these forms of agency creation are, in some cases, related to people's organizational status or to their language proficiency; they are not available to everyone.

By examining constructive forms of agency creation such as mixing and creating new languages, this research has contributed to studying "the emergence of novel enactments of power relations that are produced by such hybrid language use" (Janssens and Steyaert 2014: 637). Also, by integrating helping as a position in my analysis, I interpreted "boundary spanning" not only as a source of power, but also as a form of cooperation.

Also, by interpreting the positions evolving from the harmony repertoire as forms of agency creation and not in a deficit-oriented perspective, I have contributed to spreading a non-essentialist understanding of multilingualism in research. I have, with Lüdi (2013), focused on "partially shared plurilingual repertoires (…) as resources used in a situated way" (p. 229) and thus also explored how people use their multilingual resources creatively (Jansson 2014). Researchers in International Business especially have tended towards conceiving of linguistic diversity as the sum of languages. This view is also implicit in a series of studies published in the recent special issue of the *International Journal of Business Studies* which focus on national languages (e.g., Hinds, Neeley and Cramton 2014; Peltokorpi and Vaara 2014; Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014; Tenzer, Pudelko and Harzing 2014). However, I prefer the newer understanding, put forward in critical linguistics, which foregrounds language use (*languaging*) and views language as emergent from "doing being a speaker of a language" (Lüdi 2013: 143). As Canagarajah (2007) emphasized, "[c]onstructs based on monolingualism and homogeneity are well suited to communities that desire purity, exclusivity, and domination" (p. 934). A distanced position from this notion of purity emerged from the participation repertoire at Maximal which emphasized that, in order to integrate currently, people have to adapt to the multilanguage created by societal members with their different linguistic backgrounds, rather than preserve local languages. In my study, along with Janssens and Steyaert (2014), I thus interpret language as a social practice rather than a discrete entity. Based on sociolinguistic research, Janssens and Steyaert propose adopting a "multilingual franca" approach, which represents a human-centered multilingualism that conceives of language as social activity in which speakers mobilize multiple linguistic resources to express voice.

Furthermore, I argue that the six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations represent a conceptual contribution which could be helpful in analyzing power relations in multilingual organizations. This especially applies to contexts without an official language policy, since the repertoires were developed in two such companies. I do not suggest that these six repertoires are exhaustive, or that they could be identified in any organizational context. Rather, I propose that they can serve as a starting point for an analysis, indicating aspects that might be relevant. With respect to the harmony repertoire specifically, the elements of language mixing and language creation elements could be interpreted as "in-between-spaces" offering potential for novel theorizing, following on Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki and Welch (2014). Such "in-between-spaces" are characterized by the development of hybrid forms of language and a high degree of linguistic improvisation.

Table 6: Six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations

Interpretative repertoire	**Understanding of multilingual encounters**
Military repertoire	Multilingual encounters as fights between people of different linguistic backgrounds
Competition repertoire	Multilingual encounters as games between people of different linguistic backgrounds
Control repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of mastering the situation between people of different linguistic backgrounds
Equality repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of being on equal terms between people of different linguistic backgrounds
Participation repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of taking part in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds
Harmony repertoire	Multilingual encounters as matter of cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds

5.6 Contribution to research on English in organizations

This study has, first of all and in a general sense, contributed to better understanding the role that employees ascribe to English (Angouri 2013). Scholars have identified a need for more research conducted from the perspective of organizational members. House (2003) suggested empirical research on how English as lingua franca is actually used and what it does to local languages "[r]ather than pre-determine research (…) through (…) derogative terms as (neo)imperialism and (neo)colonialism" (p. 574). Taking up these aspects, I have contributed to the emerging field of researching English as lingua franca (ELF), thereby viewing it as a language in its own right (Hua 2014).

By studying two companies, one national and one a multinational, characterized by different degrees of "Englishization", I have gained insights into the relevance of the organizational and national context for the role of English. Conflict oriented themes, in particular, became more virulent at Globalos, where using English as lingua franca in everyday communication has become a habit. The Anglophone self-privilege issue (English native speakers positioned as forcing others to adapt to their language and unwilling to learn French) and the native-English speaker advantage theme were hot there. These issues were much less live at Maximal, probably because of the dearth of Anglophones working there. Resistance against the use of English was evident in both companies. As described earlier, service department employees at Globalos positioned themselves as defenders of the local language by making use of dependencies and compelling non-French speakers to adapt to their language; at Maximal, an employee was persuaded by critical comments to switch to French from English for presentation. Both companies had concerns about organizational change. The IT standardization

project at Maximal clearly led to a new, increasing use of English; while Globalos was not engaged in such an official change, long-time employees described an increasing tendency towards management's use of English only in written communication (e.g., intranet) and on symbolic occasions (e.g., welcome day). One might then argue that such "waves" of "Englishization" in a multilingual organization might function as catalysts for power dynamics. Old informal rules or habits might be renegotiated, new fields of tensions might emerge, but new ways to communicate in linguistically diverse settings might be found. The Globalos and the Maximal cases each offer a number of relevant examples. For instance, in both companies, the move towards English seemed to increase the divide between white collar employees and lower level employees. At the same time, positions for creating spaces for agency in such communicative constellations emerged from several repertoires. Service department employees' compelling those who depend on them to use French represents one prominent example at Globalos; informal translations and bridgebuilding by middle and lower managers speaking English are examples at Maximal.

Relating to research on the role of English in multilingual organizations, my study confirms a number of findings. First, it supports the insights of scholars who have emphasized the critical aspects of English use. The study shows that those with English skills are put in an advantaged position in rhetorical competitions or when attempting to control an interaction, which Harzing and Pudelko (2013), Neeley (2012), Lüdi, Höchle and Yanaprasart (2010), Feely and Harzing (2003), Tietze, Cohen and Musson (2003), and Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999) found also. Also, the native-English speaker's advantaged position has been emphasized by Harzing and Pudelko (2013). This leads to the complementary position of non-native speakers of English "being in the same boat", which confirms Neeley's (2012) finding of a parity in communication between non-native English speakers, especially when talking in "broken English". This also supports Vaara et al.'s (2005) conclusion that non-native speakers' use of English might be viewed as a sign of equality. With respect to the "Anglophone advantage", the case study further revealed that the issue is not specific to English. What really counts with regard to non-Anglophone white collar employees are the advantages of the native speakers vis-à-vis non-native speakers on a broad rhetorical level. English is just an example of this phenomenon, although a very prominent one, especially in a multinational company like Globalos.

Secondly, my research confirms the conclusions of scholars who research the consequences of lacking English skills for groups of organizational members. This study supports Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio's (2011) findings that there is a major "faultline" between the management and the service and production sectors with regard to English competence' and Gunnarsson's (2014) conclusion that the lack of English skills creates "a divide between skilled and unskilled staff" (p. 26). Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari (2006) also identified a "wide gulf" between those who have English skills and those who do not. It also confirmed Lønsmann's (2014) findings that blue collar workers can even be kept from basic information. At Globalos, employees cited examples of internal written communications which were distributed only in English; at Maximal, staff without English skills were positioned as not having access to certain information because the new IT system is mainly in English. However, at Maximal, this effect was also

described with respect to other languages, for example when documents were not formulated in other national languages.

On the other hand, this dissertation confirms the role of English for organizational members' participation. Switching to English in the middle of a conversation in order to include other participants (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014; Lüdi 2013) represents one of the positions emerging from the participation repertoire in both companies. The position of using English "to be fair and give equal access to colleagues and enable participation in workplace activities" (Kingsley 2013: 544) could be identified almost literally. The reflective use of English as it appears in the harmony repertoire might fall into this category also. Helping those with "poorer" English proficiency and adapting to their level of language are positions emerging from this repertoire which have not been foregrounded in research so far. This adds to the research on employees' perception as to what constitutes good English for work purposes and its role for social talk (Angouri 2013).

