



Perfection, hybridity or shutting up? A cross-country study of how language ideologies shape participation in international business

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ABSTRACT

Employees' participation in professional international business (IB) communication has important consequences for knowledge transfer and processing, a crucial function for multinational enterprises (MNEs). Research suggests that participation is shaped by language, but prior research has focused on firm-internal language dynamics, meaning that less is known about the influence of external context. We help redress this balance by drawing on the sociolinguistic concept of "language ideologies". Language ideologies, or shared sets of beliefs about language(s) amongst social groups, are societal-level phenomena that employees bring with them to work. As such, they are part of the external social, political and historical context of IB activities. Our analysis of 82 interviews in three countries indicates that some language ideologies block participation and create friction, while others support participation. Implications for the conceptual understanding of language in IB and the management of internationally active firms are discussed.

1. Introduction

IB research needs to grow more aware both politically (Ghaury et al., 2021), historically (Buckley, 2020) and contextually (Meyer et al., 2011; Söderberg & Romani, 2017). Language-sensitive IB research partially answers these calls by attending to the interaction between language and social identity (Lauring, 2008), and to "the contexts and 'scapes' where languages meet and mingle" (Piekkari & Tietze, 2011: 268). Extant findings highlight that real-world language use is political and emotional, with consequences for the life and experiences of employees both inside and outside the permeable sphere of work (Steyaert et al., 2011). They have also elucidated how language shapes social groupings inside companies (e.g., Aichhorn & Puck, 2017a, 2017b; Bordia & Bordia, 2015; Gutierrez-Huerter et al., 2020; Hinds et al., 2014; Klitmøller & Lauring, 2016; Kulkarni, 2015; Lauring & Selmer, 2012; Li et al., 2020). However, the focus has remained on what is happening inside companies. Some exceptions aside (Vaara et al., 2005; Boussebaa et al., 2014; Bordia & Bordia, 2015), there has been much less research on how these dynamics are linked to societal-level phenomena, and multi-level research on the effects of societal-level linguistic boundaries

on individuals who enact cross-border business remains a lacuna in the IB literature (Westney et al., 2022).

To address the issue of how societal-level phenomena are connected to social dynamics within organizations, we draw upon a core sociolinguistic concept, namely societal-level *language ideologies* (e.g., Gal, 2005, 2006; Woolard, 1998), thus leveraging the potential of interdisciplinarity to advance IB research (Shenkar, 2021). Language ideologies can be defined following Gal (2005) and Vessey (2017) as *shared sets of beliefs about language(s) amongst particular social groups*. Their historically rooted, politically and emotionally charged nature influence both "personal and institutionalized policy and practice, with very real severe consequences" (Lippi-Green, 2012, p. 7).

The language ideologies prevailing in a specific context shape how individuals in that context perceive language diversity (Lonsmann, 2014; Piller, 2011), for instance, by preferring certain languages or certain forms of language use over others in multilingual contexts. As such, they are societal-level phenomena that employees bring with them to work. For example, if the "one-nation-one-language" ideology (Woolard, 1998) is strongly drawn upon at the headquarters of a MNE, it is likely to hamper the participation of expatriates and third-country

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nationals who do not speak that national language.

Against this background, the specific aim of this study is to explore how the language ideologies that employees draw upon in three different locations shape employee participation (Quick & Feldman, 2011) in professional IB communication in those contexts. We define participation as *individual employees being integrated and active in IB communication* (ranging from daily interactions with colleagues and clients to major organizational events), underlining that participation demands activity from organizations and individuals alike (Hutter, Nketia & Fuller, 2017). Participation in communication across linguistic boundaries both within and outside the firm is important because it is crucial for knowledge transfer (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007) and knowledge processing (Tenzer et al., 2021), and these factors are known to be key for MNE competitiveness (Welch & Welch, 2008).

Empirically, our study is based on qualitative individual-level data collected in Finland, Switzerland and the UK. These contexts were chosen to maximize differences in prevailing language ideologies, as Switzerland has four official languages, Finland two, and the dominant status of English in the UK is further bolstered by the position of English as the language of globalization par excellence (see e.g., Crystal, 2003).

In methodological terms, our approach can be described as interpretivist, characterized by an emic perspective, which provides rich descriptions of research participants' lived experiences of the phenomenon under study, and avoids extensive generalizability claims (for an overview in the context of the language-sensitive IB literature, see Piekkari, Gaibrois and Johansson, 2022). Our empirical setup thus helps answer calls for language-sensitive IB research that is both *cross-contextual* (e.g., Angouri & Piekkari, 2018; Tenzer & Terjesen, & Harzing, 2017) and *contextualized* (Angouri & Piekkari, 2018; Brannen et al., 2014; Piekkari & Tietze, 2011; Tenzer & Terjesen, & Harzing, 2017).

2. Literature review

2.1. Language Ideologies

Local linguistic context (Bordia & Bordia, 2015) shapes how individuals view language diversity at work. Language ideologies, or shared sets of beliefs about language(s) amongst particular social groups (Gal, 2005; Vessey, 2017), play a particularly important role in this (De Bres, 2013). Language ideologies "are never only about language" (Gal, 2005: 24), but feed off national and historical contexts as they reflect the legitimacy afforded to particular languages embedded into everyday public life. Therefore, the language ideologies prevailing in different contexts count among the institutional frameworks (see e.g., Brannen et al., 2014) that strongly influence participation, because they exert a powerful influence on who is considered as legitimate participant in specific communication situations in specific locales. They provide a holistic yet practical way to empirically explore how the local context shapes language use and thus participation in the workplace (Jonasson & Lauring, 2012; Steyaert et al., 2011).

Sociolinguistic research has identified a number of different language ideologies, and this body of research offers a rich array of analytical lenses for our empirical study beneath the overall theoretical umbrella of the language ideology concept. Below, we first describe the lenses chosen for the present study, and then draw upon them in our analysis of interview data from Switzerland, Finland and the UK.

The most prevalent language ideology in Europe (Gal, 2006; Vogl, 2018) is the *standard language* ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997), or the belief that there is one single way of using a language correctly. This language ideology is often based upon the notion of "a single correct written form" (Milroy, 1999: 174). It has however been much criticized (e.g. Mar-Molinero & Stevenson, 2006) as decisions on "standard language" are inherently political and can empower or disempower speakers depending on context (Brand, 2006).

The *one-nation-one-language* ideology (Woolard, 1998) attempts to territorialize language and place it within demarcated spatial

boundaries, frequently corresponding to national borders. It is often based on a myth (Blommaert, 2010; Wright & Brookes, 2019) that ignores the multilingual realities of contemporary societies, where static conceptualizations of nations conflict with transnational flows of people, ideas and languages (Stevenson & Mar-Molinero, 2006). In multilingual nation-states, a variation on this ideology is the *one-region-one-language* ideology, where language usage is still territorialized, but not necessarily at the state level (see e.g., Blommaert, 2011 on Belgium).

