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Language Strategies in Multinational Corporations

A Cross-sector Study of Financial Service Companies and Manufacturing Companies

Sanden, Guro Refsum

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LANGUAGE STRATEGIES IN MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. A CROSS-SECTOR STUDY OF FINANCIAL SERVICE COMPANIES AND MANUFACTURING COMPANIES.

PhD Series 21-2015

Guro Refsum Sanden

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The PhD School of LIMAC

PhD Series 21.2015

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HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Language strategies in multinational corporations

A cross-sector study of financial service companies and manufacturing companies

Guro Refsum Sanden

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PhD School LIMAC
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Abstract

Situated at the intersection of sociolinguistics and international business and management studies, this PhD project focuses on language management in two different industry sectors, namely the financial service sector and the manufacturing sector. Employing a multiple case study design consisting of two matched pair cases, the study examines the means by which language is managed, i.e. language management tools, in the two financial service companies Nordea and Saxo Bank and the two manufacturing companies Grundfos and ECCO. The contribution of the thesis lies in capturing the effect of industry sectors on corporate language management – a level of analysis which has largely been overlooked in previous research.

The findings indicate that industry sectors embody great explanatory power with regard to the selection of language management tools at company level. The financial service companies and the manufacturing companies were found to have three sector-level factors in common, though with somewhat different outcomes. *Economic geography* increases the use of English for corporate level functions in the two financial service companies owing to the companies' presence in international financial centres. On the other hand, in the two manufacturing companies, this factor increases the need for multiple corporate languages and translation into the mother tongue spoken by the production workers in the industrial locations where English language skills tend to be scarce. In manufacturing, economic geography was also found to lead to the use of language intermediates as mediums of communication. In all case companies, *global integration* increases cross-border communication and the use of English for corporate level functions, which also increases selective recruitment of English-skilled employees in both sectors. *Industry speak* is found to be closely related to company-specific language in all case companies regardless of sector, and technological solutions are implemented in order to manage large term databases in both sectors.

In addition to these factors, the following three sector-specific factors were found in the two financial service companies only: *local responsiveness,* in particular with regard to the companies' retail banking operations, enhances the need for local language communication resulting in the use of multiple corporate languages. Local responsiveness also enhances both the use of translation and selective recruitment, while at the same time imposing restrictions on the provision of language training; *age structure* of the employees, especially in the retail banking area, creates a need for multiple corporate languages and translation, while reducing the use of language training as a language management tool; *regulatory compliance* results in the use of multiple corporate languages and company-specific language, and increases the use of translation and selective recruitment of employees with local language skills.

The following four sector-specific findings were found in the two manufacturing companies only: *work environment* of production units limits access to technological language management solutions and restricts the amount of language training provided for production workers; *communication mode* implies

restrictions on the possibility of using written-medium communication directed at production workers with limited literal skills, thereby creating a need to translate information into visual and oral-medium communication; *risk of organisational isolation* arises due to few or no direct communication channels between headquarters and foreign subsidiaries, where the use of language intermediates may present a threat to organisational inclusion. Finally, modest to low *educational level* of production workers increases the need for multiple corporate languages and local language communication through translation, while reducing the provision of language training for this group.

Resumé

Dette ph.d.-projekt, som befinder sig i skæringspunktet mellem sociolingvistik og international business og ledelse, fokuserer på sprogstyring ('language management') i to forskellige sektorer, nemlig den finansielle servicesektor og fremstillingssektoren. Gennem et forskningsdesign bestående af to sæt case-virksomheder, undersøger afhandlingen hvilke ledelsesinitiativer og midler, dvs. sprogstyringsværktøjer, der anvendes til at udøve sprogstyring i praksis i de to finansielle virksomheder Nordea og Saxo Bank og de to fremstillingsvirksomheder Grundfos og ECCO. Afhandlingen belyser hvordan karakteristika i de to forskellige sektorer kan påvirke sprogstyring – et analyseniveau der i høj grad er blevet overset i tidligere forskning.

Resultaterne viser, at sektoren har stor forklaringskraft i forhold til valg af sprogstyringsværktøjer på virksomhedsniveau. De to finansielle virksomheder og de to fremstillingsvirksomheder havde tre sektorspecifikke faktorer til fælles, men med delvist forskelligt udfald. *Økonomisk geografi* i de to finansielle servicevirksomheder øger brugen af engelsk i koncernfunktioner på grund af virksomhedernes tilstedeværelse i internationale finanscentre. På den anden side fører økonomisk geografi i de to fremstillingsvirksomheder til brug af flere koncernsprog og oversættelse til produktionsmedarbejdernes modersmål i de industrielle områder hvor engelskkundskaber er mindre udbredt. I fremstillingsvirksomhederne er økonomisk geografi også med til at påvirke brugen af sproglige mellemmænd. I alle fire virksomheder øger *global integration* kommunikation på tværs af landegrænser og dermed brugen af engelsk i koncernfunktioner, hvilket også påvirker selektiv rekruttering af engelsktalende medarbejdere i begge sektorer. *Branchesprog* er tæt forbundet med virksomhedsspecifikt sprog og fører til anvendelse af tekniske værktøjer for at håndtere store termdatabaser i begge sektorer.

I tillæg til disse faktorer, blev følgende tre sektorspecifikke faktorer kun fundet i de to finansielle servicevirksomheder: krav om *lokal tilpasning*, særligt i forhold til detailbankvirksomhed, skaber behov for kommunikation på det lokale sprog og dermed brug af flere koncernsprog. Lokal tilpasning øger også brugen af oversættelse og selektiv rekruttering, mens udbredelsen af sprogundervisning reduceres; *aldersstrukturen* blandt virksomhedernes medarbejdere, særligt i detailbankområdet, skaber behov for flere koncernsprog samt oversættelse, og reducerer brugen af sprogundervisning som sprogstyringsværktøj; *lovregulering* resulterer i brug af flere koncernsprog og virksomhedsspecifikt sprog, samt øget brug af oversættelse og selektiv rekruttering af ansatte med lokale sprogkundskaber.

Følgende fire sektorspecifikke faktorer blev kun fundet i de to fremstillingsvirksomhederne: *arbejdsmiljø* i produktionsenhederne begrænser adgangen til teknologiske sprogløsninger samt indskrænker brugen af sprogundervisning for produktionsmedarbejdere; *kommunikationsmodus* indebærer begrænsninger i brugen af skriftlig kommunikation til produktionsmedarbejdere med begrænsede læsekundskaber, hvilket skaber et behov for at oversætte information til visuel og mundtlig kommunikation; *risiko for organisatorisk isolering* opstår på grund af få eller ingen direkte

kommunikationskanaler mellem hovedkvarteret og udenlandske datterselskaber, hvor brug af sproglige mellemmænd kan udgøre en trussel for integration i virksomheden. Moderat til lavt *uddannelsesniveau* blandt produktionsmedarbejderne øger behovet for at anvende flere koncernsprog og oversættelse til de lokale sprog, samtidig med at brugen af sproguddannelse reduceres for denne medarbejdergruppe.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Language and communication in the multilingual MNC

The present study examines language and communication in the context of multinational, multilingual business organisations. As the existence of a shared linguistic code, a common language, is a precondition for most types of communication, the question of how multinational corporations (MNCs) manage language and linguistic diversity is something that scholars from different academic disciplines have taken an interest in. In recent years, an increasing amount of attention has been directed towards language as a separate topic of enquiry, contributing to the formation of an emergent field of research, namely language-sensitive research in international business and management (Piekkari & Tietze, 2011; Tenzer, Pudelko, & Harzing, 2014).

Language has been defined by many different scholars in many different ways over the years. Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty (2008, p. 4) provide a tripartite definition when stating that language is:

> The system of sounds, words, signs, grammar and rules for (1) communication in a given speech community for spoken, written or signed interaction; (2) storing, acting out, and developing cultural knowledge and values; and (3) displaying, analyzing, structuring and creating the world and personal and social identity.

In line with point (1) in this definition, the present study also perceives language and communication as closely related concepts (see also Bergenholtz & Johnsen, 2006; Brannen, Piekkari, & Tietze, 2014; Charles, 2007). As a medium of communication, language may be seen to encompass an instrumental dimension that enables information exchanges to take place between interlocutors (Kraus, 2008, pp. 78-79). At the same time it follows from points (2) and (3) in Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarty's (2008) definition that language also consists of an expressive or symbolic dimension, as a bearer of identity, belonging and social capital (Barner-Rasmussen, 2003, pp. 12-15; Kraus, 2008, p. 80). In this way, language may on the one hand be seen as a compound, value-laden marker of cultural and social identity (Harzing & Feely, 2008; Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014), and on the other hand, language may also present itself in what Welch, Welch and Piekkari (2005, p. 11) label 'the brutal simplicity of language as a potential barrier to communication', meaning; if people are unable to understand each other 'simply' because they cannot find a common language to communicate in, the communicative function of language has little value. By building on these two perspectives on language – the instrumental and expressive – in the context of multinational corporations, the present study adopts the viewpoint presented by Tietze, Cohen, and Musson (2003, p. 11) that languages are to be understood as systems of meanings which are central to the understanding of organisational, social and global realities.

All international business activities involve the use of language in some form or shape (Brannen et al., 2014). The present study focuses on the type of language and communication practices that take place inside companies, i.e. company-internal communication, which can be seen in contrast to company-external communication. Whereas the latter describes communication that takes place between the company and the outside world, such as communication directed towards customers, investors, partners and suppliers, internal communication concerns the communication that takes place within the corporation itself, such as information exchange between various units, departments, divisions or subsidiaries belonging to the same organisation (e.g. Lauridsen, 2008). For this reason, internal communication is also commonly referred to as intra-organisational communication (Cheng et al., 2001, p. 65), inter-unit communication (Marschan, 1996, p. 25), or cross-unit communication (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 2002, p. 39).

1.2 Industry sector: The forgotten factor in language-sensitive research

18 years have passed since Marschan, Welch and Welch published their 1997-paper titled 'Language: The forgotten factor in multinational management' – a paper which is often referred to as the 'birth' of language-sensitive research in international business and management (see e.g. Harzing & Pueldko, 2014; Volk, Köhler, & Pudelko, 2014). Now that the field has reached the age of majority of most European countries, we can say that it has crossed the threshold of 'adulthood'. The transition to 'adulthood' marks another phase in the life of language-sensitive research; a phase where much is dependent on its ability to act as independent research field.