In sum, my study supports research which has interpreted the role of English in multilingual organization as complex and contradictory. It confirms that "the creation of this new linguistic space excludes non-English speakers, but it also can have a democratising effect, as it allows people to join it temporarily or constantly without requiring perfect command of the English language as its basis is rather a simplified English." (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2010: 26)

5.7 Practical implications

Based on this case study, a number of practical implications emerge. As a starting point, it should be noted that "the language strategy (…) is a way to decide which languages can be spoken and therefore, which groups and/or individuals will be involved in the international communication process and impact its outcomes" (Janssens, Lambert and Steyaert 2004: 424). Even though such a language strategy, in the form of a language policy, was not in place in the two companies, the study clearly showed how much is at stake in multilingual organizations concerning participation in communication and impacts on decision-making. I suggest companies should, first of all, recognize the problematic consequences that linguistic diversity can have, especially for people with limited language skills. These problems might, as illustrated, concern retaining employment as well as access to information and participation in interactions. Acts of resistance like the ones I identified at Globalos and Maximal might be interpreted as alarm signals.

Here, one important remedy might consist in systematically translating all written internal communication into all the languages which are prominently spoken in the company, including – depending on the organizational context – the most important ones that migrant employees speak. This also applies to symbolic events such as the welcome day. Furthermore, one could imagine management initiating a program for trying to grasp the needs, wishes and concerns of employees with regard to language use, which would lead to a change process involving all stakeholders.

At the same time, my findings show a remarkable creativity and variety in the ways that people "manage" linguistic diversity themselves. This supports Frederiksson, Barner-Rasmussen and Piekkari's (2006) suggestion that one strategy for managing language diversity may be non-management in the form of conscious ambiguity, that is, leaving language issues to solve themselves in an emergent manner instead of installing a corporate language. In such a perspective, the management would have the role of facilitating the employees' creativity. De-emphasizing "perfection", relinquishing a deficit-oriented perspective and encouraging the use of languages such as "broken English" could represent important signals in this regard. Or, in the words of Janssens and Steyaert (2014), allowing mixed language use would contribute to "moving beyond any singular norm which inevitably leads to a particular form of social exclusion" (p. 634). Rather, such flexibility could produce new possibilities for speaking and communicating, thereby providing "opportunity and latitude for social and political change from below" (ibid.).

5.8 Contribution to research on power in organizations

Foucauldian-based Organization Studies have investigated a number of themes such as dominance and subordination, disciplinary power and control or resistance. But, often, a negative conceptualization of power underlies this research, especially when it is critically oriented. I have strived here to study other, more positive, aspects of power: "power to" get active, seize opportunities, create possibilities, take responsibility, make decisions and relate to others. In this respect, borrowing from other phases of Foucault's oeuvre than this organizational research has proved fruitful. Exploring his later writings has helped to foreground individual agency, the creation of possibilities and even the self-reflective regulation of power, all aspects which have been fundamental for this analysis. Also, Foucault's general emphasis on a non-economic understanding of power (that is, power is not a commodity one can possess) has been a foundation for my study.

As my findings show, the aspects of power that Foucault foregrounded in his late writings can all be identified in the two companies I have studied. The understanding of power as "action upon actions" applies to the entire dynamics of the discursive creation of power relations in these multilingual organizations. The creation of possibilities is an important theme when it comes to creating agency. Shaping scopes of action is facilitated by a number of subject positions emerging from various interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations. The self-regulation of power also appears as an important theme. Positions evolving from the participation and the harmony repertoire striving to include people in conversations and helping them to understand can be interpreted as forms of reflective use of power. In this context, that would be understood, not in a traditional sense of "power over", but as an awareness of the power and influence one might "have" based on one's language skills.

By not concentrating on resistance exclusively, I have furthermore moved a step beyond the analysis that Foucault suggested. As I have argued, his suggestion is

valuable as a starting point, but tends to rely upon a military understanding of power. In the attempt to include positive aspects of power, I included all the forms of agency creation I encountered. At the same time, I have, as Foucault suggested, taken into consideration differentiations which might be influential in constructing of power relations. This especially concerns differences in language proficiency, organizational function and "national status" (expatriate vs. migrant).

On the whole, I have attempted to further develop a line of research in Organization Studies which is based on Foucault's underexplored writings that focus on agency. By studying a variety of forms of agency creation beyond resistance, I have created an opening for considering what creating spaces for agency might include. This could, in the end, lead to conceptualizing power in a new way, as a mutual shaping of one's own and other's scopes of action in a dynamic interplay.

Also, by studying power from the perspective of the organizational members, I have attempted to conduct an empirical case study in the spirit of scholars (Barratt 2008; Chan 2000) who suggest that, in a new form of critical studies, Foucauldian-based research on power relations represents an opportunity for reflexivity for researchers and researched alike. By studying the meaningful topic of power in multilingual organizations through the members' experiences, I have tried to avoid "prepackaged problematization attempts" (Alvesson and Sandberg 2011), as well as positioning myself as the elitist researcher who knows what people really should be concerned about. At the same time, discussing the findings of my study with the participants would certainly represent an opportunity for reflexivity for the researched. Confronting them with the findings might trigger discussions on linguistic diversity and the role of English in organizations which might be insightful for those who take part (and for the researcher also).

By empirically studying scopes of action and agency creation in the concrete case, I have also contributed to recent literature on agency which emphasizes its "political, relational and embedded qualities" (Nentwich, Özbilgin and Tatli 2013: 1). My findings on agency creation also connect to the notion of "relational agency" coined by the field of teacher education. A number of subject positions evolving from the participation and the harmony repertoire can be interpreted as "practice[s] of using the support of others and of recognizing the needs of others for support" (Lipponen and Kumpulainen 2011: 815). My approach to agency is also in line with the claim that "one important aspect of developing agency is having the opportunity to participate and contribute in interactions where one is framed and positioned as an accountable author who is in charge of one's actions." (ibid.: 813)

5.9 Reflexivity and further lines of research

While my study has shed light on a number of aspects of power relations in multilingual organizations, it has its limitations. First of all, the findings are based on a relatively small body of data (22 interview at Globalos, 14 at Maximal). Especially in the case of Maximal, talking to more employees would have been preferable. As it

stands, some subject positions only appear once in the data. In this respect, a number of recent qualitative studies made impressive use of samples of around 100 or more interviewees (e.g., Hinds, Neeley and Cramton 2014; Peltokorpi and Vaara 2014; Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2014; Tenzer, Pudelko and Harzing 2014). However, interpreted carefully, the subject positions I identified can still be taken as indicators for people's experiences with working in a linguistically diverse context and for their scope of action. It also would have been preferable to include blue collar workers in the Maximal sample; the blue collar perspective is represented only indirectly, in accounts by middle managers and project managers. Also with respect to Maximal, it would have been interesting to include additional subsidiaries instead of examining only one in the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

Then, this study would have benefitted from complementing the interview data with observations and tape-recordings of naturally occurring talk. Expanding on my analysis of discursive practices, this would have made it possible to observe directly the "real-life" practices of communicating in multilingual organizations. Hinds, Neeley and Cramton (2014) provided an example of such a procedure in their recent study of the role of language fluency in subgrouping in which they combined ethnographic interviews with observations. Janssens and Steyaert (2014) also suggested a related combination, arguing that audio-taping naturally occurring talk is not sufficient and that follow-up interviews with the participants are necessary to capture the socio-political context. Indeed, I do not regret having worked with interviews. Especially in studying power, limiting myself to the analysis of observations or audio-taped naturally occurring talk would have opened too much space for speculation and not have provided enough substance for anchoring my analysis.

With regard to the findings, it must be noted that the repertoires and especially the positions within them were not always easy to distinguish. I carefully tried to develop the repertoires according to the basic definition that interpretative repertoires are organized around metaphors or vivid images. In the analytic process, I always returned to these figures of speech when trying to attribute a quotation to a repertoire and later, identifying positions within repertoire. With the help of etymological wordbooks and dictionaries, I looked for the basic meaning of words and expressions. But there are cases where one might argue for attributing a position to another repertoire. The fact that the repertoires are not mutually exclusive, but are to be viewed as contradicting and reinforcing each other, is relevant here. Here, a certain challenge consisted in taking into account and displaying the full complexity, while at the same time trying to identify patterns and create categories.