The ideology of *English as the language of globalization* (Phillipson, 1992) is widespread (e.g. Kachru, 2017) and widely studied in IB, particularly with regard to Business English as a Lingua Franca (e.g. Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Komori-Glatz, 2018). It is arguably the most taken-for-granted of the three above ideologies, not least within academia itself, in which English is frequently viewed as a neutral, vehicular language for knowledge transmission (though for critiques see e.g. Tietze, 2018; Boussebaa & Tienari, 2019).

While monolingual ideologies dominate in modern European nation-states (Piller, 2016), empirical work also documents ideologies taking a positive view of multilingualism (called "counter-ideologies" in sociolinguistics; see e.g., De Bres, 2013). The ideology of *societal multilingualism as an opportunity* (De Bres, 2013) stresses the productive aspects of multilingualism rather than its problems, specifically in terms of enabling participation from a broader range of linguistic backgrounds and skill bases than the monolingual ideologies introduced above.

Ideologies taking a positive view of multilingual solutions may also emphasize hybridity (e.g. Bhabha, 1994; Janssens & Steyaert, 2014) and fluidity, and reject prescriptive understandings of language use. Such ideologies are captured within the concept of "translanguaging" (García, 2009) in which hybrid forms of language are used playfully and creatively in order to establish new forms (Janssens & Steyaert, 2014). More simply, this could also incorporate passive multilingualism (Piekkari et al., 2015), in which a mixture of mutually intelligible languages (typically from the same language family) are used in a single conversation, or receptive multilingualism (Zeevaert & Ten Thije, 2007) in which multiple languages are used simultaneously.

2.2. Participation and language in IB

The concept of participation is rooted in public engagement research (Quick & Feldman, 2011), used also in strategy (e.g., Mantere & Vaara, 2008; Hautz et al., 2017), and recently also in IB (Tenzer et al., 2021). Viewed by Hutter and colleagues (2017: 355, 357) as the inclusive involvement or integration of organizational actors in decision making, participation facilitates the gathering of internal and external stakeholders' input in terms of ideas and information (Hautz et al., 2017). This "enriches the input received" (Quick & Feldman, 2011: 274), thereby improving the quality of decisions and facilitating their implementation by increasing engagement. Participation is also linked to a sense of community (Hutter et al., 2017), and is positively related to employee motivation, productivity, commitment and job satisfaction (e.g., Miller & Monge, 1986; Cotton et al., 1988; Doucouliagos, 1995).

Participation has been addressed implicitly (and recently also explicitly, Tenzer et al., 2021) in language-sensitive IB research on how language shapes social groupings inside MNEs. The focus has been on negative effects of language diversity, or language barriers as impediments to participation in professional communication. Individuals tend to communicate more with those who speak their preferred language fluently (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Aichhorn & Puck, 2017a), and inversely, avoid communication in languages they are less comfortable with (Lauring & Klitmøller, 2014; Li et al., 2020). This homosocial tendency (Mäkelä et al., 2007), even if temporary as in brief episodes of code-switching (Nunan & Carter 2001), has often been interpreted through the lens of social identity theory (Lambert, 1967; Tajfel, 1974, Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Ashforth & Mael, 1989) or the complementary lens of faultline theory (Lau & Murnighan, 1998; 2005). It has been

argued that sharing a language helps engender a shared identity (Bordia & Bordia, 2015), or that linguistic differences offer faultlines along which communities splinter into subgroups (Hinds et al., 2014; Kulkarni, 2015). Once formed, language-based groups easily come to exclude, distrust, denigrate, sideline or ostracize “others” (Hinds et al., 2014; Tenzer et al., 2021), who may in turn interpret the group’s behavior in terms ranging from parochialism to elitism and outright unfairness (Vaara et al., 2005; Neeley et al., 2012; Hinds et al., 2014; Kulkarni & Sommer, 2015). This hampers interpersonal relations (Fiset & Bhawe, 2021) and group performance (Dotan-Eliaz et al., 2009; Tenzer et al., 2021).

Furthermore, participation is influenced by differences in language proficiency. Employees might remain quiet in interactions due to lacking language competence (e.g., Vaara et al., 2005), or encounter serious obstacles in career progression (e.g., Angouri, 2013; Lønsmann, 2014; Steyaert et al., 2011). Also, disparity in language proficiency has been shown to moderate team members’ capacity to capitalize on their hierarchical position and professional expertise (Tenzer & Pudelko, 2017). In companies having English as corporate language, individuals with superior English skills are put in a position of advantage with regards to participation (e.g., Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing & Pudelko, 2013; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Neeley, 2013; Tietze et al., 2003), potentially causing, in Neeley’s (2013) terms, “unearned status gain”, which might well boost individual participation possibilities.

2.3. Summary of literature review

IB research has attended to how language diversity influences participation at the organizational level of analysis to some extent, and explored team- and individual-level determinants of how language diversity influences participation (mainly negatively). Differences in language proficiency have been identified as one key determining factor that influences participation. However, the influence of societal-level ideas about language on micro-level dynamics of inclusion, exclusion and participation in organizations has received little attention to date, except for Bordia and Bordia (2015), Vaara et al. (2005) and Boussebaa et al. (2014) who explore societal influences on language use through a postcolonial lens. We propose to complement these valuable contributions by introducing language ideologies, a major aspect of the linguistic context of any society (Piller, 2011; Blommaert, 2010), as a possibility to conceptualize the effects of societal-level factors on participation in organizations.

Following Hutter et al. (2017), participation can be obstructed by a lack of integration as well as by a lack of activity, which draws attention to contextual features that hamper or promote integration (e.g., the flexibility of language policies) and factors influencing activity (e.g., variations in motivation or linguistic ability). Language ideologies provide a conceptual lens to understand these features as part of a broader context.

Additionally, they help to explain why proficiency differences have the consequences that they have. For example, in a context where perceptions related to the standard language ideology are strong, speakers with a foreign accent, even if very proficient, will have weaker opportunities for participation than in a context dominated by the societal multilingualism as an opportunity ideology, where the mixing of languages is allowed and even encouraged.

3. Method

IB researchers often struggle with data collection across cultural boundaries (c.f., von Glinow et al., 2004; Chidlow et al., 2015). A strength of our study is to offer insight into how employees draw on language ideologies in three country contexts with divergent histories and formal approaches to language. We achieved this by re-analyzing three independently collected data sets that all addressed the role of language diversity in professional contexts. The independent data

collections were undertaken via semi-structured interviews (Smith, 1995), using similar interview protocols. When we began our collaboration on the present study we developed joint analytical questions (see below) that we then applied to the respective datasets in reflexive interplay, taking care to question and deepen our own and each others’ findings and interpretations at each round of analysis (Czarniawska, 2016). The re-analysis of previously collected data can offer significant exploratory potential and insights (Åkerström et al., 2004). Here, in addition to the reflexive interplay that helped us see our data sets with fresh eyes, it also helped bridge the language boundaries inherent in a multi-country study.