Over the years a number of studies have examined language and communication in a number of different organisations and contextual frameworks. The majority of these studies have been conducted at the level of the firm. A few studies have investigated language and communication practices within particular sectors, such as language teaching (e.g. Jones, 1995; Seidlhofer, 2004), which is dedicated to language-related work, yet, the effects of industry sectors on language management outside such 'language industries' have been largely overlooked in previous work. Since there are huge variations in how companies operate in different industry sectors, there are reasons to believe that sector-specific differences also affect language use and language management practices within firms belonging to different sectors. Where language-sensitive researchers like Piekkari and Zander (2005, p. 4) 'see language use at the core of international management processes, creating and reflecting organizational realities', the present study takes the position that industry sectors represent a deeper level of context influencing those 'international management processes' and contributing to the 'organizational realities' that play out at company level. In other words, this study will try to take the discussion one step further, and consider how and why the industry sector affects a company's – or four companies, to be exact – management of language and communication-related issues.

Employing a multiple case study approach consisting of two matched pair cases, this study focuses on language management within two different industry sectors, namely the financial service sector – a tertiary sector of industry – and the manufacturing sector – a secondary sector of industry.[1] In the present study these industry sectors are categorised according to the definitions provided by the United Nation's 'International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities' (ISIC). The two financial service companies included in this thesis – Nordea and Saxo Bank – fall under the category 'Financial and insurance activities', which 'includes financial service activities, including insurance, reinsurance and pension funding activities and activities to support financial services' (UN, 2008a). The two manufacturing companies – Grundfos and ECCO – fall under 'Manufacturing', which 'includes the physical or chemical transformation of materials, substances, or components into new products' (UN, 2008b). However, it should be emphasised that Grundfos and ECCO belong to different sub-categories ('divisions' in ISIC's terminology) of manufacturing; as a producer of shoes and leather products ECCO may be categorised as a 'manufacturer of wearing apparel', whereas Grundfos, which produces pumps and pump solutions for a wide range of functions, may be categorised as a 'manufacturer of machinery and equipment'. Despite their different product lines, these two companies are both producers of tangible goods, in contrast with the two financial services, which sell services – intangible goods – to their customers.

1.3 Research questions

Language and multinational corporations are two phenomena rooted in different academic disciplines. This PhD project is positioned in the intersection of sociolinguistics and international business and management studies, as it aims to investigate the role of corporate language strategies in multinational management. There are two overall research questions in this study both with two sub-questions, which have been formulated as follows:

RQ1: How is the context reflected in the way language is managed

a) in the two financial service companies?

b) in the two manufacturing companies?

RQ2: Which language management tools are implemented and why

a) in the two financial service companies?

b) in the two manufacturing companies?

[1] 'Sector' is usually defined as a more overarching part of the economy than 'industry', which often denotes a particular business activity within the sector. As stated by Hill and Jones (2008, p. 41): 'A sector is a group of closely related industries'. In the present study 'industry sector' or just 'sector' for short refers to financial services and manufacturing.

The first research question aims to provide a contextualised explanation for the way in which the case companies have decided to manage language in their internal communication practices. Case studies are particularly useful for examining the topic of investigation in its own context, where context for the present study corresponds to the four purposefully selected case companies and the industry they operate within. The two industry sectors are seen as part of the companies' context, hence, it follows from RQ1 that a part of this question is also to look for factors that may be explained by sector-specific characteristics playing out at the company level. These are factors that will be addressed specifically in a cross-sector discussion, based on the findings presented in four company-specific within-case analyses.

The second research question focuses explicitly on 'language management tools' (Feely & Winslow, 2006) in the two industries included in this study. Language management tools can be understood as an umbrella term for the various policies, measures and practices companies deploy in an attempt to satisfy their language needs or to overcome language-related challenges that may arise in internal communication situations. Previous studies (e.g. CILT, 2006, 2011) discuss how companies for example make use of translation and interpretation services, while others try to raise the level of in-house language competencies by setting-up language courses for their employees. What language management tools have in common is that they may be seen as systematic activities developed with the purpose of improving the internal communication flow of the multilingual organisation; they are in other words tools which the management of the firm may utilise in an attempt to control or steer employees' language practices in a certain direction, as part of an overall language strategy (Piekkari, Welch, & Welch, 2014). As in the case of RQ1, an underlying motivation for RQ2 is to investigate how and why characteristics of the two different industry sectors may affect the choice of various language management tools in the case companies. Thus, the present study aims to examine the sectoral effects of financial services and manufacturing on language management tool implementation by engaging in a cross-sector discussion based on empirical findings from the four cases.

1.4 Research setting: Languages in Scandinavia

The case companies included in this study consist of four Scandinavian MNCs. ECCO, Grundfos, and Saxo Bank are headquartered at three different locations in Denmark, whereas the corporate headquarters of Nordea is located in Stockholm, Sweden. Yet, Nordea as it exists today has been formed as a merger of several Nordic banks, including the Danish bank Unidanmark (to be discussed in section 4.1.1). Consequently, although the case sample will be referred to as 'Scandinavian', Danish companies are in the majority, which is due to the physical location of the researcher, who is based in Copenhagen.

As observed by Lønsmann (2011, p. 26), the presence of English in Denmark is indisputable. A survey of 400 Danish companies conducted by the Confederation of Danish Industry (DI) in 2007 found that 25 % of these had implemented English as their corporate language (Pedersen & Holm, 2007). When

DI carried out a smaller survey in 2013 among 230 of their member organisations, 53 % of the companies reported that they made use of English as their corporate language – thus, more than half of the respondents choose to run their business in English in a country where English is not an official language (DI, 2013). Clearly, the choice of English is seen by many companies as the solution to increased internationalisation and global business operations (Millar & Jensen, 2009).

Citizens in Scandinavia and the Nordic region are often described as being linguistically competent. Firstly, as the Scandinavian languages Danish, Norwegian and Swedish share common roots in the Germanic language family, the languages are mutually intelligible, which offers the possibility of communicating through parallel language use or passive multilingualism (Piekkari, Oxelheim, & Randøy, 2015). When mixing the Scandinavian languages, this is occasionally referred to as 'Skandinaviska' ['Scandinavian'] (Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, & Kankaanranta, 2005) – a hybrid language which the Norwegian researcher of this project often relies on when interacting with Danes, Swedes, and Swedish-speaking Finns. Furthermore, Scandinavians are consistently at the top of international rankings in terms of English fluency. In the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) scores (ETS, 2014), which give an indication of a country's average level of English language skills, the Scandinavian countries all have high scores (out of a maximum score of 120): Denmark (98), Finland (96), Norway (94), Sweden (94). Also in the annual 'English proficiency index' published by the English-teaching firm, 'EF Education First' since 2011, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway have repeatedly been among the top-performing countries (EF EPI, 2011-2014).

At the same time, a number of studies on language and communication-related issues conducted in Nordic countries suggest that implementing English language policies is not entirely unproblematic. Even though foreign language competences are in many cases crucial for the employees' ability to succeed with work tasks involving international contact, Hellekjær (2007), for example, in a quantitative study of 302 Norwegian export firms, found that employees often were dependent on their high school language skills, as companies rarely organised language courses for their staff members. This could be a reason why Lauring and Tange (2010) discovered that English language mandates in their study of 14 Danish negatively affected social communication in the company, the result being the formation of 'silent organisations'. The implementation of English language policies have also been linked to power relations (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch, & Welch, 1999a, 1999b; Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005), discrimination and impaired group collaboration (Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Barner-Ramussen & Björkman, 2007; Klitmøller & Lauring, 2013), and a range of other potentially harmful consequences, which will be discussed in the literature review.

Furthermore, a number of studies (e.g. Millar & Jensen, 2009; Verstraete-Hansen, 2008) draw attention to the fact that the world is indeed multilingual, thereby problematising the dominance of English in the international business activities of Scandinavian firms. These studies question whether the use of English is enough, and whether English language policies could be substituted with other more

sophisticated forms of language management. By focusing on the implementation of various language management tools, this is also an important issue in the present study, which emphasises the intricate relationship between language and the company in which it is in use. In this way, the study underlines the strategic importance of language within the broader picture of MNC management by taking the position that the management of language in itself *is* multinational management.

1.5 Structure of the study

The structure of this thesis is largely organised around the four case companies. The literature review (Chapter 2), which presents an overview of previous research, and the methodology chapter (Chapter 3) outlining the research approach adopted in this study, are followed by two chapters presenting the empirical findings from the two financial service companies in response to RQ1a (Chapter 4), and the two manufacturing companies, in response to RQ1b (Chapter 5). On the basis of these findings, Chapter 6 will engage in a cross-sector discussion involving all four case companies, with the purpose of investigating potential sector-specific effects on the companies' language management approaches. In the same way, Chapters 7 and 8 present the empirical findings in relation to RQ2a (financial services) and RQ2b (manufacturing), and findings from all case companies are subsequently discussed in the following cross-sector analysis in Chapter 9. Again, the motivation for comparing and contrasting findings from all case companies is to examine the existence of sector effects with regard to the types of language management tools that the companies make use of for internal communication purposes. The concluding chapter (10) summarises the major findings presented in this thesis, and discusses the theoretical and managerial implications of these findings.

2 Overview of previous research

The study of language in international business is essentially located in the intersection of sociolinguistics and international business studies, as previously mentioned. Consequently, this literature review will draw on a combination of publications from these different research traditions, in an attempt to review and discuss key theoretical concepts relevant to the topic of this thesis. The present chapter will offer a review of, firstly, developments that have prompted the rise of language-sensitive research in international management (section 2.1), secondly, different conceptual understandings of 'language management' (section 2.2), thirdly, the notion of the corporate language policy (section 2.3), fourthly, language management tools (section 2.4), and finally, how the existing literature has investigated sector-specific characteristics on corporate language management (section 2.5).

2.1 The rise of language-sensitive research in international business and management

For the last two decades, the importance of language in MNCs has been advocated by a growing number of international business and management researchers. It is now widely recognised that managing language – as a precondition for efficient communication – is an essential part of running an MNC with multilingual subsidiary operations (Brannen et al., 2014). From being a virtually absent topic in the international business management literature (Marschan et al., 1997), we are now talking about a 'language-sensitive research agenda' (Piekkari & Tietze, 2011, p. 267; Tenzer et al., 2014, p. 510). Indeed, language is accepted and recognised as a stand-alone topic, no longer left in the shadow of culture, or bundled together with culture as a sub-component of psychic distance (i.e. perceived cross-country differences; Johanson & Wiedersheim-Paul, 1975) in international management (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011; Dhir, 2005; Harzing & Feely, 2008; Piekkari & Zander, 2005; Welch, Welch, & Marschan-Piekkari, 2001; Welch, Welch, & Piekkari, 2005, Welch & Welch, 2008). With the massive focus on language in recent years, one could even argue that as far as international business and management research goes, language is the new culture.