A comment on the term "harmony" that I chose for the harmony repertoire is in order here. This choice might seem to imply that I intended to promote an ideal. But, in using the term "harmony", I do not intend to suggest that conflicts should be avoided; only the differences in language skills are indexed here, not differences in viewpoints and perspectives. Thus, I find it thought-provoking to use such a term in order to conceive of communication in multilingual settings differently. Furthermore, the

repertoire includes only material distilled from the quotes and deemed to be agency-relevant.

Although I explicitly did not start from an essentialist perspective on language, during the analytical process I put a strong emphasis on language skills, because people positioned these skills as highly relevant to the possibilities and constraints they encounter in organizational life. Thus, I somehow reinforced the focus on language competence which I wanted to move beyond. While this appears as a contradiction, it is the result of foregrounding people's experiences. In a similar vein, it represented a challenge to examine power aspects of linguistic diversity without focusing on "fixed" power relations, while at the same time acknowledging that people might be confronted with severe limitations to their scopes of action. I tried to address these elements by acknowledging the more stable elements that shape power relations such as, again, language skills or organizational functions. Similarly, the non-discursive realm, in this case, especially the IT technology especially, was considered also. I thus tried to achieve the balance between taking structural and non-discursive elements into account without leaving the path of a discursive study of constructing power relations in organizations.

It seems ironical that a dissertation exploring linguistic diversity in organizations has been composed in English and features primarily English language references. Here, I found myself in a dilemma between following the rules of the scientific community I relate to and feeling uncomfortable with this exclusivity (on the unreflexive use of English in academia, see also Steyaert and Janssens 2013). It would, for instance, certainly have been very enriching to introduce literature from other linguistic spheres, e.g., research written down in French or German. However, this simply would have been beyond the scope of this dissertation. To get an overview of the research conducted in other linguistic spaces would represent a promising and challenging research project on its own. One small bow to honoring diversity here consists in leaving the interviewees' quotes in their original languages and putting them first, followed by an English translation. However, critical self-appraisal reveals that, although I was transparent in translating the interview material myself, I still somehow followed the technicist view of translation associated with the equivalence paradigm which has been criticized by translation studies (Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki and Welch 2014). Also, I could have gone further in making the multiplicity visible by putting the quotes in the original language directly as markers of differences in my text, a strategy suggested by Steyaert and Janssens (2013: 139).

Given my small sample, a further line of research would be further case studies in multilingual organizations without language policies using a larger sample. A longitudinal study of the two companies Globalos and Maximal, with broader data collection, is another direction. In any case, the six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations could serve as a starting point, or a counterpoint, for further study.

Another promising line of research could consist in further exploring the intersectionality between linguistic diversity and other diversity categories. Looking at

power in multilingual organizations in particular, one promising direction would be to explore these intersections in the spirit of the emic approach proposed by Tatli and Özbilgin (2012). As the authors observed, theorizing diversity is still predominantly etic in nature, that is, it focuses on pre-established, rather than emergent, categories of difference. In order to overcome such a researcher-oriented perspective, the authors suggest an emic approach to empirical studies that starts with the specific context of investigation. They propose identifying "a number of salient categories of difference (…), which lead to privilege and disadvantage, by focusing on relations of power in that setting." (ibid.: 188). In this respect, it might be worth considering Angouri's (2013) suggestion that "given that issues of power (im)balance and asymmetry are inherent in any workplace and institutional context, language and language use can become part of power negotiation between teams or groups of employees instead of the cause" (p. 573f.).

The different forms of agency-creation in linguistically diverse organizations and the practice of multilanguaging which was introduced as a subject position evolving from the participation repertoire at Maximal also deserve further study. The latter in particular would follow the spirit of critical linguistic research which highlights the political consequences of emphasizing the native speaker ideal and the purity of languages. In their article on the "multilingual franca" approach, Janssens and Steyaert (2014) suggest two further fields of research in this respect, both very interesting. One concerns the relation between language use and identity, where the authors propose to study "how team members are resourceful multilingual speakers who play with their different linguistic resources as well as mobilizing fixed understandings of national (or regional, ethnic, cultural) identities to construct a fluid way of being and construct their subjectivities in the performance" (p. 635). The other takes English as lingua franca and reinterprets its positions. Janssens and Steyaert propose exploring the micro-variations of English as a multilingual franca, and to view use of English as a relational process that shifts as team members enter into contact with different groups or persons.

Finally, I would like to reflect on the role I adopted as a researcher in this process. Earlier, I postulated that studying organizations from the perspective of its members is compatible with a certain emancipatory approach – as long as the analysis is based on the words of the participants. In my dissertation, I have strived at adopting such a stance by making the voices of organizational members who might be otherwise unheard, heard. This especially concerns organizational members on the middle and lower echelons as well as migrants, whose voices have received less attention in multilingualism research so far than those of managers. By giving them equal weight in the presentation of my findings, I hope to have contributed to highlighting these voices – without predefining what they said, by my, the researcher's, "political agenda".

Conclusion

This research is a response to the call for nuanced, people-centered studies on the dynamics of power and diversity in organizations, and especially, multilingual organizations and is an effort at capturing in situ "how language differences shape the lived experience of those who work for today's global [and in general multilingual] organizations" (Brannen, Piekkari and Tietze 2014: 498). Here I will summarize the important findings and insights from my research, referencing earlier literature. On the whole, my comparative case study confirms the findings of previous research on multilingualism with its negative perspective. Language skills can be interpreted as fundamental for individual influence, access to information and participation. Also, this study supports Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio's (2011) conclusion that linguistically diverse companies are "internally stratified with regard to language", and that a "faultline" exists between higher management positions and blue-collar jobs (p. 293). In addition, I found that blue collars migrants, as opposed to expatriates, are positioned at the lowest level of agency, because they have to adapt to the local language. The findings concerning blue collar workers, migrants and expatriates also demonstrate that linguistic diversity intersects with other diversity categories when it comes to negotiating agency in multilingual organizations.

In addition, this study contributes to existing research by investigating power aspects in multilingualism in novel ways. First, using a relational, dynamic and non-deterministic understanding of power as its foundation and by emphasizing agency, it has expanded the study of power beyond the often negatively oriented issues of individual influence and the division between linguistic groups. I conceptualized power based on a number of writings from the large body of work of Michel Foucault. This notion of power does not conceive of power as a zero-sum game, but rather, in a more dynamic view, as acting upon others. Furthermore, based on the philosopher's late writings, individuals in power relations are seen not in terms of repression or dominance, but as "free" in the sense that they are confronted with a range of possibilities for action, possibilities which might include resistance, but also other, more creative forms of action.

In both companies, I identified forms of agency creation which aim at counterbalancing the temporarily stabilized hierarchies of agency which are often related to language skills. Forms of creating agency include resistance (protest against the use of a certain language or making use of dependencies), pragmatic approaches (asking for explanations), facilitating participation and cooperation (helping others, finding a way together by mixing languages, "just talk"/"not caring about errors", creating new languages, using professional language or compensating lack of language skills through expertise).

With this work, I have also promoted a non-essentialist view of multilingualism by interpreting positions which comprise language mixing and adapting to persons with lower level proficiency, not in a deficit-oriented perspective, but as forms of agency creation. I have, with Lüdi (2013), focused on "partially shared plurilingual repertoires (…) as resources used in a situated way" (p. 229) and thus also explored how people

use their multilingual resources creatively (Jansson 2014). Researchers in Internal Business especially have tended to conceive of linguistic diversity as the sum total of languages. However, I prefer the newer understanding put forward in critical linguistics which foregrounds language use (*languaging*) and views language as emergent from "doing being a speaker of a language" (Lüdi 2013: 143). In general, by reviewing a wide range of theoretical and empirical research from the field of linguistics, I contributed to opening up the perspective that International Business has on multilingualism. International Business certainly has a lot to benefit from linguists' theoretical discussions about the notions of language and multilingualism as well as from their empirical focus on "real-life" practices.