3.1. Data collection

Finland, Switzerland, and the UK were chosen as research contexts for this study for the contrasts in their linguistic environments (see Table 1). To avoid oversimplification, we do not label them

Table 1
Research settings.

Switzerland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Switzerland has four official languages, German (spoken by 62.6%), French (spoken by 22.9%), Italian (spoken by 8.2%) and Romansch (spoken by 0.5%) (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2019). Switzerland is also characterized by its diglossia in the German-speaking region (Jaworski & Piller, 2008), with Swiss German used in everyday oral communication and standard German used in written as well as formal oral communication (Bickel, 2000). The country recruits a significant part of its workforce, especially for non- and low-qualified positions, from the pool of Spanish-, Portuguese-, Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian- and Turkish-speaking migrants. 24.6% of the population are migrants, and Switzerland has one of the highest proportions of foreign permanent residents in Europe (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, 2016). English however, while frequently called the fifth national language (Jaworski & Piller, 2008), is only used regularly by a minority (41%), even if it represents the ‘lingua franca’ in certain business sectors.
Finland	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Finland is an EU member with an open, export-driven economy, and Sweden, Russia, and Germany as major trade partners. Finnish, the registered first language of 87.6% of the population (Statistics Finland, 2019), is spoken only in Finland and is not part of the Nordic language family. Finland was part of Sweden until 1809, thus Swedish is the second national language (Finlex, 2017), but its position is somewhat contested (e.g., Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014). Registered Swedish-speakers comprise 5.2% of the population (Statistics Finland, 2019). English and Swedish are mandatory school subjects. 45.2% and 34.1% of Finns say they know these languages well enough to have a conversation (Languageknowledge.eu, 2019). Due to history and restrictive immigration, other language groups are marginal (e.g. Russian is the first language of 1.4% of the population and spoken by 2.5% (Languageknowledge.eu, 2019).
United Kingdom	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many languages are spoken in the UK (Bailey & Marsden, 2017), but its public life is predominantly Anglophone (Sliwa & Johansson, 2014). 92% of people in England – the part of the UK where our data was collected – report English as their main language (Office for National Statistics, 2013). 39% of adults claim to speak a language other than their mother tongue well enough to hold a conversation, in comparison with an EU27 average of 54% (Eurobarometer, 2012). This relatively low level of multilingualism has created a belief that there is a single, correct type of English which should be used in order to be considered as a legitimate member of society. Over the past decade there has been further emphasis placed on this as manifested in changes to the educational system (e.g. Cushings, 2021). Multilingualism is frequently portrayed negatively in the British press (Coleman, 2009), and the declining take-up of foreign language study amongst students of all ages is widely documented (e.g. British Council, 2017; Jenkins, 2017).

quadrilingual (Switzerland), bilingual (Finland) or monolingual (UK), but clearly both the number and status of the languages used in public life varies across these three empirical contexts, shaped by their unique histories. As such, they provide diverse examples of prevalent, historically conditioned language ideologies (Blommaert, 2013).

While the three data sets were collected independently before we proceeded to re-analyzing the data for this study, they all focused on how employees experience the role of language diversity at their workplaces. In all three countries, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data with the aim of generating rich accounts of the interplay between language use and context within international business.

Interviewees were selected (Welch & Piekkari, 2017) to cover a broad range of positions and linguistic and national backgrounds among employees in 12 internationally active companies (Finland: 6; Switzerland: 2; UK: 4) of varying sizes and industries. In all three contexts we conducted a comparable number of interviews with respondents from the same range of hierarchical levels and job tasks, and in firms reflecting the composition of local business life in terms of both industry type and domestic/international orientation. Hence the sampling and samples are well aligned both within each country context (in terms of capturing how societal-level language ideologies are typically reflected in organizational participation across hierarchical levels and types of firms), and between the three country contexts (in the sense that our data capture the views of similar groups of interviewees in each country). A data overview is provided in Table 2.

As summarized in Table 2, our study draws on 82 interviews (Finland: 29; Switzerland: 36; UK: 17). They varied between 3 and 103 min in length (Finland: 30–95 min; Switzerland: 24–103 min; UK: 3–81 min²) with averages of 58 min (Finland), 75 min (Switzerland) and 31 min (UK), and were transcribed immediately afterward. The transcripts ranged from 2 to 33 pages (Finland: 11–32; Switzerland: 11–26; UK: 2–33), with averages of 15 pages (Finland), 17 pages (Switzerland) and 13 pages (UK), and a total word count of circa 590,000. To fully benefit of the richness of the conducted interviews, we have decided to include the entire data set in the present study in order to permit contextualized explanations of the phenomenon under study. The three-minute interview in the UK yielded rich insight despite its brevity; the interviewee (a British, native-English speaker) could not understand why the researcher was asking about language diversity, because to the interviewee, it was so obvious that language was not a challenge as English could be used to communicate with international partners, thus there was nothing to discuss. This provides a clear example of the strength of the “English as language of globalization” ideology.

In the spirit of active interviewing (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), we gave interviews the character of a conversation, aiming at providing starting points for the respondents to engage in the general topic of language use in multilingual professional contexts. Our interview guides were therefore advisory, representing more “of a conversational agenda than a procedural directive” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995: 76). Similar questions were asked in all interviews, given that investigating the role of language diversity in professional contexts was the aim of all three data collection processes. The general topic of the conversations was language use in multilingual professional contexts, with all participants asked, for example, questions which addressed the languages which are used at work, their level of comfort in using different languages, motivations/arguments for this, and the challenges (or indeed benefits) that operating in a multilingual environment created for them.

Accordingly, all our datasets emphasize how individuals understand and relate to language, rather than organizational-level approaches. Although organizational practices were raised by some participants, in order to ensure commensurability of our data, in this re-analysis we focus on the individual level, in keeping with Sanden and Lønsmann

Table 2
Overview of data.