What has prompted this development? For one thing the number of companies that base their operations on some form of cross-border activity has increased substantially in recent years. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) estimates that in 1982 transnational corporations employed in 1982 approximately 20 million persons worldwide (UNCTAD, 2009, pp. 17-18). In 2011, the number had risen to about 100 million, which represents a fivefold increase (UNCTAD, 2012, p. 80). Furthermore, when looking at the size of the biggest corporations, many MNCs outnumber nation states in terms of number of employees vs. citizens. The US retail chain WalMart, for example – the largest private employer in the world – is present in 27 countries and employs a total of 2.2 million employees (WalMart, 2015). In comparison, the following countries all have smaller populations than the 'population' of WalMart: Namibia (2.1 million); Macedonia (2.1); and Slovenia (2.0 million)

(statistics from UN, 2014). While language planning in these three countries has been subjected to academic enquiry (Namibia; see Harlech-Jones, 1997; Macedonia; see Bugarski, 2004; Slovenia; see Novak-Lukanovič & Limon, 2012), one may ask, how much we actually know about the language situation in WalMart, or in other multinational corporations like McDonalds – present in 119 countries with a workforce consisting of 1.9 million employees (McDonalds, 2015; see also Alexander, 2012).

Corporations made up of geographically disperse organisational units can be seen as multilingual organisations almost by definition (Barner-Rasmussen, 2003, p. 3; Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007, p. 106), involving multilingual encounters at all organisational levels on an everyday basis. As noted by Feely and Reeves (2001, p. 3): 'The transnational model […] has increased the level of language penetration within the company', meaning that while 'communication with overseas subsidiaries or joint ventures was once the prerogative of senior managers […] transnationalism has now spread foreign language contacts across the functions and down the organisational ladder' (Feely & Reeves, 2001, p. 3). Many of these firms operate in multiple national locations from the very beginning – so-called 'born globals' (Gertsen, 2012; Johnson, 2001).

Furthermore, workers themselves are also becoming more mobile, pursuing job opportunities outside their home countries. At the individual level, geographic labour mobility may allow for improvement in the economic situation of individuals who find that the need for their professional skills is poorly met at their current place of residence (Long & Ferrie, 2006). The European Labour Force Survey (LFS) estimate that 15.2 million foreign citizens worked in the EU27 in 2012, which accounts for 7 per cent of total employment in the EU Member States. Out of these 15.2 million, 6.6 million were citizens of another EU Member State, while 8.6 million were citizens of a country outside the EU. Compared with numbers from 2010 the total figures for foreign employees relocating to another EU Member State in 2012 increased by 6.5 percentage points (Eurostat, 2013). Also at the corporate level, companies may contribute to the labour mobility trend, by for example dispatching expatriate managers to subsidiary locations in order to maintain control over foreign operations (Festing, 2012; Yoshiara, 2001).

Globalisation of trade and business gives rise to new language needs and practices and reinforces the role of language in the corporate world, by breaking down the dichotomy of 'domestic vs. international' (Coupland, 2013; Duchêne, 2009; McGrew, 2008). First of all, companies with international aspirations will at some point eventually have to address the issue of how to communicate across language barriers somewhere in the organisational hierarchy (Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 14-22). Yet, even domestic businesses cannot expect to be run free from language-related difficulties. The globalised labour market, induced by increased workforce mobility, also brings international candidates to the local, domestic markets. Language has therefore become a hot topic not just for large multinational corporations, but also for the smaller national-based industries. As stated by Brannen et al. (2014, p.

502): ‘all firms – domestic or otherwise, monolingual or otherwise – operate across diverse language contexts’.

In other words, language and communication are important for all businesses (Clausen, 2007, p. 320). How, then, do researchers approach this multilingual business environment? In what way are issues of language and communication treated in the existing literature? The following section will start by discussing earlier work regarding one fundamental concept: language management. However, language management turns out be to more than *one* concept – indeed, a review of previously published material reveals than language management can be regarded both as a theory, a sub-concept and a business strategy tool.

2.2 Three approaches of language management[2]

2.2.1 Language management as a theory

Language policy and planning (LPP) has been recognised as an independent academic topic in the sociolinguistic literature for about half a century (Baldauf, 2012; Jernudd & Nekvapil 2012; Ricento, 2006). Whereas language planning, according to Cooper (1989, p. 45), refers to the deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes, Jernudd and Neustupný introduced the term ‘language management’ in order to leave the term ‘language planning’ open for the more ‘traditional’ language planning theories. In their 1987 paper ‘Language planning: for whom?’ Jernudd and Neustupný (1987, p. 71) argue that ‘Linguistics is slowly moving towards a better understanding not merely of how people use language but also how they interact with it. Let us call this system of interaction *language management*’. This research stream has developed into the Language Management Theory (LMT) (Jernudd; 2009; Nekvapil, 2006).

According to LMT, language management is examined as a corrective discourse-based process, involving the discrimination between two processes of language use: firstly, the production and reception of discourse, and secondly, the activities aimed at the production and reception of discourse – i.e. the management of discourse (Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006). Management of discourse occurs when deviation from an established norm (or language standard) is noted, and may continue with an evaluation of that particular deviation, planning of adjustment, labelled ‘adjustment design’, and finally, the implementation of adjustment (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a).

A central part of LMT is the division between simple language management and organised language management. Where simple language management occurs at the level of the individual utterance (micro level), for example through self-correction, organised language management requires systematised organisational bodies, such as governmental institutions (macro level) (Nekvapil &

[2] Section 2.2 is based on Sanden, G. R. (2014). Language management x 3: A theory, a sub-concept, and a business strategy tool. *Applied Linguistics*. Doi:10.1093/applin/amu048.

Sherman 2009a; Sherman, Engelhardt, & Nekvapil, 2012). At the same time, LMT also emphasises the inter-connected relationship between the two types of language management: organised language management at the macro level influences simple language management at the micro level, and simple language management forms the basis for organised language management (Nekvapil, 2006; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

Just as international management scholars (cf. section 2.2.3), a number of LMT scholars, e.g. Nekvapil and Nekula (2006), Nekvapil and Sherman (2009b), and Sherman et al. (2012), have examined issues of language and communication in multinational corporations. Although these studies can be seen as similar in terms of focus, the type of language management described within these two frameworks is completely different in nature. Organised language management, according to LMT, occurs 'because there exist problems in individual interactions, and its point is to help remove the problems' (Nekvapil & Sherman, 2009a, p. 193). As described above, LMT is a discourse-based perspective, where both simple and organised language management are intended to solve language problems as they are generated at the individual level. In contrast, the 'management' in corporate language management refers to the management of language-related issues in the company in question, not the management of discourse as it appears in a corporate setting, which is what LMT researchers are concerned with (see Sanden, 2014, for a full discussion).

2.2.2 Language management as a sub-concept

In contrast to the LMT framework described above, Spolsky (2004, 2008, 2009, 2012) conceptualises language management as a theoretical component of the wider concept of language policy (which has been heavily criticised by LMT researchers, see Jernudd, 2010; Nekvapil, 2006; Sloboda, 2010). According to Spolsky, language policy consists of three interrelated but independent components: firstly, language practices, defined as people's observable linguistic behaviours and choices, secondly, language beliefs, the values or statuses assigned to languages, also called ideologies and, finally, language management, which Spolsky (2009, p. 4) defines as 'the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their [language] practices or beliefs'.

It follows from Spolsky's definition of language management that the authority in charge of the language management initiatives (often referred to as 'agency', cf. Edwards, 2012) plays a key role. Indeed, Spolsky strongly advocates the presence of a 'language manager', a person or a group of persons, including institutions or organisations, in the language management execution process, and argues that it can be called language management only if it is possible to identify the manager (2009, p. 6). This understanding of agency is in a way a natural extension of the definition of traditional language policy and planning, since according to Cooper (1989, p. 45, mentioned in section 2.2.1) it refers to deliberate

efforts to influence the linguistic behaviour of others – in other words, a top-down model focusing primarily on the activities carried out by a group of authoritative decision-makers.

The second part of Spolsky's language management definition concerns the 'participants in a domain'. Domains are defined by Fishman (1972) in terms of their institutional contexts and the linguistic behaviour of their language users – i.e. the most typical language practices of a multilingual population (Fishman, 1972, p. 437). Spolsky uses this 'domain approach' (Baldauf, 2012, p. 237) as a basis for analysing language practices in various sociolinguistic areas, for instance within the family, in schools, in the army, etc. Within this framework, language management in the domain of the workplace is described as management decisions intended to modify the practices and beliefs among the workforce, in order to solve communication problems (Spolsky, 2009, p. 53).

This understanding of language management bears resemblance to how international management scholars discuss language management in business organisations, but there are also important theoretical differences between these two approaches. While the latter approach deals specifically with business organisations and corporations, Spolsky's model treats companies as just another domain which exists side by side with a wide range of other domains. Therefore, when applied to business organisation, Spolsky's framework fails to consider the complexity of language in international business, as it neglects key factors of the corporate context, such as the company's business strategy, cost considerations, etc., which in fact may be the most important factors to consider when investigating why a company has chosen to adopt a particular language management strategy (Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Van den Born & Peltokorpi, 2010).

2.2.3 Language management as business strategy tool

A third language management approach can be found in the language-sensitive research stream in business and management studies. As stated in the introduction, scholars such as Piekkari (previously Marschan/Marschan-Piekkari), Welch and Welch (1997, 1999a, 1999b), and Feely and Harzing (2003) / Harzing and Feely (2008) may be considered pioneers who have advocated the importance of language in multinational management, and demonstrated how language may potentially interfere with the running of a multilingual organisation. This understanding of language management stands out as a practice-oriented approach to language-related questions, close to the arena in which the policy formulation takes place. Unlike the two previous approaches, which both are based on a broad understanding of context (section 2.2.1 and 2.2.2), corporate language management research is by definition based on the very topic it examines, namely language management in corporations and business organisations. Context will in this case refer to a much narrower spectrum of surrounding factors, as it more or less corresponds to the research field itself.

This understanding of language management differs from LMT and the language policy/three component model in several ways. Whereas LMT and Spolsky focus on the management of language

practices, international management scholars tend to focus on the management of language users, as a form of human resource management. Often, the unit of analysis in these studies is the company and the language needs of the company, that is, the company's need for communication to take place in one particular language or languages owing to, for instance, its internationalisation strategy (Vandermeeren, 1998, 2003). Individual discourse is of less importance than in the two other language management approaches, although the communication practices and language use of the workforce naturally affect the language management practices of the company's leadership – which ultimately becomes the agency (or 'language managers' in Spolsky's, 2009, terminology; 'language planners' in Baldauf's, 1982, terminology).

One key characteristics of how international management researchers discuss language management relates to the strategic use of language from the managerial point of view, that is, to deliberately control the linguistic-communicative arena of a firm or business unit based on the assumption that it will benefit the company overall. 'The ultimate objective is to develop a fit between a company's language profile and its strategies', Marschan et al. (1997, p. 596) argue, which is why 'language needs to be considered a key element in the management of a multinational. An important first step is to include language aspects at the highest level of strategic planning and implementation'. Also in their other publications, Piekkari, Welch and Welch (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, p. 389; 1999b, p. 437; Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 204-229; Welch et al., 2001, p. 206; Welch et al., 2005, p. 25; see also Welch & Welch, 2008, p. 357) call for a more strategic approach to language management. When language management is described as a course of action where language regulation is designed and implemented on the basis of strategic considerations, we may talk about strategic language management, or simply language strategies (CILT, 2006; Piekkari et al., 2014).