Furthermore, I argue that the six interpretative repertoires on experiencing communication in multilingual organizations represent a conceptual contribution which could inform the analysis of power relations in multilingual organizations. This applies especially to contexts, like the ones in this research, where no official language policy is in place, since the repertoires were developed based on two such cases. I do not suggest that the six interpretative repertoires are exhaustive, or that they could be identified in any organizational context. Rather, I propose that they can serve as a starting point for an analysis, indicating aspects that might be relevant. These are the six repertoires of multilingual encounters and their interpretations:

1) Military repertoire: Multilingual encounters as fights between people of different linguistic backgrounds
2) Competition repertoire: Multilingual encounters as games between people of different linguistic backgrounds
3) Control repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issue of mastering the situation between people of different linguistic backgrounds
4) Equality repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issue of being on equal terms between people of different linguistic backgrounds
5) Participation repertoire: Multilingual encounters as issue of taking part in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds
6) Harmony repertoire: Multilingual encounters as matter of cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds

In this study too, I have addressed English in multilingual organizations in terms of the role(s) that employees have ascribed to it. Various scholars have emphasized the need to conduct more studies on the use of English from the perspective of organizational members. Furthermore, my study supports findings from previous research. It showed, for example, that those with English skills are put in an advantaged position when it comes to rhetorical competitions or attempting to control an interaction, and confirmed the "native-English speaker advantage" theme with the corresponding position of non-natives "being in the same boat". This latter theme was not exclusive to English however, but became especially virulent in organizational contexts in which English is widely used and where a number of native-English speakers, often expatriates, are present. An additional important theme that emerged in examining the multinational company in this study could be summarized as "self-creation of privilege" by native or skilled English speakers who do not speak the local language. In this position, English

speakers had both the opportunity to "compel" others to adapt to their language and were unwilling to learn the local language.

Also, this study supports the conclusion, articulated by other researchers, that there is a major "faultline" between management and the service and production sectors with regard to English competence (Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio 2011) and that the lack of English skills creates "a divide between skilled and unskilled staff" (Gunnarsson 2014: 26). It also confirmed Lønsmann's (2014) findings that, through this language faultline, blue collar workers can be kept from basic company information.

At the same time, this study confirms the role of English, which has been foregrounded by other researchers, for organizational members' participation. Using English "to be fair and give equal access to colleagues and enable participation in workplace activities" (Kingsley 2013: 544) is a position that could almost literally be identified in my comparison. Furthermore, I identified a reflexive use of English which consists in helping people with "poorer" English skills and adapting to their level of language, an aspect which has not appeared in other scholarly work to date.

In sum, my study supports research which has interpreted the role of English in multilingual organization as multifaceted. It confirms that "the creation of this new linguistic space excludes non-English speakers, but it also can have a democratising effect, as it allows people to join it temporarily or constantly without requiring perfect command of the English language as its basis is rather a simplified English" (Steyaert, Ostendorp and Gaibrois 2010: 26).

With respect to Foucauldian research in Organization Studies, I have attempted here to develop a line of research focusing on agency which is based on underexplored writings by Foucault. By studying a variety of forms of agency creation other than resistance, this work contributes to opening an inquiry on what creating spaces for agency might include. Foucault suggested starting the analysis of power by examining resistance. While this suggestion is valuable, he tends to rely upon a military understanding of power. However, because I attempted to include positive aspects of power, I included all the forms of agency creation that I encountered. This could, in the end, lead to conceptualizing power as a mutual shaping of one's own and others' scopes of action in a dynamic interplay.

At the same time, I have, as Foucault suggested, taken into consideration differentiations which might influence the construction of power relations. This especially concerns differences in language proficiency, organizational function and "national status" (expatriate vs. migrant). Thus, I have also studied limitations to agency. From the beginning, I did not assume that everyone has the same scope of action, and the findings confirm this. However, the relation between people's scopes of action and other diversity categories might not always be as self-evident as it appears. As I have shown, people construct many forms of agency discursively, which might not be immediately obvious, especially to the eye of critically oriented researchers whose critical stance might lead them to underestimate agency.

References

Ailon, G. (2006). What *B* would otherwise do: A critique of conceptualizations of 'power' in organizational theory. In: *Organization*, 13(6). 771-800.

Alvesson, M. and Sandberg, J. (2011). Generating research questions through problematization. In: *Academy of Management Review*, 36(2) 2. 247-271.

Alvesson, M. (2003). Beyond neopositivists, romantics, and localists. A reflexive approach to interviews in organizational research. In: *Academy of Management Review*, 28(1). 13-33.

Alvesson, M. and Kärreman, D. (2000a). Taking the linguistic turn in organizational research. Challenges, responses, consequences. In: *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 36(2). 136-158.

Alvesson, M. and Kärreman, D. (2000b). Varieties of discourse. On the study of organizations through discourse analysis. In: *Human Relations*, 53(9). 1125-1149.

Alvesson, M. (1996). *Communication, power and organization*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Angouri, J. (2014). Multilingualism in the workplace. Language practices in multilingual contexts. In: *Multilingua*, 33(1-2). 1-9.

Angouri, J. and Miglbauer, M. (2014). 'And then we summarise in English for the others'. The lived experience of the multilingual workplace. In: *Multilingua*, 33(1-2). 147-172.

Angouri, J. (2013). The multilingual reality of the multinational workplace. Language policy and language use. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(6). 564-581.

Anttiroiko, A. V., Valkama, P., & Bailey, S. J. (2013). Smart cities in the new service economy: Building platforms for smart services. In: *AI & Society*, 1-12.

Appadurai, A. (1996/2005). *Modernity at large. Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arribas-Ayllon, M. and Walkerdine, V. (2008). Foucauldian discourse analysis. In*: The Sage handbook of qualitative research in psychology*. Willig, C. and Stainton-Rogers, W. (Eds.). London: Sage. 91-108.

Barner-Rasmussen, W., Ehrnrooth, M., Koveshnikov, A. and Mäkelä, K. (2014). Cultural and language skills as resources for boundary spanning within the MNC. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 886-905.

Barner-Rasmussen, W. and Aarnio, C. (2011). Shifting the faultlines of language: A quantitative functional-level exploration of language use in MNC subsidiaries. In: *Journal of World Business*, 46. 288-295.

Barratt, E. (2008). The later Foucault in organization and management studies. In: *Human Relations*, 61(4). 515-537.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T. (1967). *The social construction of reality. A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* New York: Doubleday. (originally published by Doubleday & Company in 1966)

Bisel, R.S. and Barge, J.K. (2011). Discursive positioning and planned change in organizations. In: *Human Relations*, 64(2). 257-283.

Bogren, A. (2010). Studying social power in textual data: Combining tools for analyzing meaning and positioning. In: *Critical Discourse Studies*, 7(1). 73-84.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Brannen, M.Y., Piekkari, R. and Tietze, S. (2014). The multifaceted role of language in international business. Unpacking the forms, functions and features of a critical challenge to MNC theory and performance. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 495-507.

Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionism*. London: Routledge. Second edition.

Burrell, G. (1988). Modernism, post modernism and organizational analysis 2. The contribution of Michel Foucault. In: *Organization Studies*, 9(2). 221-235.

Burrell, G. (1996). Normal science, paradigms, metaphors, discourses and genealogies of analysis. In: *Handbook of organization studies*. Clegg, S.R., Hardy, C. and Nord, W.R. (Eds.). London: Sage.

Canagarajah, S. (2007). Lingua franca English, multilingual communities, and language acquisition. In: *The Modern Language Journal*, 91. 923-939.

Chan, A. (2000). Redirecting critique in postmodern organization studies: The perspective of Foucault. In: *Organization Studies*, 21. 1059-1075.

Chia, R. (2000). Discourse analysis as organizational analysis. In: *Organization*, 7(3). 513-518.

Chidlow, A., Plakoyiannaki, E. and Welch, C. (2014). Translation in cross-language international business research. Beyond equivalence. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 562-582.

Clegg, S.R., Courpasson, D. and Phillips, N. (2006). *Power and organizations*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Clegg, S. (1989). *Frameworks of power*. London, Newbury Park, New Delhi: Sage.

Cornelissen, J.P., Oswick, C., Christensen, L.T. and Phillips, N. (2008). Metaphor in organizational research: Context, modalities and implications for research. Introduction. In: *Organization Studies*, 29(1). 7-22.