FINLAND	29 interviews, length 30–95 min, average 58 min		
<i>Company</i>	<i>Respondent's cultural background</i>	<i>Respondent's job title</i>	<i>Interview length (min)</i>
Major MNC with roots in Finland	Bilingual Finn	Senior vice president of HR	30
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Customer service representative	67
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Communications manager	46
Swedish-owned MNC subsidiary	Finnish-speaking Finn	Client manager	50
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Client manager	57
	Swedish-speaking Finn	Managing director	60
Finland-based SME w/foreign subsidiaries	Finnish-speaking Finn	Key Account manager	71
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Senior vice president, communications	67
	Swedish-speaking Finn	Sales manager	42
Swedish-owned MNC subsidiary	Trilingual Finn	Executive assistant	41
	Swedish expatriate	Managing director	95
Finland-based SME w/foreign subsidiaries	Swedish-speaking Finn	Communications manager	66
	Swedish-speaking Finn	Senior vice president, HR	64
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Senior vice president, R&D	74
Finland-based MNC	Finnish-speaking Finn	Manager, corporate development	56
	Finnish-speaking Finn	HR expert	68
	Finnish-speaking Finn	HR expert	50
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Communications assistant	69
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Production worker	42
	Finnish-speaking Finn, Russian roots	Production manager	52
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Production worker	39
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Customer service representative	48
	Russian, fluent in Finnish	Customer service representative	67
	Finnish-speaking Finn	Manager, investor relations	58
	Finnish-speaking Finn	IT manager	65
	Swedish-speaking Finn	Chief Executive Officer	53
	Finnish-speaking Finn	IT manager	62
	Finnish-speaking Finn	senior vice president of HR	58
	Finnish-speaking Finn, Russian roots	Key Account manager	51
UNITED KINGDOM	17 interviews, length 3–81 min, average 31 min		
British subsidiary of German MNC, managing own import and export relationships	Monolingual British	Customer Service Manager	29
	Bi-lingual (German) British	Export Sales Manager	35
	Bi-lingual (Spanish) US citizen	Export Sales Manager	22

(continued on next page)

² Please see Section 4.1 for more information on the length of some UK interviews.

Table 2 (continued)

FINLAND	29 interviews, length 30–95 min, average 58 min		
UK-based SME with international export relationships	Monolingual British	Finance Director	19
	Monolingual British	General Manager	38
	Monolingual British	Marketing Manager	32
	Monolingual British	Purchasing Manager	5
	Monolingual British	Purchasing Manager	3
	Monolingual British	Sales Director	46
	Monolingual British	Executive Chairman	25
	Bilingual (French) British	Export Sales Executive	18
	Tri-lingual (French/English)	Export Sales Executive	21
	Polish	Export Sales Executive	30
UK-based SME w/ int'l export relationships	Bilingual British with German roots	Export Sales Executive	30
	Monolingual British	Managing Director	10
UK based SME w/ int'l export relationships	Bilingual (French) British	New Product Development Manager	58
	Monolingual British	Finance Director	81
UK based SME w/ int'l export relationships	Monolingual British	Managing Director	53
SWITZERLAND	36 interviews, length 24–121 min, average 57 min		
Switzerland-based MNC	English near-native Indian	Human Resources Manager	58
	French-native Swiss	Assistant	50
	English-native Australian	Sales and Distribution Manager	57
	French-native French	Assistant	39
	Italian-native Italian	Finance and Controlling Employee	58
	French-native Swiss	Marketing Adviser	38
	French-native Swiss	Cafeteria employee	24
	Turkish-native Turkish	Controller	70
	French-native Swiss-Canadian	Assistant	56
	Swiss-German native Swiss	Engineer	73
	German-native German	Graphic designer	60
	French-native Swiss	Administrative director of cleaning department	67
	Spanish-native Venezuelan	Payment processes standardization responsible	44
	French-native Swiss	Commercial apprentice	45
	French-native Swiss	Directors' canteen chef	51
	Portuguese-native Brazilian	Human Resources employee	58
	Arabic-native Iraqi-Syrian	Assistant	49
	Spanish-native	Corporate hotel receptionist	55
	Spanish-Swiss	Head of pension fund	50
	Swiss-German native Swiss		

Table 2 (continued)

FINLAND	29 interviews, length 30–95 min, average 58 min		
Swiss-based mid-size SME, export active	French-native Turkish	Human Resources department coordinator	48
	Catalan-native Spanish	Co-head of dishwashing facility	55
	Swiss-German native Swiss	Regional Manager for Asia	55
	French-native Swiss	Corporate Communications responsible	61
	French-native French	IT standardization project director	121
	French-native Swiss	Head of Recruitment	53
	Flemish-native Belgian	Marketing employee	50
	English-/French-native British	IT superuser	59
	French-native French	Supply Chain Management responsible	46
	French-native French	IT standardization employee	49
	Russian-native Russian	IT standardization employee	47
	French-native Belgian	IT employee responsible for SAP	59
	Portuguese-native Brazilian	IT standardization employee	57
	Italian-/French-native Italian	Human Resources employee	54
	Italian-/Swiss-German native Swiss	Local responsible for IT standardization project	85
	Swiss German-native Swiss	Customer Service Director	85
	Swiss German-native Swiss	Distribution Manager	55

(2018), who argue for a greater emphasis on bottom-up perspectives in the language-sensitive IB literature.

The interviews were carried out in local languages (Finland: Finnish and Swedish; Switzerland: Swiss German and French, UK: English), or in a language of the interviewee's choice in case of interviewees from other countries (Switzerland: English, "standard German", Spanish). This established rapport and ensured that interviewees were able to express themselves freely (Marschan-Piekkari & Reis, 2004; Welch and Piekkari, 2005). The interviews were transcribed and initially analyzed in the original language. Key themes and quotes were then translated to English by the researchers in order to allow all authors to engage with them, following the approach of Thomas et al. (2009).

3.2. Analytical approach

Our study follows an interpretive approach, which asserts that knowledge production is an act of human interpretation, particularly as it relates to the social world (Prasad, 2005). Our approach can thus be described as balancing "flexibility and creativity" with transparency, authenticity, deep engagement and reflexivity as the "broad principles" (Bansal & Corley 2011: 236, quoted in Welch & Piekkari, 2017: 720) that guided our re-analysis.

Our aim when engaging in the systematic re-analysis of the three datasets was to analyze each through the theoretical lenses of language ideologies, leveraging emerging insights to question our pre-existing assumptions about already familiar contexts and data. We did so in the general expectation that a cross-contextual approach would yield novel insights beyond those provided by the individual datasets. This approach enabled us to see how employees drew upon language

ideologies in very different ways in the three countries to explain language use in their workplaces. The specific features of the respective societal contexts thus became more salient through this comparison than when analyzing the individual datasets. Analyzing the language ideologies our interviewees drew upon enabled us to examine attitudes around multilingualism in the workplace; and to identify how these beliefs enable or constrain opportunities for employees to participate in organizational life.