A language strategy is defined by CILT (2006, p. 5) as 'the planned adoption of a range of techniques to facilitate effective communication with clients and suppliers abroad'. This definition bears close resemblance to traditional definitions of generic strategies, such as Chandler (1962, p. 13) who defines strategies as 'the determination of the basic long-term goals and objectives of an enterprise, and the adoption of courses of action and the allocation of resources necessary for carrying out these goals', and Mintzberg (1998, p. 13): 'consciously intended course of action, a guideline (or set of guidelines) to deal with a situation', i.e. strategy as a plan. A contrasting definition of the strategy concept may be found in the 'strategy-as-practice' literature, e.g. Golsorkhi et al. (2010) and Whittington (1996), who focus on how managers and consultants practise strategies, rather than developing strategies through corporate policies. However, it should become clear from the two subsequent sections – examining corporate language policies (2.3) and language management tools (2.4) – that my stand towards strategies corresponds to the traditional strategy definition (cf. Chandler, 1962; Mintzberg, 1998). In line with CILT (2006; see also CILT, 2011; Esmann, Lintner, & Hagen, 1999; European Commission, 2008; Feely, 2004; Hagen, 1999a; Lester, 1994), I also emphasise the 'range of techniques' that language

strategies consist of, which I discuss as language management tools in section 2.4. Thus, in the present study, language management tools are seen as the means by which language strategies are implemented in practice.

2.2.4 Summary

This section has presented and discussed three different types of language management, namely language management as i) a theory: the Language Management Theory (LMT) initially proposed by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987); ii) a sub-concept: as part of the wider notion of language policy, found in the work of Spolsky (2004, 2009); iii) a business strategy tool: an instrumental process where language is seen as a variable in business and corporate management – a new and emerging research field mainly developed by international business and management scholars, e.g. Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a, 1999b) and Feely and Harzing (2003). This thesis is positioned in the third research stream – however, as a cross-disciplinary study of language management, aspects of the other two (sociolinguistic) language management traditions will be referred to when relevant.

2.3 Corporate language policies: Background and theory

Corporate language policies are interdisciplinary phenomena by nature. Such policies can be seen as sociolinguistic interferences that take place within an arena typically dominated by business and management scholars. A number of scholars in both disciplines have tried to define and conceptualise language policies in general and in later years corporate language policies in particular. In the international business and management literature a large number of new publications within the 'language-sensitive research agenda' (cf. section 2.1) deal with the development and implementation of corporate language policies, and specifically the adoption of a common corporate language, also known as the lingua franca (e.g. Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing, Köster, & Magner, 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b). The purpose of this section is to engage in a cross-disciplinary discussion of how sociolinguists and international management scholars define language policies in general, and in particular, corporate language policies. As stated earlier corporate language policies also have a very practical side to them, as a form of language management tool – this will be discussed in section 2.4.1.

2.3.1 Definitions of language policies[3]

2.3.1.1 Language policies in the sociolinguistic literature

A simple definition of language policy can be found in the purpose it is intended to serve: a language policy is a plan – i.e. laws, regulations, rules and pronouncements or statements of intent – about

[3] Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 are based on Sanden, G. R. (2015 forthcoming). Corporate language policies – what are they? *Journal of Economics, Business and Management*, 3(11), 1097-1101.

language use (Baldauf, 2012). Within the sociolinguistic research tradition, 'language policy' is often used together with 'language planning' (cf. section 2.2.1), as a holistic concept, i.e. 'language policy and planning'. Whereas language policy refers to *the plan* intended to achieve a planned language change in a society, group, or system, language planning, on the other hand, is most commonly seen as *the implementation* of the language policy across the domains which the policy is addressing (Baldauf, 2006, 2012; Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Spolsky 2004). The language planning initiative is directed by, or leads to, the formulation of a language policy, developed by the government or another authoritative body.

Having said that, the complexity of language policies as they unfold in real-world situations is a lot more difficult to conceptualise. As discussed above in section 2.2.2, Spolsky (2004; 2009) argues that language policy as a generic concept consists of three interrelated components of language use, namely language practices, language beliefs and language management decisions. Furthermore, Spolsky (2004, p. 8) also observes that 'In studying language policy, we are usually trying to understand just what non-language variables co-vary with the language variables'. Consequently, it is necessary to recognise the surrounding factors which may affect the design and implementation of language policies, irrespective of what language situation or 'domain' (Fishman, 1972) we are investigating.

Cooper (1989, p. 35), drawing on Karam (1972) also emphasises the need to acknowledge the environment in which language policies are designed and implemented, by stating that language planning initiatives are usually carried out in order to attain non-linguistic goals. In almost all cases the language issue will be directly related to the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation of the community. Nahir (1984) and Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, building on Nahir) provide a comprehensive classification of language planning goals. Nahir emphasises the need to distinguish between the language planning process on the one side, and the language planning goals on the other. While the language planning process represents the implementation aspect of language planning, the language planning goals represent the intentions of the authority in charge, which ultimately should result in the deployment of initiatives. Examples of such language planning goals are, for instance language, purification; language revival or language standardisation – the latter will be discussed in section 2.3.3.

Ricento (2006) and Wright (2012) also appear to think along the same lines when arguing that debates concerning language policy are always about more than the language in question (Ricento) and that successful language policy initiatives in the past have always been developed in accordance with other social phenomena (Wright). In the nation state, for example, changes in the political landscape will inevitably have linguistic consequences, Wright (2012, p. 78) observes, by referring to the fact that the national system historically has had an immense effect on language-related issues (see also Wright, 2000). Indeed, in a national context, as expressed by Schmidt (2006, p. 97) 'language policy involves the development of public policies that aim to use the authority of the state to affect various aspects of the

status and use of language by people under the state's jurisdiction'. The 'one nation – one language' ideology which classical language planning models were influenced by serves as a good example of this (Haugen, 1966; Linn, 2013).

2.3.1.1 Language policies in the international business and management literature

Simonsen (2006) draws a distinction between three levels of language policy; firstly, the supra-national level, which includes the language policies of e.g. the EU or the UN; secondly, the national level, where one would place the language policies of nation states; and third and finally, the organisational level, which includes both corporate language policies and the policies developed by other, non-profit organisations. At the organisational level, Kangasharju, Piekkari and Säntti (2010) discuss language policies in fairly broad terms when describing language policies as everyday practices, abstract principles and political statements about language use. When providing a definition of the concept, the authors (p. 138) state that 'language policy refers to both the general guidelines and the practical procedures and instructions for improving and harmonizing internal and external communications, which the management of an organization or another responsible party has presented in a written form'. However, as it will be discussed in section 2.4.1, the literature contains several examples of firms that have implemented language policies without having an explicit (i.e. 'non-written') language policy document.

According to Bergenholtz and Johnsen (2006), a language policy can be defined as the deliberate control of language-related matters. More specifically, a language policy in the words of these authors concerns the relationship between a language or languages on the one hand – which the authors refer to as interlingual matters – and issues specific to the language or languages on the other hand – intralingual matters. Bergenholtz and Johnsen furthermore observe that companies often develop language policies in relation to communication policies, although the relationship between these two types of policies remains unclear both in theory and in practice. The authors (p. 105) state that 'A general communication policy involves the deliberate control of an organisation's internal and external communication in order to ensure the optimal functionality of the organisation, including product development and sales', and furthermore (p. 104) 'Unlike language policy, which solely concerns outgoing communication, communication policy may also address the issue of incoming communication.' These statements suggest that a communication policy is seen as a wider and more overarching concept than the language policy. Indeed, Bergenholtz and Johnsen (p. 107) find that a language policy is often presented as part of a communication policy, although it is not a precondition to have a communication policy in order to have a language policy.

A number of management scholars discuss the implementation of language policies as a way of addressing linguistic diversity in the company. Often, linguistic diversity is seen as representing both a resource and a barrier (Bellak, 2014; Berthoud, Grin, & Lüdi, 2013; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999b, Thomas, 2008; see also non-management scholars Réaume & Meital Pinto, 2012; and Ruiz, 1984 (also

includes a third perspective; 'language as a right')). Having foreign language skills can be seen as advantageous when these are utilised to enhance the strategic advantage of the firm e.g. in foreign locations, but disadvantageous if linguistic heterogeneity limits or reduces the scale of the firm's operations. The use of a subsidiary language for example – if the subsidiary is located in a country with a national language different to that of the headquarter location – may improve access to the foreign market, but it may also result in communication problems between locally employed employees and expatriates (Marschan, 1996, p. 143; Peltokorpi, 2007, p. 79). Thus, a language policy should be based on the identified language needs of the particular communicative context, in the sense that it denotes what language to be used in what situations (Bergenholtz et al., 2003; Björkman & Piekkari, 2009; Dhir, 2005).

2.3.2 A three-level definition of corporate language policies

What this language policy discussion has demonstrated so far is that there are some similarities and some differences in the way language policies are conceptualised in the sociolinguistic literature vs. the international business and management literature. In both research traditions the term language policy in its widest sense is used to refer to some type of control over someone else's language use. The topic of investigation is therefore similar, although the framing and level of analysis is somewhat different. On a general note, research drawing on sociolinguistic theories tends to emphasise the exercise and enforcement of language policies in the societal context in which they are implemented. Research on corporate language policies (for internal communication purposes) will on the other hand be targeted towards language use in a particular organisations or organisations.

Thus, when coming to grips with the corporate language policy as a concept, it may be useful to return to basics for a moment. In order to fully understand what corporate language policies actually entail, three progressive questions may serve as a starting point; (a) what is a policy?, (b) what is a language policy?, leading to (c) what is a corporate language policy? It follows from this deductive observation that a corporate language policy can be seen as consisting of three layers, as illustrated in Figure 1.