Courpasson, D., Golsorkhi, D. and Sallaz, J. J. (2012). Rethinking power in organizations, institutions, and markets: Classical perspectives, current research, and the future agenda. In: Courpasson, D., Golsorkhi, D. and Sallaz, J. J. (Eds.). *Rethinking power in organizations, institutions, and markets (Research in the sociology of organizations*, Volume 34). Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited. 1-20.

Cunliffe, A.L. (2008). Orientations to social constructionism. Relationally responsive social constructionism and its implications for knowledge and learning. In: *Management Learning*, 39(2). 123-139.

Davies, B. and Harré, R. (2001/1990). Positioning: The discursive production of selves. In: *Discourse theory and practice. A Reader*. Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (Eds.). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications. 261-271. (First published in: *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20. 43-65)

Deetz, S. (1996). Describing differences in approaches to organization science. Rethinking Burrell and Morgan and their legacy. In: *Organization Science*, 7(2).

Dixon, M.A. (2007). Transforming power. Expanding the inheritance of Michel Foucault in organizational studies. In: *Management Communication Quarterly*, 20(3). 283-296.

Dor, D. (2004). From Englishization to imposed multilingualism: Globalization, the internet, and the political economy of the linguistic code. In: *Public Culture*, 16(1). 97-118.

Dreyfus, H.L., and Rabinow, P. (1982). Power and truth. In: H. Dreyfus und P. Rabinow (1982). *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 184-207.

Edley, N. and Wetherell, M. (1997). Jockeying for position. The construction of masculine identities. In: *Discourse & Society*, 8(2). 203-217.

Edwards, J. (2012). *Multilingualism. Understanding linguistic diversity*. London: Continuum.

Feely, A. J., and Harzing, A.-W.K. (2003). Language management in multinational companies. In: *Cross-Cultural Management: An International Journal*, 10(2). 37–52.

Feely, A. J., and Harzing, A. W. (2002). Forgotten and neglected. Language the orphan of international business research. Birmingham: Aston Business School.

Fenwick, T. (2007). Knowledge workers in the in-between. Network identities. In: *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 20(4). 509-524.

Fredriksson, R., Barner-Rasmussen, W. and Piekkari, R. (2006). The multinational corporation as a multilingual organization. The notion of a common corporate language. In: *Corporate Communications: An International Journal*, 11(4). 406-423.

Foucault, M. (2010/1971). The discourse on language. In: Foucault, M. (1972). The *archaeology of knowledge*. Appendix. New York: Vintage Books. 215-237. (Original: „L'ordre du discours (1971). Paris: Gallimard)

Foucault, M. (2010/1969). *The archaeology of knowledge*. New York: Vintage Books. (Original: "L'Archéologie du savoir" (1969). Paris: Gallimard).

Foucault, M. (1990/1976). *The history of sexuality*. Volume 1: An Introduction. New York: Vintage Books. (Original: "La volonté de savoir" (1976). Paris: Gallimard).

Foucault, M. (1988/1984). *The care of the self*. Volume 3 of "The History of Sexuality". New York: Vintage Books. (Original: "Le souci de soi" (1984). Paris: Gallimard).

Foucault, M. (1984). Die Ethik der Sorge um sich als Praxis der Freiheit. In: Foucault, M. (2005). *Analytik der Macht*. Defert, D. und Ewald, F. (Hrsg). Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. 274-300. (Original: „L'éthique du souci de soi comme pratique de la liberté". Gespräch mit Helmut Becker, Raúl Fornet-Betancourt, Alfred Gomez-Müller, 20. Januar 1984. In: Concordia. Revista internacional de filosofia, Nr. 6. Juli – Dezember 1984. 99-116).

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. In: H.L. Dreyfus und P. Rabinow. *Michel Foucault: Beyond structuralism and hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 208-226. (1. Teil – „Why Study Power: The Question of the Subject" – written in English by Foucault; 2. Teil – „How is Power Exercised" – translated from French by Leslie Sawyer)

Foucault, M. (1981). Die Maschen der Macht. In: Foucault, M. (2005). *Analytik der Macht*. Defert, D. and Ewald, F. (Eds.). Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. 220-239. (Original: Foucault, M. (1976). „As malhas do poder". Vortrag an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Bahia. In: Barbárie, Nr. 4, Sommer 1981. 23-27).

Foucault, M. (1977). Truth and power. Interview by A. Fontana and P. Pasquino. In: *Foucault, M. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings. 1972-1977*. Gordon, C. (Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books. 109-133. (Original: "Intervista a Michel Foucault". In: A. Fontana and P. Pasquino. Michel Foucault: Microfisica del Potere. Turin, 1977.)

Foucault, M. (1976a). Two Lectures. Lecture One: 7 January 1976. In: *Foucault, M. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings. 1972-1977*. Gordon, C. (Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books. 78-92.

Foucault, M. (1976b). Two Lectures. Lecture Two: 14 January 1976. In: *Foucault, M. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings. 1972-1977*. Gordon, C. (Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books. 92-108.

Foucault, M. (1975). Prison Talk. In: *Foucault, M. Power/knowledge: Selected interviews & other writings. 1972-1977.* Gordon, C. (Ed.). New York: Pantheon Books. 37-54. (From "Magazine Littéraire" 101, June 1975. Reprinted as "Les jeux du pouvoir" in "Politiques de la Philosophie" (1976). Grisoni, D. (Ed.). Interviewer: J.-J. Brochier)

Foucault, M. (1972). Theorien und Institutionen des Strafvollzugs. In: Foucault, M. (2005). *Analytik der Macht*. Defert, D. and Ewald, F. (Eds.). Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp. 64-68. (Original: Foucault, M. (1972). Théories et institutions pénales. In: Annuaire du Collège de France, 72. Jg., Histoire des systèmes de pensée, année 1971-1972, 1972, 283-286)

Foucault, M. (1968). Politics and the study of discourse. In: *The Foucault effect. Studies in governmentality*. Burchell, G., Gordon, C. und Miller, P. (Hrsg). (1991). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 53-72.

Gaibrois, C. (2009). *Implizites Wissen über den Umgang mit Sprachenvielfalt in Organisationen und seine Konsequenzen. Eine ethnographische Untersuchung*. Forschungsarbeit. University of St. Gallen: DOK-Seminar "Researching Knowledge Creation and Managerial Know How" (Prof. Thomas Eberle and Dr. Simon Grand)

Gergen, K.J. and Thatchenkery, T.J. (2004). Organization science as social construction. Postmodern potentials. In: *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 40(2). 228-249.

Gergen, K.J. (1989). Warranting voice and the elaboration of the self. In: *Texts of identity*. Shotter, J. and Gergen, K.J. (Eds.). London: Sage. 70-81.

Gergen, K.J. (1985). The social constructionist movement in modern psychology. In: *American Psychologist*, 40(3). 266-275.

Graddol, D. (1999). The decline of the native speaker. In: *The AILA Review*, 13.

Gunnarsson, B.-L. (2014). Multilingualism in European workplaces. In: *Multilingua*, 33(1-2). 11-33.

Hall, S. (2001). Foucault: Power, knowledge and discourse. In: *Discourse theory and practice*. A Reader. Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (Eds.). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications. 72-81.

Hardy, C. and Clegg, S. (2006). Some dare call it power. In: Clegg, S.R., Hardy, C., Lawrence, T.B. and Nord, W.R. (Eds.). *The SAGE handbook of organization studies*. 754-775. London: Sage.

Hardy, C. and Phillips, N. (2004). Discourse and power. In: The *SAGE handbook of organizational discourse*. Grant, D. et al. (Eds.). London: Sage. 299-316.

Hardy, C., Palmer, I. and Phillips, N. (2000): Discourse as a strategic resource. In: *Human Relations*, 53(9). 1227-1248. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage.

Hardy, C. and Phillips, N. (1999). No joking matter: Discursive struggle in the Canadian refugee system. In: *Organization Studies*, 20(1). 1-24. London: Sage.

Harré, R. and van Langenhove, L. (1991): Varieties of positioning. In: *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour,* 21(4). 393-407.

Harzing, A.-W. and Pudelko, M. (2013): Language competencies, policies and practices in multinational corporations. A comprehensive review and comparison of Anglophone, Asian, Continental European and Nordic MNCs. In: *Journal of World Business*, 48. 87-97.