Our analysis procedure consisted of three steps: (1) independent analysis of the respective data sets before commencing work on the present study, (2) synchronized re-analysis of all three data sets in the context of the present study, and (3) self-reflexive documentation and analysis of our own insights and realignments during steps 1 and 2. Step 2 of the analysis was organized according to language ideology. We identified all instances in which interviewees in each country-level data set drew upon the four language ideologies described in previous research (“English as the language of globalization”, “Standard language”, “One-nation-one-language”, and “Societal multilingualism as an opportunity”). Next, we examined how that ideology was related to interviewees’ perspectives on participation in that specific country context, and then compared our findings across the three contexts. This process, illustrated in Fig. 1, was guided by the following questions:

1. Which language ideologies do interviewees in the different country contexts draw upon in their accounts of language use in IB settings?
2. How do these language ideologies enable or constrain participation in communicative events across language boundaries?
3. What conclusions about IB communication across language boundaries can be derived from how the language ideologies interviewees draw upon enable or constrain participation?

Throughout our analysis we remained aware of the difficulties associated with conveying nuances in the respective datasets to other research team members. As self-reflection on one’s own biases and preconceptions is a crucial dimension of cross-cultural research (Jameson, 2007), we drew on empirical material to “facilitate and encourage critical reflection” (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2011: 4). In-depth familiarity with our respective datasets allowed us to articulate individual views of the findings in their primary context, while detailed insight into each other’s findings and interpretations gained during the collaborative process helped us juxtapose these against each other. The result was a clearer understanding of which effects of language

ideologies on participation respondents articulated in our combined data might also apply to other contexts, and which of them were clearly context-specific.

4. Findings

The contents of this section are grouped by language ideology. For each ideology, we first discuss whether and to what extent interviewees draw upon the ideology in each country context, and then discuss implications of that ideology for participation within and across country contexts.

4.1. “English as the language of globalization” ideology

In the UK, references to the *English as language of globalization* ideology had an uneasy coexistence with the *standard language ideology*, which was also prevalent. This contrasts with the Finnish and Swiss contexts, where such tensions were less visible. On the one hand, participants in the UK acknowledged the benefits to native English speakers but also discussed the frustrations which arose when it created situations in which the *standard language* ideology was challenged by other World Englishes (Kachru, 1985; 2017). From a participation perspective, the British interviewees appeared keen to capitalize on the opportunity to participate themselves, through drawing upon the *English as language of globalization* ideology. “*I could speak the most international language on the planet*” was a frequent sentiment, reflecting the belief that speaking English alone is sufficient which is widespread and deeply embedded (British Council, 2017; Jenkins, 2017). This was also reflected in the two shortest UK interviews (3 and 5 min, respectively; see Table 2), which ended prematurely because the respondents simply dismissed the topic of language as irrelevant to talk about.

However, when it comes to the participation of linguistic Others (Wilmot & Tietze, 2020), it appears to be a reluctant acquiescence to participation, rather than active encouragement, as exemplified by the below quote from an Executive Chairman of an SME, who acknowledges that the way he speaks is problematic for non-native speakers, but makes no effort to modify his speech to encourage their participation:

*“I am conscious that my accent, and the way I speak, is quite problematic for people like that, and I don’t, modify the way I speak, some people go... *exaggerated slowness* OH... HELLO... GOOD... MORNING... [...] I just talk to them the way it is.”*

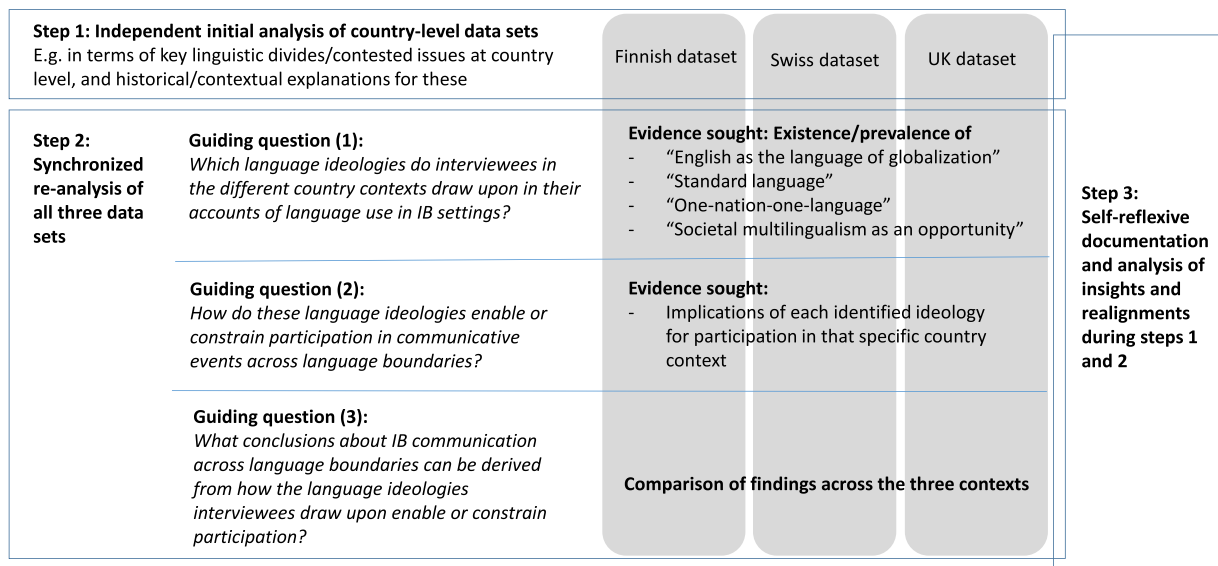


Fig. 1. Analytical procedure.

In contrast, the use of English in business contexts was frequently opposed in the Swiss data. Many Swiss accounts drawing critically on the *English as the language of globalization* language ideology pointed at the privilege of native English speakers, who avoid having to adapt due to the widespread use of English. By describing that conversely, non-natives have to make an effort, the accounts highlighted native speakers' infringement of the fundamentally reciprocal nature of participation. A local assistant from an MNE headquartered in the French-speaking part provided an example of a scenario that she repeatedly experienced at work in which other employees asked her to solve small private issues for them using the local language:

"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."

The *English as the language of globalization* ideology was also criticized for hindering the participation of employees without English proficiency, particularly in the same MNE. Respondents stated that the lack of English skills led to potential exclusion from organizational life and access to information. This mainly concerned locally recruited service sector staff, who sometimes had a migrant background, as with this interviewee, the co-head of the dishwashing facility, who was originally from Spain:

"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'."

With regard to communication among non-native speakers, respondents drew on the *English as the language of globalization* ideology in a much more positive way, however. Non-natives frequently described that using English as a 'business tool', which they clearly separated from English as native language, provided non-native speakers with the possibility to participate in communication among equals. An expatriate from Russia working as IT standardization employee at a domestic firm provides an example:

"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."