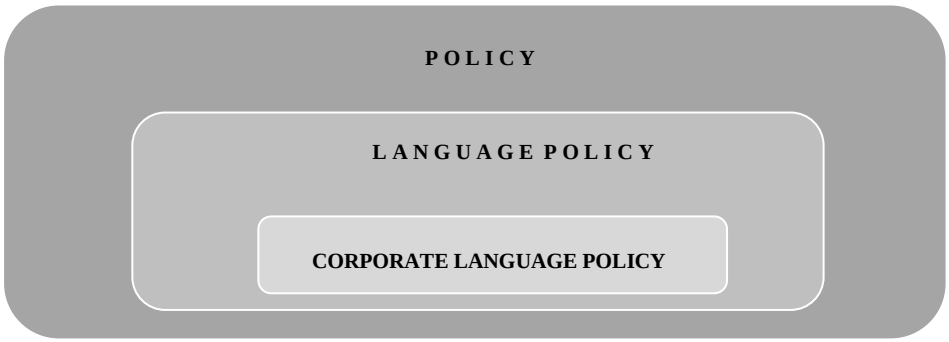

Figure 1 A three-level definition of corporate language policies

Source: Sanden (2015 forthcoming, p. 1099)

A. What is a policy?

Policies as a generic concept can be used in several different areas and for several different purposes. In a national context, the term is often used to refer to public policies, i.e. formalised and declared objectives that a government or public authority aims to achieve and preserve in the interest of the greater community or certain groups within the community. In this way, policies can be seen as a form of regulation, defined by (Baldwin & Crane, 1999, p. 2) as 'all form of social control or influence – where all mechanisms affecting behaviour – whether these be state-derived or from other sources (e.g. markets) – are deemed regulatory'. Thus, it is worth noting that 'Regulation is often thought of as an activity that restricts behaviour […] but the influence of regulation may also be *enabling* or *facilitative* (Baldwin & Crane, 1999, p. 2).

Irrespective of the context in which it is implemented, a policy may be understood as a type of plan, a statement of intent, or more formalised rules and/or regulations within a certain topical area (Anderson, 2005; Baldwin & Crane, 1999; Jordana & Levi-Faur, 2004). Occasionally, the term 'policy' is used interchangeably with that of 'strategy'. Following Mintzberg's (1998) five P definition of strategy (strategy as plan; ploy; pattern; position; perspective), Scott and Davis (2007, pp. 318-319) write that 'Analysts […] tend to substitute the term *policy* for strategy. Like strategy, the concept of policy is employed in many ways, each of which is related but somewhat distinct'. A policy may therefore be defined as a set of guiding principles used to indicate a future course of direction.

B. What is a language policy?

The previous discussion has presented a selection of language policy-definitions, and based on what has been stated above, one may conclude that a language policy is a policy about language use, usually about the language use of others as determined by the language policy maker(s). However, the previous discussion has also shown that the term language policy is used to denote a wide range of phenomena. Schiffman (1996, p. 2) elaborates on this by stating that 'There is usually a difference between the policy as stated (the official, *de jure*, or overt policy) and the policy as it actually works at the practical level (the covert, *de facto* or grass-roots policy). Baldauf (2006, p. 149) makes a similar distinction:

> Language policy may be realized in very formal (overt) language planning documents and pronouncements (e.g. constitutions, legislation, policy statements, educational directives) which can be either symbolic or substantive in form, in informal statements of intent (i.e. in the discourse of language, politics and society), or may be left unstated (covert).

Thus, it follows from this discussion that a language policy may come in a wide variety of forms (formal;

overt; official; de jure vs. informal; covert; de facto). Formal language policies are occasionally referred to as language regulation in the literature (e.g. Seargeant, 2009), which can be seen in relation to the regulatory aspects of policies, as stated above. At the same time, it is also worth pointing out that language policies may occur at different levels. In connection with this point, Kaplan and Balduaf (1997, pp. 52-53), drawing on Williams (1994) emphasise the usefulness of distinguishing between language policy and planning at the macro level (e.g. nation-state), meso level (e.g. organisations) and micro level (e.g. individuals) (see also Backhaus, 2012; Baldauf, 1993; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

C. What is a corporate language policy?

As discussed above, corporate language policies are the type of language policies that are developed specifically for a company or business organisation (or alternatively for a unit within the company, e.g. the language policy of the customer service department; Duchêne, 2009). Yet, the purpose of the three-level definition as illustrated in Figure 1, is to explain how corporate language policies may be seen as a type of language policies, which again may be seen as a type of policies. What makes corporate language policies stand out from language policies in general is that the corporate language policy is a context-specific language policy; it is a policy about language use in a corporation. Thus, since sociolinguists repeatedly advocate the importance of acknowledging the environment in which language policy and planning activities are carried out – conceptualised as 'the linguistic eco-system' by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 311) – there are good reasons for paying attention to contextual factors also for international management scholars, here understood as the *company's context*. Adopting Kaplan and Baldauf's terminology, we can regard the multilingual corporation as a linguistic eco-system of its own.

It follows from the discussion in this section 2.3 that the term 'corporate' is used to express the setting in which the language policies are implemented – the corporation. However, the term 'corporate' may also be used to denote hierarchical order within the corporation (e.g. Goodijk, 2002), as opposed to the 'normal' front-line staff. On the topic of corporate-level strategy, Beard and Dess (1981) make a distinction between two different units of analysis: corporate-level strategy as 'The organization as a whole', and corporate-level strategy as 'Management decisions makers'. Whereas the first concept refers to strategic decisions that affect the entire corporation, the second concept refers to strategies originating from the management level (cf. section 2.2.3). Yet, corporate language polices often fulfil both definitions of 'corporate' – they are developed by the company's leadership (i.e. the management decision makers) and they pertain the entire corporation (i.e. the organisation as a whole, or 'companywide' in Porter's, 2008, terminology).

2.3.3 The attractiveness of English as a common corporate language

Much of the literature on corporate language policies focuses on the role of English as a common corporate language (Thomas, 2008; Tietze, 2010). Often, the purpose of this type of language regulation

is to establish a shared linguistic framework for information exchange, to avoid a loss of information through having to undergo a translation process. One may draw a parallel to the concept of language standardisation previously carried out in nations, as a way of minimising language diversity by selecting, developing, and implementing one language as the standard language of a multilingual society (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Haugen, 1959, 1966, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Rubin 1977). The choice of English as the lingua franca stems from its widespread use in global communication (Ammon, 2013; de Swaan, 2001; Ferguson, 2012; Graddol, 2006; Nickerson 2005; Tietze, 2008, pp. 71-84).

Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a) and Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 209) observe that a common corporate language may provide certain benefits for the firm in the sense that it facilitates formal reporting, and eases access to professional and technical literature, and policy and procedure documents. The same argument is found in Thomas (2008, p. 310) who notes that corporate language policies are often adopted for pragmatic reasons, by removing some of the communicative barriers presented by linguistic heterogeneity, and in Lønsmann (2011, p. 293) who found that English as a lingua franca is often used for instrumental goals, such as ensuring maximum intelligibility in order to complete a task.

At the same time Lønsmann (2011) also argues that an English language policy may be used with identity goals in mind, e.g. to signal belonging to an international community. This is in line with Crugola (2005), who states that an English language policy may give the firm an 'international touch'. For firms located in countries where the national language is spoken by relatively few people, standardising the company-internal communication in English may be one way of attracting foreign professionals (Crugola, 2005, p. 55, Piekkari, 2006, p. 546; Piekkari & Tietze, 2012, p. 553). Also Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a, p. 379) and Dhir and Goke-Pariola (2002, p. 247) discuss how the presence of the common language may have a positive impact on informal communication that takes place between various units and cross-national teams, and even foster a sense of belonging to a global family, as a kind of soft control mechanism.

Firms with international aspirations may find it tempting to adopt English language policies to increase their chances of success. This was what Neeley (2011) found in her study of Rakuten, an online retailer in Japan that changed its corporate language to English overnight. In this case, the choice of English – 'Englishnization' (more commonly referred to as 'Englishization', e.g. Dor, 2004; Steyaert, Ostendorp, & Gaibrois, 2010) – was seen as the foundation for global expansion. The same point is made by Piekkari et al. (2014, pp. 14-22), who argue that Nordic-based firms will have to address foreign language demands at an early stage of their internationalisation processes if they have aspirations of succeeding outside the region.

In a qualitative study of a French MNC that had adopted English as a lingua franca, Neeley (2013) found three main reasons for this choice; firstly, external pressure from customers, partners, suppliers, and competitors; secondly, a need to delegate tasks to a dispersed workforce; and thirdly, recent international acquisitions. Neeley's study serves as a good example of how an English language mandate

may aim to unite and integrate employees in situations of strategic change or organisational restructuring. Also Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005), Piekkari et al. (2005), Vaara et al. (2005) describe how the English language policy of Nordea, implemented shortly after Nordea was coined in 2000, reduced ethnolinguistic tension between employees that were geographically and culturally scattered prior to the 2000 merger (more on this in section 2.3.3.4)

2.3.4 The dark side of corporate language policies

Considering the importance of efficient communication for any successful company, and especially multinational companies where employees must find a way to communicate despite their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, there are good reasons for taking an extra look at what English lingua franca policies actually entail. The following discussion will look into problem areas identified in the previously published literature, which will be referred to as 'language policy challenges'.

2.3.4.1 Communicative challenges

Kilpatrick (1984, p. 33) notes that 'The most obvious international communication problem is a difference in language'. MNCs are likely to employ people with different levels of competence in the common corporate language, and employees with limited understanding of the corporate language may constitute a potential source of communication blockage, miscommunication and other communicative problems. In a study of horizontal multinational communication, i.e. communication that takes place between different subsidiaries at the same hierarchical level, Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002, p. 10) describe how inadequate knowledge of the common language may cause comprehension problems in this type of inter-unit contact. In many cases the language barrier may lead to misunderstandings, misinterpretation and loss of rhetorical skills (Blazejewski, 2006, p. 85; Feely, 2004, pp. 46-47; Malkamäki & Herberts, 2014; pp. 46-47; Marschan et al., 1997). A related problem is that the many different English accents may be difficult to understand (e.g. Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Ehrenreich, 2010; Śliwa & Johansson, 2014). Today, studies of language in organisations do not only describe the role of English in internal communication of global firms, but they often also discuss the existence of multiple Englishes (Tietze, 2008, pp. 71-83; see also Kachru, 1985, 1992).

Differences in communication styles due to different cultural backgrounds may also cause problems in cross-border communication, as reported by Malkamäki and Herberts (2014, pp. 46-47). In this study of language practices in a Finnish firm, one respondent, a native Finn reported that 'I've had an Italian boss for 13 year now […] when an Italian speaks 100 words, he's trying to say 10 words. When I as a Finn speak 10 words, I mean every single one of them' (translated from Swedish). This observation resonates with Hall's (see Hall & Hall, 1990) classical model of high context (here represented by the Italian) and low context (the Finn) communication.

The implementation of a corporate lingua franca may also affect how employees choose to communicate with each other – or refrain from it. Lauring and Tange (2010) and Tange and Lauring (2009) describe how the decision to implement English as a corporate language in Danish companies reduced socialising and informal interaction in the workplace, which they argue has implications for information transfer within the organisation. Because non-native speakers of English are usually confined to a less extensive English register, these employees tend to retreat from small talk and other sociable conversations, which ultimately makes corporate communication become more formal and task-oriented. Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 235) refer to this phenomenon as the 'silencing effect'. Also, in a study of language use in two cross-border mergers of Swedish and Finnish companies with English as the new corporate language, Louhiala-Salminen, Charles and Kankaanranta (2005) note that non-native English speakers may be less comfortable engaging in small talk with other employees.