Harzing, A.-W., Köster, K. and Magner, U. (2011). "Babel in Business: The language barrier and its solutions in the HQ-subsidiary relationship. In: *Journal of World Business,* 46, 279-287.

Haugaard, M. (2009). Power and hegemony. In: Haugaard, M. and Clegg, S. (2009). Introduction: Why power is the central concept of the social sciences. In: Clegg, S. and Haugaard, M. (Eds.). *The SAGE handbook on power*. Los Angeles etc.: SAGE. 239-250.

Heikkilä, J.-P. and Smale, A. (2011): The effects of 'language standardization' on the acceptance and use of e-HRM systems in foreign subsidiaries. In: *Journal of World Business*, 46. 305-313.

Hellgren et al. (2002). How issues become (re)constructed in the media. Discursive practices in the AstraZeneca merger. In: *British Journal of Management*, 13. 123-140.

Hinds, P.J., Neeley, T.B. and Cramton, C.D. (2014). Language as lightning rod. Power contests, emotion regulation, and subgroup dynamics in global teams. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 536-561.

Hollway, W. (1984). Gender difference and the production of subjectivity. In: *Changing the subject. Psychology, social regulation and subjectivity*. Henriques, J. et al. (Eds.). London-New York: Methuen. 227-263.

Holstein, J.A. and Gubrium, J.F. (1995). *The active interview*. London: Sage.

Hook, D. (2007). *Foucault, psychology and the analytics of power*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hua, Z. (2014). Piecing together the 'workplace multilingualism' jigsaw puzzle. In: *Multilingua*, 33(1-2). 233-242.

Janssens, M. and Steyaert, C. (2014). Re-considering language within a cosmopolitan understanding. Toward a *multilingual franca* approach in international business studies. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 623-639.

Janssens, M., Lambert, J. and Steyaert, C. (2004). Developing language strategies for international companies: The contribution of translation studies. In: *Journal of World Business*, 39. 414-430.

Jansson, G. (2014). Bridging language barriers in multilingual care encounters. In: *Multilingua,* 33(1-2). 201-232.

Jermier, J.M., Knights, D. and Nord, W.R. (1994). Introduction. In: Jermier, J.M., Knights, D. and Nord, W.R. (Eds.). *Resistance and power in organizations*. Routledge: London and New York. 1-24.

Kassis Henderson, J. (2005). Language diversity in international management teams. In: *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 35(1). 66-82.

Kendall, G. and Wickham, G. (2004). The Foucaultian framework. In: *Qualitative research practice*. Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.F. & Silverman, D. (Eds.). London: Sage. 141-150.

Kendall, G. and Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's methods*. London: Sage.

Kingsley, L. (2013). Language choice in multilingual encounters in transnational workplaces. In*: Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(6). 533-548.

Korobov, N. (2010). A discursive psychological approach to positioning. In: *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 7(3). 263-277.

Kuhn, T. (2009). Positioning lawyers: Discursive resources, professional ethics and identification. In: *Organization*, 16(5). 681-704.

Leclerq-Vandelannoitte, A. (2011). Organizations as discursive constructions: A Foucauldian approach. In: *Organization Studies*, 32(9). 1247-1271.

Lipponen, L. and Kumpulainen, K. (2011). Acting as accountable authors: Creating interactional spaces for agency work in teacher education. In: *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 27. 812-819.

Lønsmann, D. (2014). Linguistic diversity in the international workplace. Language ideologies and processes of exclusion. In: *Multilingua*, 33(1-2). 89-116.

Lüdi, G. (2013). Receptive multilingualism as a strategy for sharing mutual linguistic resources in the workplace in a Swiss context. In: *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 10(2). 140-158.

Lüdi, G., Höchle, K. and Yanaprasart, P. (2010). Plurilingual practices at multilingual workplaces. In: *Multilingualism at work. From policies to practices in public, medical and business settings*. Meyer, B. and Apfelbaum, B. (Eds.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 211-234.

Maclean, D. (2006). Beyond English. Transnational corporations and the strategic management of language in a complex multilingual business environment. In: *Management Decision*, 44(10). 1377-1390.

McKinlay, A. and Starkey, K. (1998). Managing Foucault: Foucault, management and organization theory. In: *Foucault, management and organization theory. From Panopticon to technologies of self*. McKinlay, A. and Starkey, K. (Eds.). London: Sage. 1-13.

Marschan-Piekkari, R., Welch, D. and Welch, L. (1999). In the shadow: The impact of language on structure, power and communication in the multinational. In: *International Business Review*, 8(4). 421-440.

Marschan-Piekkari, R., Welch, D. E., and Welch, L. S. (1997). Language: The forgotten factor in multinational management. *European Management Journal,* 15(5). 591-598.

Marshall, N. and Rollinson, J. (2004). Maybe Bacon had a point: The politics of interpretation in collective sensemaking. In: *British Journal of Management*, 15. 571-586.

Neeley, T.B. (2012). Language matters. Status loss and achieved status distinctions in global organizations. In: *Organization Science*. Articles in Advance (published ahead of print). 1-22.

Nentwich, J., Ozbilgin, M. and Tatli, A. (2013). Change agency as performance and embeddedness: Exploring the possibilities and limits of Butler and Bourdieu. In: *Culture and Organization*. 1-16.

Nentwich, J. and Hoyer, P. (2013). Part-time work as practising resistance. The power of counter-arguments. In: *British Journal of Management*. 557-570.

Nentwich, J.C. (2009). Zwischen Provokation und Anpassung: Handlungsmächtigkeit als diskursive Positionierung. Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 10(3).

Peltokorpi, V. and Vaara, E. (2014). Knowledge transfer in multinational corporations. Productive and counterproductive effects of language-sensitive recruitment. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 600-622.

Phillips, N. and Hardy, C. (1997): Managing multiple identities: Discourse, legitimacy and resources in the UK refugee system. In: *Organization*, 4(2). 159-185. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage.

Piekkari, R. and Tietze, S. (2010). A world of languages: Implications for international management research and practice. Guest Editors' Introduction. Special Issue of the *Journal of World Business*. 1-12.

Piekkari, R. and Zander, R. (2005). Language and communication in international management. In: *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 35(1). 3-9.

Potter, J. and Wetherell, M. (1989). *Discourse and social psychology. Beyond attitudes and behavior.* London: Sage.

Reed, M. (1998). Organizational analysis as discourse analysis: A critique. In: *Discourse and Organization*. Grant, D., Keenoy, T. and Oswick, C. (Eds.). London: Sage. 193-213.

Rhodes, C. and Brown, A.D. (2005). Narrative, organizations and research. In: *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 7(3). 167–188.

Rouse, J. (2003). Power/knowledge. In: *The Cambridge companion to Foucault*, Second Edition. Gutting, G. (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 95-122.

Sherman, T. and Strubell, M. (2013). Multilingualism in companies. An introduction. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(6). 511-514.

Smith, J.A. (1995). Semi-structured interviewing and qualitative analysis. In: *Rethinking methods in psychology*. Smith, J.A., Harré, R. and van Langehove, L. (Eds). London: Sage. 9-26.

Steyaert, C. and Janssens, M. (2013). Multilingual scholarship and the paradox of translation and language in management and organization studies. In: *Organization*, 20(1). 131-142.

Steyaert, S., Ostendorp, A. and Gaibrois, C. (2011). Multilingual organizations as 'linguascapes': Negotiating the position of English through discursive practices. Special Issue of the *Journal of World Business*. 270-278.

Steyaert, C., Ostendorp A., Soccodato, N. R. and Gaibrois, C. (2008). *Sprachenpolitik und Identität in Organisationen*. University of St. Gallen.

Tannock, S. (1997): Positioning the worker. Discursive practice in a workplace literacy program. In: *Discourse & Society*, 8(1). 85-116.

Tatli, A. and Özbilgin, M.F. (2012). An emic approach to intersectional study of diversity at work. A Bourdieuan framing. In: *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 14. 180-200.

Tenzer, H., Pudelko, M. and Harzing, A.-W. (2014). The impact of language barriers on trust formation in multinational teams. In: *Journal of International Business Studies*, 45. 508-535.