Similarly, in Finland, as a first response to questions on language, interviewees usually drew upon the *English as the language of globalization* ideology irrespective of their own language skills, job role or company context. A core argument was that English is the 'common denominator' that enables participation. A senior vice president of HR explained the choice of English as corporate language in a Finnish MNE with activities around the Baltic Rim:

"We had just about as many people in Finland and in Sweden, [and] 13 languages within the company as a whole, so it was quite natural."

Managers of Finnish internationally active companies tended to view interactions in English among non-natives in terms of "language for communication" among people meeting in a "third space" (Bhabha, 1994), as opposed to "language for identification" (House, 2003). In the Finnish context, English is usually no-one's first language, preventing arguments about perceived linguistic advantages (Vaara et al., 2005).

Yet, most Finnish respondents who drew upon the *English as the language of globalization* ideology later complemented or contradicted themselves by describing the limitations of English, explaining why other languages were still important to know, and/or emphasizing the personal benefits of knowing other languages. Thus, the *English as the language of globalization* ideology was seen both as enabler of and hindrance to participation. In the latter sense it overlapped with the *standard language* ideology (referring to one single correct usage of a particular language), as some respondents reported feeling restricted in

international meetings by their less-than-perfect skills in English.

In the (non-Anglophone) Finnish and Swiss contexts, the *English as language of globalization* ideology often resulted in increased participation by providing greater equality for speakers of different linguistic backgrounds. Although there was evidence of this understanding also in the UK, as demonstrated by this General Manager of a multinational who is an English native speaker with many years of export experience who remarked *"It's not our language... It's an international language owned by everybody to be interpreted by themselves and there's no right or wrong"*, in this context it was a minority viewpoint, found amongst those with extensive international experience.

In sum, our comparison shows that the *English as language of globalization* ideology may be viewed differently in non-Anglophone contexts (Switzerland, Finland) than in Anglophone ones, apparently depending on overall levels of English proficiency. In the UK, native speakers benefit from their advantage, but English is a foreign language in Finland and Switzerland, which sometimes creates difficulties for local staff. In Finland, where fluency in English is on average more common than in Switzerland, the *English as language of globalization* ideology seems overall to be more accepted.

4.2. The standard language ideology

The *standard language* ideology was most prevalent in the UK data, and was drawn upon in order to deny participation to linguistic Others (Wilmot & Tietze, 2020), demonstrating its exclusionary effects. This emphasis meant that there was less tolerance for non-standard language use than was found in our other research contexts, and other nationalities were essentialized (Ailon-Souday & Kunda, 2003; Piller, 2011) based on evaluations of their English skills, as explained by this British, German-speaking Export Sales Manager:

"There are certain cultures that are worse at speaking English than others. You know, Scandinavia... Swedish, Danish, usually pretty good, the Finnish, nowhere near as good, from my experience."

The following incident was recounted by the Customer Services Manager of a small multinational, who is a native speaker of English:

"We have an African gentleman ring, and he's very broad in his... and I've taken the call in the past and thought, do you know, I keep saying I'm sorry, email me, write it me down, because I just can't - when he calls, we all go, it's that chap, you get it, no you get it, no you get it, because no one wants to struggle to communicate."

This shows how participation was denied by English native speakers who refused to engage in a dialogue with someone whose English did not correspond to their expectations of how the language should be used. This example highlights how ideologies can clash: English native speakers recognized the benefits of drawing on the *English as language of globalization* ideology, but drew on the *standard language* ideology to express frustration when the type of English used to communicate did not match their expectations.

In Finland, the *standard language* ideology was frequently drawn upon to explain non-participation in IB communication situations, showing how it heightens the threshold for participation. The senior vice president of HR in a manufacturing MNE with extensive business in Russia said:

"Especially men want to speak perfect English. They will not speak unless they speak the language perfectly."

A trilingual executive assistant in the Finnish subsidiary of a Sweden-based financial services company made a similar argument about Swedish, stating that younger Finnish-speakers avoid using it because they feel they do not know it well enough. The managing director of another Swedish-owned subsidiary in the financial sector, himself a Swedish-Finnish bilingual with extensive international work experience,

also drew on the *standard language* ideology in a negative comment on the language skills of the 5.2% of Finns who speak Swedish as their first language ("Finland-Swedes"):

"They think they speak Swedish, but what they in fact do is to speak Finnish in Swedish."

In contrast, Swiss respondents frequently drew upon the *standard language* ideology critically. Non-native speakers of English recurrently emphasized the importance of fluency in interactions that involved native speakers, and the annoying advantage of the latter in terms of participating in organizational communication. A French native marketing adviser from a MNE highlighted:

"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."

The cross-contextual comparison of findings related to the *standard language* ideology especially highlights the power relationships between different categories of speakers, which bestow a participation advantage upon those who master dominant languages or higher-prestige variants of a language. The case of Finland, where 'proper' Swedish from Sweden is contrasted with a Finnish variant which is seen as more regional, illustrates that this tension is not limited to English.

4.3. The one-nation-one-language ideology

A key reason for the existence of *English as language of globalization* ideology is British colonial expansion, as part of which the English language was exported and imposed on other countries. Hence, this ideology and the *one-nation-one-language* ideology can coexist without tension in Anglophone countries even if it can generate acute friction between native and non-native speakers elsewhere, as the example of Switzerland in Section 4.2 shows. Indeed, the *one-nation-one language* ideology was the most evident in our UK data.

However, the rejection of other languages within an Anglophone territorialized space as a direct result of this ideology demonstrates the exclusionary effects of such beliefs and how their mobilization denies participation opportunities, even when an inclusive approach would not deny participation to native English speakers, as explained by the British, French-speaking New Product Development Manager at this SME:

"I then decided that we should then have a French answerphone [...] The French version was absolutely spot on for the French, but when English people heard it, they really didn't like it, so some of our UK clients, really questioned it."

The tensions between English native and French native speakers identified in the Swiss context are mirrored in the UK data. Many of the difficulties arise from the fact that the British interviewees describe the French as having similar ideologies as themselves, or, as one interviewee put it, *"anybody who just speaks French and doesn't come from France is always going to struggle"*. However, the effects of such ideologies in the opposite direction were experienced as exclusionary and a source of frustration, as in the case of this person who recalled that *"if nobody was here who could speak French when they rang up, they'd rather put the phone down"*.

Similar tensions can be found in the Swiss context, however, in a different set-up. Based on the "French because we are in the French-speaking part of Switzerland" argument, the locally recruited workforce, was said to "defend our French" against English. Drawing on this language ideology can thus be interpreted as an attempt to fight for participation opportunities in an English-dominated organizational context. In Switzerland, the *one-nation-one-language* ideology was therefore found in the *one-region-one-language* variant (see Blommaert,

2011 on Belgium).