Interestingly, the 'silencing' effect has also been observed at the senior management level, even though top managers are likely to have more advanced language skills than employees at the front-line level, due to higher educational backgrounds and international exposure (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011, p. 289; Marschan 1996, p. 149). In particular Piekkari, et al. (2015, pp. 10-11) found that language diversity and the introduction of English as a working language in Nordic boards led some of the board members to turn 'silent'.

Also native English speakers may experience communication problems resulting from an English language policy. Henderson (2005, p. 77), for example, notes that it is widely assumed that English speakers hold an advantage in international English-speaking teams – some scholars place the label 'free-rider' on native English speakers under English lingua franca mandates, e.g. Van Parijs (2009, p. 155) – while overlooking the drawbacks associated with such policies. Yet, the wide range of English accents may cause comprehension problems for any English speaker, native as well as non-native (Hwang, 2013). Native English speakers may furthermore have an additional challenge in making themselves understood by non-native English speaking colleagues. This may be related to the concept of BELF, i.e. Business English as a Lingua Franca, which refers to the use of English for a specific purpose, namely English as a shared corporate language in business situations. BELF is seen as a neutral language in the sense that none of its speakers are able to claim it as their mother tongue (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2011). Consequently, the use of ELF and BELF means that native English speakers must avoid using local terminology or specific idioms from their national culture (Jenkins, 2015).

2.3.4.2 Individual problems

Several studies illustrate how corporate language policies may negatively affect the well-being and motivation of employees. Charles (2007) argues that one important feature of language is that it affects perceptions of oneself and others. Under an English lingua franca mandate, non-native speakers of

English may feel disempowered, which is reflected in the way employees perceive themselves as professionals. In a French case study on English as the corporate language, Neeley (2013) and Neeley, Hinds and Cramton (2012) found that almost all non-native speakers of English experienced some degree of status loss, defined as the subjective experience of decreased professional regard, irrespective of their English fluency level (Neeley 2013, p. 476). The concept of status loss captures the dynamics of esteem and privilege in the workplace, which is associated with individual prestige, respect and influence. When comparing these findings from Neeley (2013) and Neeley et al. (2012) to previous research on the relationship between organisational performance and employees' self-esteem, occurrence of status loss at the individual level may have a negative impact on the productivity of the firm. It is argued by Pierce and Gardner (2004) for example, that individuals with high self-esteem are likely to have stronger self-efficacy than those with low esteem, which under almost all conditions will contribute to a higher level of performance (see also Bandura, 1997).

Furthermore, if non-native speakers of English become frustrated because of their language situation on a daily basis, their frustration is likely to result in lower employee satisfaction, which again is related to lower performance levels (Charles, 2007). Ultimately, people who feel dissatisfied with the language regime of their workplace may choose to terminate their employment, which could lead to costly recruitment processes for the company in question. This phenomenon of leaving an employer because of resentment of the corporate language policy has been observed by e.g. Vaara et al. (2005).

2.3.4.3 Collaboration and group dynamics

A number of authors emphasise the importance of language as a determinant for the establishment of relationships and successful collaboration with other colleagues (e.g. Chen, Geluykens, & Choi, 2006; Goviandarajan & Gupta, 2001; Henderson, 2005; Hinds et al., 2014; Klitmøller & Lauring, 2013; Maznevski, 2012). A case study conducted by Marschan/Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch (1999a, 1999b) in a Finnish MNC, Kone Elevators, illustrates that language policies may affect collaboration among employees to the extent that they interfere with the company's operational processes. This particular study of English as a common corporate language revealed that linguistic diversity among the workforce affected the internal communication patterns in the company to such an extent that a new organisational structure appeared on the basis of individual language skills, because employees grouped together with other speakers of their native language. Consequently, a new 'shadow' structure emerged from the various language clusters. The existence of the shadow structure demonstrates the power of language as a glue so strong that it connects employees in a way which not only influences the internal communicative environment, but actually challenges the functioning of the official organisational structure, thereby threatening the management's ability to control the company's activities.

Language has also been found to act as an effective mechanism of discrimination, i.e. by discriminating employees with inadequate language skills (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Tange &

Lauring, 2006; Zander, Mockaitis, & Harzing, 2011). In a large multinational enterprise, proficiency in the corporate language is likely to vary, and a large group of corporate personnel may not have any experience with the chosen language at all (Feely & Harzing, 2003). As argued by Bourdieu (1991), language is an object of social inclusion and exclusion which may determine to what extent members are involved in communication or excluded from it. Also Harzing and Feely's (2008) discuss that language can be seen as symbol of in-and-out groups which creates and maintains group boundaries.

Ehrenreich (2010), Neeley (2013) and Neeley et al. (2012) discuss how non-native speakers of English may choose different coping strategies when encountering native speakers of English. In Ehrenreich's study of a German technology company, all interviewees reported that they had acquired a large repertoire of techniques in the course of their international careers, such as comprehension checks, asking for clarification and repetition, etc. In Neeley's and Neeley et al.'s study, coping strategies also included avoiding native English-speaking colleagues. Although the adoption of a common corporate language was intended to create a shared linguistic arena for all employees, the effect could in fact be quite the opposite (cf. Piekkari & Zander, 2005, p. 7).

2.3.4.4 Reallocation of power

A corporate language policy that favours one language over all others will inevitably mean that native or high-proficiency speakers of the corporate language find themselves in a more fortunate position than those without the same language skills. Marschan et al. (1997) were among the first international management scholars to investigate how such power dynamics may play out in practice. In the previously mentioned study of Kone Elevators, Marschan et al. (1999b) found that inter-unit communication in the company in certain situations appeared to be person-bound, in the sense that the communication was channelled through language-competent employees. This could for example be the case for expatriates at foreign subsidiaries, or other bi- or multilingual employees in similar language-exposed positions. The ability to operate in the common corporate language gave these individuals the opportunity to gain more influence than they would have had under normal circumstances (cf. Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002). These individuals are labelled 'gatekeepers' (Marschan et al., 1997, p. 596), as they have the power to filter, distort and block information, possibly in a negative, counter-productive way, if they wish to do so.

For employees with little or no knowledge of the corporate language, a lingua franca policy may imply exclusion from critical exchanges of information (Fredriksson, Barner-Rasmussen & Piekkari, 2006, p. 410; Tietze et al., 2003, p. 103). Locally employed staff at foreign subsidiaries will for example have great difficulties assessing whether or not their bilingual manager presents them with correct and accurate information if they are unable to speak the language of communication between the headquarters and the subsidiary. This may be further complicated if the subsidiary manager engages in gatekeeping activities, which was found in Logemann and Piekkari's (2015) case study of a European

manufacturing company. In particular, the authors found that one subsidiary manager self-translated headquarter information (from the group president) with the result that he (p. 42) 'disconnected his local organization from the rest of ENOQ [case]. He thereby attempted to reclaim power over meanings from headquarters and to resist the increased degree of centralization and standardization.'

Another disadvantage associated with adopting a corporate language is that it may negatively affect the organisation's ability to retain talented individuals without the necessary language competencies. Piekkari et al. (2005) discuss how the corporate language may act as a glass ceiling where promising employees are prevented from advancing in the organisation. In companies where lingua franca policies are practised to the strictest degree, career paths can be seen as language-dependent, as argued by Piekkari et al. (2005, pp. 339-341; see also Piekkari 2008). This could lead to feelings of job insecurity for the employees in question, which were found in the previously mentioned study by Neeley (2013) and Neeley et al. (2012). Non-native English speaking informants in these cases expressed concerns about their possibilities of advancing in the organisation, and their negative emotions often resulted in apprehension and anxiety.

Interestingly, previous studies have found that non-native speakers of a corporate language may perceive native speakers as dominant or accuse them of trying to assume power even when this is not the case (Henderson, 2005, pp. 77-78). Vaara et al. (2005) and Piekkari et al. (2005) examined how language policy choices were made in a merging financial service company, MeritaNordbanken, which today is part of the Nordea group. The management of MeritaNordbanken, a merger of the Finnish Merita Bank and the Swedish Nordbanken, decided in 1997 to implement Swedish as the official corporate language in the new merger organisation, a decision which was seen as highly controversial at the time. Vaara et al. (2005) describe how Swedish-speaking Finns were regarded as privileged by non-Swedish speaking Finns, and even sometimes blamed for the problems arising from the Swedish language policy. Based on these behavioural patterns, Vaara et al. (2005; see also Vaara & Tienari, 2003) draw a parallel to the historical post-colonial relationship between Finland and Sweden, where the language regulation in this particular cross-border merger appeared to feed into previous conceptions of Swedish superiority and Finnish inferiority. The fact that language is a highly political matter is widely debated in the sociolinguistic literature (see Phillipson, 1992, 2009 on linguistic imperialism), and will not be discussed further here, but what is interesting in this regard is how the perception of power may provoke feelings of resentment towards other colleagues. Whether the power of language is actually realised by employees who are native speakers of the corporate language or whether they are merely accused of doing so by employees without the same language skills, a corporate language policy will influence the power structure of that particular company (Blazejewski, 2006, pp. 86-88; Janssens, Lambert & Steyaert, 2004).

2.3.4.5 *De facto* vs. *de jure* language policies

Previous studies have found that the official decision to use one language for company-wide operations and activities may be undermined by the convenience of using the local language if there is a mismatch between the two (Feely, 2004; Feely & Harzing, 2003). Lønsmann (2011) did a study of the language policy of a Danish pharmaceutical company, Lundbeck, which claimed to use English as their corporate language without having a written policy where this was explicitly stated. Lønsmann (2011, p. 94) argues that the lack of a formal policy document must be seen in relation to the corporate culture of the firm, where previous unsuccessful attempts to introduce a language policy were a direct result of the informal organisational culture, characterised by limited corporate governance and no established tradition for rules and regulations. Lønsmann (2011) appears to have encountered a variant of what Bartlett and Ghoshal (1989) label 'administrative heritage', defined as 'the many aspects of a company's past – [including] its home-country culture, its history, the influence of specific individuals' (p. 310). Indeed, it is argued by Bartlett and Ghoshal (1989, p. 40) that a company's administrative heritage may be an important factor for understanding the company's 'way of doing things'. However, in Lundbeck, the lack of an official corporate language policy led to a range of definitions among employees, who had very different interpretations and expectations of what English as a corporate language actually meant. On the basis of a five-month ethnographic stay in the company, Lønsmann concludes that many employees experience a discrepancy between their own definition and the reality at Lundbeck, as Danish was in fact the default language, whereas English was used primarily with international non-Danish speakers.