Tietze, S., Cohen, L. und Musson, G. (2003). *Understanding organizations through language*. Sage: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Tirado, F. and Gálvez, A. (2007). Positioning theory and discourse analysis. Some tools for social interaction analysis. In: *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 8(2). Art. 31.

Townley, B. (1993). Foucault, power/knowledge, and its relevance for human resource management. In: *Academy of Management Review*, 18(3). 518-545.

Vaara, E., Tienari, J., Piekkari, R. and Säntti, R. (2005). Language and the circuits of power in a merging multinational corporation. In: *Journal of Management Studies*, 42(3). 595-623.

Van Parijs, P. (2011). Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Welch, D., Welch, L. and Piekkari, R. (2005). Speaking in tongues. The importance of language in international management processes. In*: International Studies of Management & Organization*, 35(1). 10-27.

Wetherell, M. (2001a). Part one: Foundations and building blocks. Editor's Introduction. *In: Discourse theory and practice. A reader.* Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (Eds.). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications. 1-8.

Wetherell (2001b). Part one: Foundations and building blocks, Themes in discourse research: The case of Diana. In: *Discourse theory and practice. A reader*. Wetherell, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S.J. (Eds.). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications. 14-28.

Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires. Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. In: *Discourse & Society*, 9(3). 387-412.

Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1992). *Mapping the language of racism. Discourse and the legitimation of exploitation.* New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Wood, L.A. and Kroger, R.O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis. Methods for studying action in talk and text.* Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage.

Zanoni, P., Janssens, M., Benschop, Y. and Nkomo, S. (2010). Guest Editorial: Unpacking diversity, grasping inequality: Rethinking difference through critical perspectives. In: *Organization*, 17(1). 9-29.

Appendix A: Interview guideline

Entry question:

What is your position in the company? How does your average workday look like?

Talking about linguistic diversity:

- Which languages are used in interactions between employees of different linguistic backgrounds in your company in general and in your working context specifically?
- Why are certain languages used in multilingual encounters, and others not?
- How are such languages choices made and by whom, if they are explicitly made at all?
- When and why does English come into play?
- What do you think about these practices of language use and choice?
- What language(s) do you/would you prefer to speak?

Appendix B: Overview of findings at the Globalos company

Interpretative repertoire	Understanding of multilingual encounters	General subject positions evolving from respective repertoire	English-specific subject positions evolving from respective repertoire	Scopes of action & forms of agency-creation in respective repertoire	English-specific scopes of action & forms of agency-creation in respective repertoire
Military repertoire	Multilingual encounters as fights between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Rhetorical battles:* -Winners -Losers -Attackers	*Rhetorical battles:* -Winners (especially native-English speakers) -Losers *Territorial battles:* -English speakers as attackers of a language -Speakers of local languages as defenders of their languages against English	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical battles):* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills -Very little agency for those with less proficiency *Forms of agency-creation:* (none)	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical battles):* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency -Scope of action the smaller, the more limited the English skills *Forms of agency-creation (regarding territorial battles):* -Resistance against use of English

Competition repertoire	Multilingual encounters as games between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Being in an advantaged position (especially native speakers) -Being in a disadvantaged position	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Being in an advantaged position (especially native-English speakers) -Being in a disadvantaged position (especially non-native English speakers) -"Sitting in the same boat" (non-native English speakers) *"Organizational game":* -Risking to loose out without English skills	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical games:* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills -Very little agency for those with less proficiency *Forms of agency-creation:* (none)	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical games):* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency *Scope of action (regarding "organizational game"):* -Almost no scope of action for non-English speakers (risk of "losing out") *Forms of agency-creation:* -Non-native English speakers "sitting in the same boat"

Control repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of mastering the situation between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Situation control:* -Being master of the situation -Not being master of the situation *Access to information:* -Having access to information -Not having access to information	*Situation control:* -Being master of the situation as native-English speaker -Not being master of the situation as non-native English speaker *Access to information:* -Missing access to information without English skills	*Scopes of action (regarding situation control):* -Greater scope of action for speakers of the language of an interaction *Scopes of action (regarding access to information):* -Lacking access to information when not speaking the language of an interaction *Forms of agency-creation:* -Choosing the language with which one has the greatest ease	*Scopes of action (regarding situation control):* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Smallest scope of action for non-speakers of English *Forms of agency-creation:* -English speakers: Asking native-English speakers to slow down or repeat -Non-English speakers: Compelling those who need their support to adapt to their language

Equality repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of being on equal terms in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Individual level:* -Non-speakers of local language having moral "obligation" to learn local language -Each side having to "go part way" *Organizational level:* -Staff in service departments lacking opportunities to learn languages -Employees sent abroad being in a privileged position	*Individual level:* -Anglophones creating self-privilege (by not learning local language & having more possibilities to choose interaction language) -Anglophones expressing guilt *Organizational level:* -English speakers being privileged -Non-English speakers no longer being on equal terms	*Scopes of action (individual level):* -Greater scope of action for non-French speakers through creation of self-privilege & relying on locals -More balanced scopes of action when each side is going "part way" (by interacting in language native to no one/communicating non-verbally) *Scopes of action (organizational level):* -Greater scope of action for white collars than service staff because of opportunity to learn languages abroad *Forms of agency-creation:* (none)	*Scopes of action (individual level):* -Greater scope of action for Anglophones and English speakers because of opportunity to choose interaction language *Scopes of action (organizational level):* -Employees on shop floor losing agency due to widespread use of English *Forms of agency-creation:* (none)

Participation repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of taking part in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation (by adopting a language as "common platform" or by switching languages) -Making integration efforts by learning local or team language *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-locals having to adapt to local language	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation by adopting English as "common platform" or switching to English *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-speakers of English separated from other employees and increasingly forgotten by management	*Scopes of action:* -Greater scope of action for those with good language skills because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for those lacking proficiency in a language because they encounter "barriers" *Forms of agency-creation:* -Adopting a language as "common platform" -Switching to a language all understand	*Scopes of action:* -Greater scope of action for English speakers because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for non-English speakers because they are "blocked by language" *Scopes of action (specifically on lower levels):* -Loss of agency by service staff because separated from other employees and increasingly forgotten by management through use of English *Forms of agency-creation:* -Adopting English as "common platform" -Switching to English

Harmony repertoire	Multilingual encounters as matter of cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds	-Uniting through one language -Adapting to the interlocutor's language to create connection -Helping -Adopting the position of a mediator by translating -Mixing languages -Not caring about errors	-Helping -Native-English speakers making efforts to adjust their language use -Mixing English and other languages -Not caring about errors	*Scopes of action:* Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires *Forms of agency-creation:* -Helping -Adopting the role as translating mediator -Mixing languages -Not caring about errors -Expertise compensating for limited mastery of a language -Using specialized language to compensate for possible "errors"	*Scopes of action:* Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires *Forms of agency-creation:* -Helping -Adopting the role as translating mediator -Mixing English with other languages -Not caring about errors -Expertise compensating for limited mastery of English -Using specialized language to compensate for possible "errors"

Appendix C: Overview of findings at the Maximal company

Interpretative repertoire	Understanding of multilingual encounters	General subject positions evolving from respective repertoire	English-specific subject positions evolving from respective repertoire	Scopes of action & forms of agency-creation in respective repertoire	English-specific scopes of action & forms of agency-creation in respective repertoire
Military repertoire	Multilingual encounters as fights between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Territorial battles:* -Winners in war of languages -Losers in war of languages -Attackers of a language -Defenders of a language	*Territorial battles:* -English-speakers as attackers of local languages -Speakers of local languages as defenders of their languages against English *Organizational level:* -Non-English speaking blue collars in subsidiaries being "threatened" by English	*Scopes of action (regarding territorial battles):* -Greater scope of action for speakers and users of certain languages *Forms of agency-creation:* -Defending a language	*Scopes of action (regarding territorical battles):* -Greater scope of action for English speakers and users *Forms of agency-creation (regarding territorial battles):* -Resistance against use of English