In Finland, the *one-nation-one-language* ideology (Woolard, 1998) is entwined with historical tensions between language groups stemming from the fact that Finland used to be part of Sweden (Vaara et al., 2005, interpreted this in postcolonial terms). In professional contexts, the benefits of communicating in Swedish with foreign business partners are usually recognized, but a certain sensitivity related to using the language within Finland remains. Accordingly, interviewees from Swedish-speaking backgrounds referred to tensions related to the *one-nation-one-language* ideology in different ways from native Finnish-speakers, who in turn often told of encountering "glass ceilings" (Itani et al., 2015) during attempts to participate in decision-making processes (see Hutter et al., 2017) in Swedish-speaking contexts. The senior vice president of a consultancy firm explained how language barriers had hindered her from participating fully in a previous job:

"The working language of the top management team was Swedish. It really was a terrible handicap for me that I didn't know it."

A manager in a Swedish-owned subsidiary in the services sector, who spoke good but not fully fluent Swedish, articulated her experiences as follows:

"If there's a meeting with Finns, Swedes, Danes and Norwegians, and the language is Swedish, and I'm sitting there, I understand everything but still can't pitch in as spontaneously as I could in Finnish. (...) Others may think, 'is she stupid or what?'"

The cross-context comparison highlights the role of history in the adoption of *one-nation-one-language* ideologies and shows that the historically formed status of a specific language in a country impacts daily business in contemporary companies. What seems particularly relevant in this regard are tensions between linguistic minorities and linguistic majorities.

4.4. Societal multilingualism as an opportunity

In Switzerland, employees drew on the *societal multilingualism as an opportunity* ideology (De Bres, 2013), referring to Switzerland's multilingualism. A Portuguese native speaker who was working for a domestic firm as an IT standardization employee, emphasized:

"The advantage of Switzerland is that Switzerland is this multilanguage country. People tend to be a little bit patient of you not using that language in the most superb and perfect and you know correct way."

This example shows that the *societal multilingualism as an opportunity* ideology is directly participation-relevant, as it encourages tolerance towards mistakes.

Ideologies that emphasize hybridity and fluidity were frequent in the Swiss dataset. Particularly in the case of a domestic firm, respondents described "receptive multilingualism", or a language constellation in which interlocutors use their respective native language while speaking to each other, an approach regularly practiced in Switzerland (Zeevaert & Ten Thije, 2007). The customer service director of the firm, a Swiss German native, provided the following example:

"[I]n a telephone conference with three [people] of a [Swiss-German subsidiary], (...) and three people [of the headquarters in the French-speaking part] (...), 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 held 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."

In addition, employees from a MNE described various forms of mixing languages, which include occasionally throwing in words in

another language, changing languages in the middle of a conversation and the parallel use of two languages. This is an example by a French native HR coordinator:

"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."

Such instances of "translingualism" (García, 2009; García et al., 2012; Wei, 2011), or new and complex language practices which cannot be easily assigned to one language or the other, are examples of individuals using their "entire linguistic repertoire" (García et al., 2012: 52). Thus, even limited language skills are a resource for participation in organizational communication.

In Finnish public discourse as well as in our data, the *societal multilingualism as an opportunity* ideology was often drawn upon to counter arguments based on the one-nation-one-language ideology, especially to defend the role of the national minority language (Swedish) as part of a flexible bilingualism. A managing director said:

"The biggest benefit of being a Finland-Swede is that you have a feeling for always being in the minority. you develop a sensitivity for people not speaking your language [...] when someone enters who speaks another language, you switch immediately to theirs."

A trilingual executive assistant framed frequent code-switching between the two local languages and English, which played a strong role in her industry (financial services), as an example of tolerance:

"I think we're quite tolerant here because really we mix all languages, so one person will speak Swedish, another can speak Finnish, a third may chip in in English."

However, some other respondents felt that the use of Swedish alongside Finnish and/or English would constitute an unacceptable communication barrier for those with weaker Swedish. Thus this ideology was perceived both as an obstacle to participation and an enabler. It is also worth noting that these arguments focused only on the interplay between English and the two official national languages, Finnish and Swedish.

In the UK, ideologies which view multilingualism more positively, emphasizing hybridity (Gaibrois, 2018) and "muddling through" (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Steyaert et al., 2011) were largely found amongst multilingual individuals, such as this Hispanic Export Sales Manager at a multinational:

"I made an effort to speak in Italian, and he knew that my Italian was limited so we kind of spoke Italian-Spanish...his Spanish was very good, English not so good, so we figured it out in the end, had a mixture of both, Italian and Spanish."

Examples of hybrid approaches such as the passive multilingualism found in this example (Piekkari et al., 2015) were less frequently found in the UK compared to the Finnish and Swiss contexts as a result of the prevalent ideologies.

The cross-contextual comparison shows that the historical factors that can be seen to hinder participation might also provide resources for participation. The multilingualism as an opportunity ideology provides a counterpoint to the one-nation-one-language ideology in highlighting the potential of a broad language repertoire and of mixing languages.

5. Discussion

Overall, our empirical comparison strongly suggests that language ideologies influence employee attitudes towards language use in the workplace, with important implications for participation in professional communication in these contexts.

The *standard language* ideology (Lippi-Green, 1997) and the *one-nation/region-one-language* ideology (Woolard, 1998) tend to hinder

participation. For example, the standard language ideology may lead to communication avoidance due to feelings of personal and professional inadequacy. *English as the language of globalization* (Phillipson, 1992) affects participation differently depending on situation and country context. It can both facilitate interactions on equal footing and exclude those who are not proficient in English. It enables participation by creating parity among non-natives using it as lingua franca (Finland, Switzerland). Yet in the UK this aspect puts it at odds with the *standard language* ideology, while in the Swiss data, frustrations arise from English native speakers' perceived lack of effort to adapt and thus contribute equally to everybody's participation.

Tensions between language ideologies correspond to frictions among employees. In Switzerland and Finland, the 'linguistically disadvantaged' draw upon ideologies highlighting that the 'linguistically advantaged' enjoy better possibilities to participate in daily interactions and subsequently, different career opportunities (Itani et al., 2015). In Finland and the UK, advantaged actors in turn tend to draw upon supposedly neutral ideologies that nevertheless may help them construct or retain individual professional advantages based on better participation opportunities.

Ideologies emphasizing hybridity and fluidity (e.g., De Bres, 2013) strongly influence participation in professional communication. Particularly in Switzerland, they offer an alternative to the *standard language* ideology and its emphasis on a single correct linguistic form. When individuals use their "entire linguistic repertoire" (García et al., 2012: 52) instead of focusing on perfection, even limited language skills can support participation. This makes the *societal multilingualism as an opportunity* ideology directly relevant to participation.