Fredriksson et al.'s (2006) study of the multinational engineering and electronics company Siemens also found that the common corporate language is not always as common as the term suggests. Based on interviews with Finnish and German employees in the company, Fredriksson et al. (2006) observed how views on the corporate languages English and German seemed to differ significantly depending on the informant's geographical location, hierarchical position and mother tongue. Similar to the findings from Lønsmann's (2011) case study, respondents from Siemens also expressed different views and interpretations of the language policy decision. Fredriksson et al. (2006) describe how their interviewees were unable to locate an exact point in time when the decision was made, while some even questioned whether it had been made at all.

On the other side, Tange (2008, 2009) researched professional language workers, i.e. employees with an educational background in language or communication (2009, p. 131), in the Danish MNC Grundfos (also included in the present study), and found that these respondents tended to over-emphasise the importance of the company's language policy (discussed in detail in Chapter 8). In line with the previous studies mentioned above, Tange (2008, p. 156) argues that 'a discrepancy exists between respondents' [language workers] general commitment to the corporate language policy and their assessment of the relevance of this initiative to their everyday routines and relationships [at the front-line level]'.

2.3.4.6 Language policies not aligned with the overall business plan

As mentioned in section 2.2.3, Piekkari et al. strongly advocate the strategic importance of adequate language management for the success of multinational corporations. In line with this view, Janssens, Lambert, and Steyaert (2004) state that language strategies must be seen as core organisational issues, and Fredriksson et al. (2006) and Van der Born and Peltokorpi (2010) argue that corporate decision makers must align the language policy with the strategic plan of the organisation and include issues of language and communication in the general business strategy.

Luo and Shenkar (2006; building on Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989) provide some general guidelines to how this might be done, while emphasising that the language strategy should follow the internationalisation strategy of the firm as to how it chooses to approach foreign markets. If the MNC parent operates according to a multidomestic (in Bartlett and Ghoshal's terminology 'multinational') strategy which emphasises responsiveness to local requirements and competition within each country, the use of the local language may foster a firmer connection with the local market and improve managerial efficiency. The adoption of one common corporate language for internal communication may be difficult to implement, as there are external pressures to use multiple languages in the different markets (Luo & Shenkar, 2006, p. 328).

This is also what Slangen (2011) found in his study of entry mode, based on 231 entries by Dutch MNCs in 48 countries. In particular, Slangen discusses how the choice of acquiring a subsidiary, which involves taking over the existing workforce of locally employed staff members, requires more (vertical) communication than a greenfield entry, which involves the establishment of a new business and the recruitment of new personnel who voluntarily chooses to join an international firm. For this reason, Slangen (2011, p. 1720) argues that greater linguistic distance between home and host locations increases the likelihood of greenfield entry, although this relationship depends somewhat on the planned level of subsidiary autonomy. If the subsidiary is granted considerable decision-making authority, there is less need for the parent to coordinate and monitor its operations, and consequently, there will be less need for extensive headquarter-subsidiary communication. However, in contrast to Slangen (2011), Ghoshal, Korine and Szulanski's (1994) study of vertical communication patterns in the subsidiaries of the Japanese firm Matsushita and the Dutch firm N.V. Philips found that subsidiary autonomy/degree of centralisation had no influence on inter-unit communication.

Returning to Luo and Shenkar (2006), these authors argue that a common corporate language is a better fit for the global strategy than the multidomestic strategy, as the global strategy presupposes more standardisation (i.e. global integration) of products and work processes across national markets. Hence, Luo and Shenkar observe that a common language may facilitate more efficient internal communication, both vertically between headquarters and local units, and horizontally between units at the same hierarchical level (cf. section 2.3.3). However, the effectiveness of a common corporate language

(English) in horizontal communication is disputed by Marschan (1996) and Marschan et al. (1997), who discuss how inadequate English skills may operate as a barrier to cross-border communication, especially for middle and lower level personnel (see also sections 2.3.4.3 and 2.5).

Finally, the transnational strategy may be seen as a combination of global and the multidomestic strategies, as it seeks to balance the desire for global efficiency with local responsiveness (Bartlett & Ghosal, 1989; Harzing, 2000; Ketchen & Short, 2012). Luo and Shenkar (2006) argue that appropriate language policies within the transnational mode must fulfil two purposes: firstly, minimise any potential conflict between global integration and local adaptation and, secondly, expand the discretion of foreign subunits. Thus, the MNC's parent may choose to implement either a single common language or allow multiple functional languages to be used. Several previous studies point out that the latter alternative involving parallel language use between a common corporate language and local language(s) is common practice (Bellak, 2014; Chew, 2005; Kingsley, 2010) (for international companies in the early stages of internationalisation not covered by Luo & Shenkar, 2006; see Piekkari et al., 2014, who focus explicitly on global business expansion).

2.3.4.7 Inappropriate follow-up initiatives

There are many ways in which MNCs may choose to address issues of language and communication for internal purposes. Corporate language policies may for example be supplemented with different types of language management initiatives or measures, such as language training (San Antonio, 1987) which may be referred to as a 'language management tool' (Feely & Winslow, 2006; see section 2.4 for a discussion of this term).

However, if language management tools are implemented incautiously without paying attention to or acknowledging the needs of the company, the effect may be limited. Language training, for example, may seem like a relatively easy activity to implement, but as argued by Reeves and Wright (1996, p. 4), general language courses may be ineffective when they are designed without any reference to the specific company or without considering the capabilities of the staff. Also Feely (2004), Feely and Harzing (2003) Harzing et al. (2011), Lester (1994) note that there may be considerable costs associated with backing an English corporate language policy with comprehensive language training for employees. In a worst case scenario, this costly and time-consuming language management tool may be nothing but a waste of time and money Feely (2004, p. 87) argues. As in the case of corporate language policies, language management tools are also likely to be most efficient when adopted on the basis of the overall business strategy of the company.

2.3.4.8 Reactive rather than proactive language policies

Kangasharju, Piekkari, and Säntti (2010) carried out a multiple case study of six Finnish firms, where they investigated and analysed the content and messages of these companies' language policies. Overall,

the authors were surprised to discover that the language policies were unclear about the relationship with the company's strategic goals and, furthermore, that they usually did not include any information about who was responsible for their implementation. Kangasharju et al. (2010) argue that corporate language policies are often reactive, in the sense that they are usually based on some language need the company has experienced in the past. Also Lauring and Tange (2010, p. 317) observe that companies could benefit from developing proactive language policies that can foresee future needs and recommend that 'international managers adopt a pro-active stand on language diversity', suggesting initiatives such as 'recruitment, selection, training, management development and performance management' (p. 328). Likewise, Griffith (2002, p. 264) argues that 'by proactively managing a firm's communication processes in international relationships, a firm can develop strong partnerships in the face of incongruence of national and organisational cultures, facilitating the rapid response to market opportunities and challenges, thus enhancing performance'.

A number of studies suggest that companies may gain significant benefits by developing formal language strategies to support their international ventures. This is for instance one of the main findings from the ELAN survey examining 'Effect on the European Economy of Shortages of Foreign Language Skills in Enterprise' (CILT, 2006). Also other EU-funded projects advocate the role of language and communication to improve export performance (e.g. CILT, 2011; European Commission, 2008).

2.3.4.9 Inadequate language policies due to unawareness

Clearly, in order to address prevalent issues of language and inter-cultural communication in a successful manner, it is necessary to have an idea of what these issues are, and what kind of implications they may have. As argued by Reeves and Wright (1996, p. 3) 'Communication problems can be approached in a number of ways and solutions are numerous […] [but] no solution is possible until the organisation's communication environment is fully understood'. Likewise, Piekkari and Zander (2005, p. 8), state that the first step of efficient multilingual management is 'increased awareness and knowledge of how language diversity in the MNC context operates'.

For this reason, Feely and colleagues (Feely, 2004; Feely & Reeves, 2001; Feely & Winslow, 2006) discuss the term 'language awareness', based on the work of Reeves and Wright (1996; see section 2.4.2.1). Language awareness is also discussed by CILT (2006, 2011) and Nasreen et al. (1999). According to Feely (2004, p. 228) 'a company would be expected to demonstrate its language awareness in seven discrete areas.' These areas are (Feely, 2004, p. 228); a) formalising a corporate language policy, b) developing language training programmes, c) conducting linguistic audits, d) including language skills in job selection, e) using language service providers, f) using computer systems, intranet and web sites in multiple languages, and g) providing brochures, technical literature and publications in multiple languages. Many of these recommendations fall under the definition of 'language management tools', as discussed in section 2.4

A number of previous studies have found that companies refrain from developing language policies or strategies assuming that 'English is enough'. Most studies in this area have been conducted with regard to external communication, and in particular in export and international trade (e.g. CILT, 2006, 2011; Clarke, 2000; Crick, 1999; Hagen, 1999b; Peel & Eckart, 1996; Verstraete-Hansen, 2008). Clarke (2000), for example, looked into the language practices of 205 Irish exporting companies. In this study, 87 % of the respondents expressed the view that English is likely to become the generally accepted language of business throughout the EU; hence, foreign languages were not seen as important. A similar study was conducted by Crick (1999) of 185 firms based in the UK. This author found it 'worrying' to observe that many responded that they refrained from foreign language use 'because English was widely spoken' (Crick 1999, p. 27). Likewise, in Verstraete-Hansen's (2008) survey of 312 Danish companies, 31.5 % of all companies reported that they had experienced language differences as a barrier to international cooperation. Interestingly, 41 % of the companies in the study ascribed these language problems to their trading partners' limited English language skills. Consequently, on the basis of these studies, one could argue that firms display 'language unawareness' both with regard to language and communication problems in their own organisation, but also unawareness of the fact that the world is multilingual (Phillipson, 2000).

2.3.4.10 Inadequate language policies due to unresponsiveness

In addition to the discussion in the previous section, companies may also actively refrain from developing appropriate language policies. It makes sense to distinguish between unawareness and unresponsiveness (Feely & Winslow, 2006), as an unaware company will ignore the language needs of the organisation owing to insufficient knowledge, whereas an unresponsive company will deliberately choose not to address language and communication issues they are aware exist. It is argued in CILT (2011, p. 13) that even if companies recognise how important language is for successful international business operations, they may still choose not to prioritise investments in language and language-related activities.

There may be different explanations as to why this is the case. One reason could be that the benefits of investing in language and communication may be difficult to measure in monetary terms, whereas the costs are obvious (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 32). Indeed, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 139) write that: 'The real problem that language planners face is that most costs occur in real time. […] However, benefits are slow to develop and hard to measure'. A few studies suggest that in particular smaller firms may find it difficult to prioritise investments in language and communication due to cost constraints (CILT, 2006, p. 42, 47; Peel & Eckart, 1997). Others argue that foreign language skills may be even more valuable for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and their export opportunities than for larger firms (Crick, 1999; Garcia & Otheguy, 1994). Another reason could be that internal communication is viewed as less important than external communication. The strategic value of language

as a marketing tool directed towards customers and consumers may be more visible, and therefore easier to act upon, than language as a human resource (HR) tool for employees within the company (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 244).