Competition repertoire	Multilingual encounters as games between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Career game:* -Non-locals having to learn local languages for their career advancement	*Rhetorical games:* -Winners -Losers -Being in an advantaged position (especially native-English speakers) -Being in a disadvantaged position (especially non-native English speakers) -Non-native speakers united by "imperfection" *"Organizational game":* -Difficulties to be employed without English skills -People on lowest levels losing something beyond their work language (e.g., informal status) through increasing use of English	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical games:* -Greater scope of action for those with better language skills -Very little agency for those with less proficiency *Forms of agency-creation:* -Learning local languages to succeed in career game	*Scopes of action (regarding rhetorical games):* -Greatest scope of action for native-English speakers -Second greatest scope of action for non-natives with very good proficiency *Scope of action (regarding "organizational game"):* -Small scope of action for non-speakers of English due to glass ceiling concerning employment -Loss of agency for non-speakers of English due to its increasing use *Forms of agency-creation:* -Non-native English speakers united by common disadvantage

Control repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of mastering the situation between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Situation control:* -Attempting to control the outcome of one's utterances (e.g., by adapting to language proficiency of interaction partner) *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Adapting to the language of those on the lower levels and of blue collars	*Situation control:* -Feeling more comfortable when being able to communicate in English -Feeling less comfortable when having to communicate in English -Using English in written communication to make sure everyone understands one's message *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Adapting to the language of those on the lower levels and of blue collars *Access to information:* -Missing access to information without English skills	*Scopes of action (regarding situation control):* -Greater scope of action for speakers of the language of an interaction *Scopes of action (regarding access to information):* -Lacking access to information when not speaking the language of an interaction *Forms of agency-creation:* -Remaining master of situation (by choosing language in which one has most fluency or using native language) -Increase agency for all (adapting to interlocutor's proficiency level or adapting to lower levels)	*Scopes of action:* -Greatest scope of action for speakers of 2 national languages & English -Second greatest scope of action for speakers of 1 national language & English -Smaller scope of action for speakers of English only -Even smaller scope of action for non-speakers of English *Forms of agency-creation:* -Using English to understand/be understood -Avoiding English to feel more comfortable -"Do-it-yourself problem solving" -Being assisted by intermediaries -Adapting to lower levels

Equality repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of being on equal terms in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Individual level:* -Non-speakers of national languages having moral "obligation" to learn national languages	*Individual level:* -English-speakers creating self-privilege (by having more possibilities to choose interaction language) *Specifically regarding lower levels:* -Employees in contact with lower levels adapting to their language -Compromise-building instead of thoughtfulness (non-English speakers should be nudged towards learning English "on the job")	*Scopes of action (individual level):* -Greater scope of action for non-speakers of national languages because of opportunity to choose interaction language Forms of agency-creation: (none)	*Scopes of action (individual level):* -Greater scope of action for English speakers because of opportunity to choose interaction language *Scopes of action (organizational level):* -Employees on shop floor losing agency due to widespread use of English *Forms of agency-creation:* -Adapting to lower levels

Participation repertoire	Multilingual encounters as issue of taking part in interactions between people of different linguistic backgrounds	*Individual/group level:* -Making integration efforts by learning local language or by adopting to a multilanguage co-created by its speakers	*Individual/group level:* -Facilitating participation by adopting English as "common platform"or by switching to English *Specifically on lower levels:* -Non-speakers of English being unable to understand written communication produced by new IT system	*Scopes of action:* -Greater scope of action for those with good language skills because they find "open doors" -Smaller scope of action for those lacking proficiency in a language because they encounter "barriers" *Forms of agency-creation:* -Learning the local language	*Scopes of action:* -Greater scope of action for English speakers because they find "open doors" *Scopes of action (specifically on lower levels):* -Small scope of action for non-English speakers who do not understand written communication produced by IT system *Forms of agency-creation:* -Adopting English as "common platform" -Switching to English

Harmony repertoire	Multilingual encounters as matter of cooperation between people of different linguistic backgrounds	-Adapting to the interlocutor's language to create relation -Generosity towards people who do not speak a language -"Sorting it out somehow" (by asking for help and finding shared ways to communicate) -Being a good communicator means understanding the interlocutor, not having good language skills -Showing empathy *Specifically regarding lower levels:* Middle management adapting to lower levels	-Helping -Not caring about errors -Bridgebuilding by people with English mastery (often lower managers in subsidiaries for blue collars)	*Scopes of action:* Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires *Forms of agency-creation:* -Generosity towards errors -"Sorting it out somehow" -Spontaneous mutual aid -Everyone speaking his/her language -Anticipating problems -Increasing blue collars' scope of action by talking to them in their language -Talking in a language based on IT terms helps "talking the same language"	*Scopes of action:* Much less differences in scopes of action than in all the other repertoires *Forms of agency-creation:* -Helping people with limited or no English skills by slowing down or reformulating their statements -Not caring about errors -Bridgebuilding for people without English skills

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Details

Date of Birth	December 22, 1971
Place of Birth	Basel, Switzerland
Civil Status	Married, one child

Education

08/ 2008 – 10/ 2014 **University of St. Gallen, Switzerland**

Doctorate in Organization Studies and Cultural Theory (DOK)

03/ 2004 - 02/ 2006 **University of Lucerne, Switzerland**

Master of Advanced Studies (MAS) in Intercultural Communication

09/ 1991 - 09/ 1997 **University of Zurich, Switzerland**

Studies in General History, Political Science and German Literature, Graduation with MSc in Political Science

1987 - 1990 **Gymnasium Oberwil, Switzerland**

Certificate: Matura Typ B (Latin)

Awards

07/ 2014 **Mentoring Deutschschweiz**

Selected as participant in mentoring program 2014-2016 for young female academics

06/ 2014 **7th Equality, Diversity and Inclusion International Conference, Munich, Germany**

Best Paper Award

04/ 2014 **The Sixth Annual UC Berkeley Sociological Research Symposium, UC Berkeley, USA**

The Danesha McCoy Award for Outstanding Presentation

Practical Experience

01/ 2012 – 01/ 2014 **University of St. Gallen**, **Switzerland**

Teaching Assistant for seminars on doctoral and master level at the Research Institute for Organizational Psychology

07/ 2008 – 12/ 2011 **Culture magazine "kulturtipp", Zurich, Switzerland**

Editor-in-chief

10/ 2007 – 10/ 2008 **University of St. Gallen**, **Switzerland**

Research Assistant at the Research Institute for Organizational Psychology

01/ 2007 - 06/ 2008 **Culture magazine "kulturtipp", Zurich, Switzerland**

Editor

04/ 2005 - 12/ 2006 **Consumer magazine "saldo", Zurich, Switzerland**

Editor

01/ 2002 - 03/ 2005 **Swiss Radio DRS, Berne and Zurich, Switzerland**

Editor

04/ 2001- 02/ 2002 **The Berlitz School of Languages**

Language trainer (German as foreign language)

02/ 2001 - 06/ 2002 **Swiss Radio DRS, Basel, Berne and Zurich, Switzerland**

Freelance journalist

11/ 1999 - 01/ 2001 **Swiss Radio DRS, Basel and Berne, Switzerland**

Intern

02/ 1998 - 10/ 1999 **International Transport Journal, Basel, Switzerland**

Editor

1995 - 1997 **University of Zurich**

Assistant of program director of National Research Program (NFP) 35 ("Women in Law and Society") of the Swiss National Science Foundation

1995 **University of Zurich**

Interview conductor for the research project "Foreigners in Switzerland" at the Institute of Sociology

1993 - 1994 **University of Zurich**

Tutor at the Institute of Political Science

Additional Trainings

November 2012 **University of St. Gallen**

Academic writing skills

1999 - 2000 **Swiss Radio DRS**

Basic training in broadcast journalism

April 1995 **University of Zurich**

Interview training for research project "Foreigners in Switzerland"

(Institute of Sociology)

Language skills

German:	Native proficiency
French:	Native proficiency
English:	Full professional proficiency
Spanish:	Professional working proficiency
Italian:	Limited working proficiency
Portuguese:	Elementary proficiency

Volunteer work

Since 2014	**Parent's council Primarschule Margarethen, Basel, Switzerland** Member
Since 2005	**Intercultural Film Festival "Cinema Querfeld", Basel, Switzerland** Member of organizing committee