Interviewees from different contexts drew on the same language ideologies, indicating that these have a transnational character that could not be captured by country-level constructs such as national culture or national business systems. Yet, the prevalence of these ideologies varied considerably across country, regional and local contexts, highlighting that international businesses are embedded in multiple societal and political contexts, and therefore emotions and attributions of group membership (Ashkanasy, 2003; Vaara et al., 2005; Hinds et al., 2014) can powerfully impact their activities. Employees might remain silent because they consider their proficiency in a certain language as incompatible with the prevalent language ideology, rather than due to a lack of ideas or professional competence (Neeley & Kaplan, 2014; Piekkari et al., 2015), resulting in less innovation and a smaller internal talent pool.

Our findings bring four important contributions to IB research. Firstly, they help increase the field's awareness of societal-level phenomena in spheres traditionally more associated with politics or history. This has been pointed out as a necessary step forward for IB (Buckley, 2020), and the increasingly shrill tone of present-day geopolitics only serves to further underline the need for more politically savvy IB research (Ghauri et al., 2021). This need is also reflected in a growing number of special issues and calls for papers, such as the upcoming International Business Review special issue on "How MNEs Adjust their Strategies and Operations in Response to a Turbulent IB Environment" (Contractor et al., forthcoming). The close and explicit links between language ideologies and nationalism points towards their helpfulness in grasping the political realities of IB, as tragically illustrated by the Putin regime's reference to the status of the Russian language in Ukraine as one of the pretexts for the war. A closely related second contribution of this study to IB studies is to advance *language ideologies as a conceptual lens to understand context in IB*. Language ideologies are arguably more specific and traceable in historical and empirical terms than "cultures" or "nations", two concepts that are frequently used in IB to capture "context", yet nevertheless suffer from some well recognized limitations in terms of how they are to be defined and delimited. By showing how a core concept from sociolinguistics can be integrated with prior IB research on language, we also contribute by helping leverage interdisciplinarity within IB, as encouraged by e.g. Tenzer, and Terjesen, and

Harzing (2017) and Angouri and Piekkari (2018) especially with regard to language, and at a general level more recently by Shenkar (2021). We also build on previous work in this journal which incorporates socio-linguistic concepts (e.g. Peltokorpi, 2007; Suzuki et al., 2022).

A third contribution is to provide a nuanced conceptualization of *participation* as a relevant concept in IB communication, specifically by expanding earlier research focusing on the negative effects of language diversity on participation (e.g. Tenzer et al., 2021). In doing so, we show that language diversity can also *enable* participation in communication. Sociopolitical context can constrain or enable participation inside firms, compounded by organizational structures; in this sense, our findings support those of Michalski and Śliwa (2021), who found that context-specific factors played a key role in shaping employee responses to corporate language management efforts. Enablers and blockers to participation range from using English as common denominator, to employees avoiding communication due to perceived demands to speak perfectly or actively denying others' participation in order to remain in their own linguistic comfort zone (Śliwa & Johansson, 2014). Recent findings suggesting that individuals' language skills can sometimes violate salient boundaries of social identification by being "too good" highlights the other side of this coin (Peltokorpi & Pudielko, 2021). Identifying and surmounting these barriers is nevertheless important because participation is crucial in shaping decision-making input, access to information and organizational events, and career opportunities.

Our fourth and final contribution is to answer calls for *cross-contextual* language-sensitive IB research (e.g., Angouri & Piekkari, 2018; Tenzer & Terjesen, & Harzing, 2017; Michalski & Śliwa, 2021) through country-level data collection and analysis by researchers embedded in different local environments, followed by comparative analysis in close dialogue between researchers intimately familiar with the respective contexts. For us, the process of contrasting independently collected data and prior analyses of these with co-authors based on a joint analytical framework yielded substantial insights.

5.1. Conclusion and directions for future research

In an increasingly turbulent external environment where business is increasingly entangled with politics, our findings promote a better understanding of the link between firm-internal communication and knowledge transfer and processing, an issue which has long been recognized as core to MNE competitiveness (Welch & Welch, 2008). This is important not only for research but also for practicing managers. Awareness of clashing language ideologies can help explain frictions among employees, helping managers ease tensions and make better decisions. For example, inflexible language policies such as a strong emphasis on "English only" may prevent employees from leveraging their full linguistic repertoires, with negative consequences for knowledge sharing and trust building. In external communication, managers need awareness of how language ideologies may shape relations to important stakeholders, for example by causing employees to avoid communication with business partners from certain language backgrounds, or causing damage to the reputation of the firm in the eyes of external stakeholders.

In terms of future research, empirical work on participation has the potential to shed light on how all employees can be engaged and enabled in key processes such as internal knowledge sharing. Interdisciplinary dialogue on participation, drawing on proximate disciplines such as strategy and democratic process research, may open up highly relevant perspectives on how to achieve the levels of inclusiveness and dynamism needed for international businesses of the near future to prosper.

We especially encourage future IB research to explore how changes in the sociopolitical landscape (e.g. due to Brexit or the rise of right-wing nationalism; see Kerr & Śliwa, 2019) affect beliefs about language ideologies and corresponding organizational practices, with potentially important consequences for intra-organizational participation in communication situations. In addition to investigating the effects of

major political events on language strategies, studying a broader range of contexts would greatly enhance our understanding of the range of language ideologies and how they influence IB (Tenzer & Terjesen, & Harzing, 2017).

Sociolinguistics offers methodologies for empirically tracing the development of language ideologies over time, potentially enabling also longitudinal studies based on secondary data. Research addressing the influence of organizational structure, size, and sector would contribute additional facets to current knowledge, as would a deeper exploration of firm-level factors, something we have been unable to pursue with the data available in this study. Yet, prior work in language-sensitive IB as reviewed in Section 2 suggests that language-related practices can vary considerably between firms. Also, the patterns and associations identified above do not amount to claims of causality, hence our findings would benefit from additional large-sample quantitative research to question and validate the dynamics they indicate.

Future research pursuing these avenues might apply many of the suggestions advanced in the literature review by Tenzer, and Terjesen, and Harzing (2017). For example, participants' views on language ideologies and their role for participation could be investigated in quantitative, survey-based studies, which are still relatively rare in language-sensitive IB research compared to the broader IB field. There is also potential to validate our insights by using a more structured sampling approach whilst still using qualitative methods. Additionally, multi-method studies and experimental research designs could provide further insights into language-related effects in international business (Tenzer et al., 2017).

Data Availability

The data that has been used is confidential.

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Appendix 1

Guiding interview themes

- Background information about the respondent (position, career, personal language biography)
- General reflections on language use in local business life
- Overview of language use at the respondent's workplace (company, department, team; formal policies and informal practices; role of language in e.g. recruitment, HRD, career advancement)
- What languages the respondent uses in which work-related situations and why

Respondent's perception of how language impacts their subjective career success (promote/hinder? To what extent, in what situation/s? How?).

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