2.3.5 Summary

Although corporate language policies may provide certain benefits for multinational corporations, previous research has also demonstrated that language policies may negatively impact several aspects of the company's administrative and operational processes, not only in terms of ineffective internal communication, but also to the degree where it may hamper productivity and performance. In a worst case scenario, the supposedly 'cheap and easy solution' of adopting English as a lingua franca may in fact create more problems than it solves (Janssens & Steyaert, 2014, p. 632). The 10 language policy (LP) challenges discussed in this section are summarised in Figure 2.

1.	Communicative challenges	→	Miscommunication, misunderstandings, loss of rhetorical skills
2.	Individual problems	→	Disempowerment, status loss, employee dissatisfaction
3.	Collaboration and group dynamics	→	Withdrawal, avoidance, discrimination, 'shadow structure'
4.	Reallocation of power	→	Gatekeeping, glass ceiling, corporate politics
5.	*De facto* vs. *de jure* language policies	→	Resistance and ignorance of the company's language policy
6.	LPs not aligned with overall business plan	→	Multidomestic, global, or transnational strategy?
7.	Inappropriate follow-up initiatives	→	Inefficient, expensive, and time-consuming
8.	Reactive rather than proactive LPs	→	Fails to address future language needs
9.	Inadequate LPs due to unawareness	→	Insufficient knowledge of language needs
10.	Inadequate LPs due to unresponsiveness	→	Language-related investments not prioritised

Figure 2 10 language policy challenges

2.4 Language management tools

So far the discussion has primarily focused on the body of work dealing with corporate language policies in multilingual business organisations. Indeed, a lot of the literature focuses on this particular form of language management, but language management may also come in other forms. In section 2.3.3.7 the various types of language initiatives that firms may make use of were referred to as 'language management tools'. Yet, one may find a whole range of terms in the literature that refer to the same phenomenon; Harzing et al. (2011) use the expression 'language barrier solutions', CILT (2006, 2011)

calls them ‘language management techniques’, ‘language management approaches’, and ‘language measures’, Kingsley (2010, p. 140) refers to them as ‘forms of language management’, while Feely and Winslow (2006, p. 22) use the label ‘approaches to language management’. Other scholars refrain from using a particular term, but refer to these solutions as ‘forms of regulating language’ (Duchêne & Heller, 2012, p. 329), ‘options for managing language problems’ (Feely & Harzing, 2003, p. 42), ‘responses to cross-language communication situations’ (Marschan et al., 1997, p. 593), ‘organisational linguistic resources’ (Thomas, 2008, p. 318), ‘control and coordination mechanisms’ (Welch et al., 2005, p. 14), ‘planned mechanisms’ (Hagen, 1999a, p. 8), ‘modes of language management’, ‘language management practices’ and ‘practical tools’ (Feely & Winslow, 2006, p. 16, 38), or simply ‘ways in which firms attempt to cope with the various demands that multiple language pose’ (Welch et al., 2001, p. 197).

I personally prefer the term ‘language management tools’, like Feely and Winslow (2006, p. 16), and Gundersen (2009, p. 6), as it draws a parallel to the use of management tools in general; that is, the types of tools the management of a firm relies on in order to manage various aspects of a firm’s activities in practice. Just as we have tools to manage knowledge, i.e. knowledge management tools (Ruggles, 1997), or tools to manage risks, i.e. risk management tools (Aggarwal & Ganeshan, 2007), and several other types of management tools, we have tools to management language – language management tools. ‘Over the past few decades, management tools have become a common part of executives’ lives’ the global management consulting firm Brain & Co (Rigby, 2013, p. 10) observes. Indeed, ‘executives must be more knowledgeable than ever as they sort through the options and select the right management tools for their companies’ (Rigby, 2013, p. 10). Interestingly, language management tools are not a type of management tools commonly addressed under this heading in the management literature, including Brain & Co’s ‘executive guide’ to management tools. Language or communication may be mentioned as components of other tools, such as ‘supply chain management (Rigby, 2013, p. 56): ’The goal is to establish such strong bonds of communication and trust among all parties that they can effectively function as one unit, fully aligned to streamline business processes and achieve total customer satisfaction’, but they are rarely recognised as management tools on their own.

The following discussion seeks to remedy this situation by setting language management tools in the spotlight. As a starting point, the discussion has been divided into three main sections, differentiating between corporate policies, corporate measures, and front-line practices. Whereas the background and theory of corporate language policies have been covered in the preceding discussion, the two remaining categories may need some elaboration, which will be provided in subsections 2.4.2 and 2.4.3.

2.4.1 Corporate language policies

As mentioned above, a large amount of the newer research on language in international business deals with the development and implementation of language policies. By selecting one or a small number of languages as the standard language for internal communication, corporate language policies are one of

the most frequently used types of language management today (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Fredriksson et al., 2006; Kangasharju et al., 2010; Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 204-229). In the Nordic countries, the use of parallel or multiple languages – English vis-à-vis local languages – are advocated by the Nordic Council of Ministers (2006) in the 'Declaration on a Nordic language policy' (pp. 93-94), where it is stated that 'business and labour-market organizations be urged to develop strategies for the parallel use of language'.

In line with the discussion in section 2.3.2, a number of studies describe how companies may choose to conduct their business in a common corporate language merely by default, as a response to, for example, its international activities, without the presence of a formal language policy (in the sociolinguistic literature commonly referred to as implicit or covert policies, cf. Schiffman, 1996). In particular, Logemann and Piekkari (2015, p. 31) argue that a language policy may be 'jointly agreed upon' in the organisation, and neither Ehrenreich (2010, p. 46) or Lønsmann (2011, p. 90; mentioned in section 2.3.4.5) were able to locate an explicit language policy document their case studies. In the Danish pharmaceutical MNC, Lundbeck, the company's language policy may bear a closer resemblance to the model of multiple corporate languages, or rather the functional multilingualism approach, described by Feely and Harzing (2003), given that English and Danish were used interchangeably.

In contrast to these examples of 'non-formalised language policies', one may use the expression 'formalised language policy' for situations where the language policy is based on a formal language policy document, or a mandate (Neeley, 2011, 2013). 'Formalisation' as a term may be seen as a corporate control mode – i.e. a mechanism used to regulate an organisation's activities – in which 'decision-making is routinized through rules and procedures' (Nobel & Birkinshaw, 1998, p. 483; see also Bartlett & Ghoshal 1989, p. 161). The content of such language policy documents may vary substantially, from guidelines and recommendations for appropriate language use (Bergenholtz et al., 2003; Kangasharju et al., 2010; Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 204-229), to strictly regulating documents (Neeley, 2011; SanAntonio, 1987). In the two latter studies, Neeley (2011) describes how the Japanese CEO of the case company, Rakuten, decided to implement English as a common corporate language overnight, without any preparation, despite the fact that 2/3 of the company's employees struggled with English-medium communication. Employees who did not meet the English language requirement faced the risk of being demoted. In SanAntonio's (1987) study of an American subsidiary in Japan, the strict English-only language policy was to a large extent used as a mechanism for control by American managers (cf. section 2.3.4.4).

Finally, a brief comment on what has been labelled 'company-specific language', which may take different forms depending on the degree of stringency. The strictest version, so to speak, is where the company imposes a restriction on vocabulary and syntax rules in order to reduce the complexity of the language. Feely (2004, p. 93) discusses how Caterpillar in 1970 launched a system called CCE, Caterpillar Controlled English, which only allowed a vocabulary of 8000 words, including product

terminology. A much milder side of the same concept can be found in specific writing guidelines, which set a standard for how written communication should be handled in the company. Kangasharju et al. (2010) provide as an example the Finnish company Nokia Siemens which has implemented a 'tone of voice' document, stressing their own style of communication. Writing guidelines could also include relevant terminology or issues particularly relevant to the firm, or the company may choose to develop a dictionary of industry-specific terms in order to maintain consistency in language use. The most informal version of company-specific language is the type of company jargon, 'company speak' which may be used deliberately by the management in their mass communication, or among colleagues (de Vecchi 2012, 2014; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Fredriksson et al., 2006; Welch et al., 2005). For example, in Scandinavian Airlines (SAS), the three Scandinavian languages enjoy equal status within the organisation – consequently, the combination of Norwegian, Swedish and Danish has led to a mixed 'Scandinavian' language variety popularly referred to as 'Sasperanto' (Sjöblom, 2008, pp. 32−33; Welch et al., 2005, p. 22).

2.4.2. Corporate language measures

In contrast to language policies, language management measures can be defined as the hands-on activities the management of a firm implements in order to address the language needs of the corporation. I have borrowed the term 'measures' from Lüdi and colleagues (Lüdi, 2012, 2014; Lüdi, Höchle, & Yanaprasart, 2010, 2013), who provide the following definition (Lüdi, 2014, p. 19):

> By language management [...] we mean all the measures taken by a company concerning collaborators' representations of language(s) and the construction of their linguistic repertoires, as well as their use in internal and external communication.

However, where Lüdi et al. use the term 'measures' to denote all forms of language management (see Lüdi et al., 2010, p. 213), I find it necessary to treat policies as a separate category of language management tools. Whereas policies can be seen as regulatory devices or containing elements thereof (cf. section 2.3.2), measures are planned activities directed towards a specific goal or designed to fulfil a certain purpose in the linguistic-communicative area. On the other side, the main difference between measures and emergent everyday practices, which will be discussed in section 2.4.3, is that measures are controlled by someone with the authority to modify the language practices of the employees, i.e. a 'language manager' in the terminology of Spolsky (2009, cf. section 2.2.2). They are, consequently, the result of a management initiative at the corporate level, and not spontaneous reactions to language needs as they emerge at the front-line level. The following sections will discuss such measures and their effects in detail, as they have been identified in the literature.

2.4.2.1 Language needs analyses

Language needs analyses are often described in the sociolinguistic literature as ways to map individual language needs (e.g. Hawkey, 2006). However, language needs analyses may also be valuable for companies to get an overview of their language situation. One of the most advanced language management tools in this category is the linguistic audit methodology developed by Reeves and Wright (1996). Linguistic auditing is a procedure designed to help the management of a firm identify the strengths and weaknesses of their organisation when it comes to foreign language communication (Reeves & Wright, 1996, p. 5). In contrast to an individual-level language needs analysis, which 'usually provides detailed information about the needs of individuals […] a language audit takes institutions or organisations as the unit of analysis', Long (2005, pp. 40-41) observes. Through different means of assessment, the analysis is meant to identify the language needs employees and management may experience, and consequently match the organisation's foreign language capabilities with its strategic aspirations (Björkman & Piekkari, 2009; Charles, 1998; Feely & Harzing, 2003). Linguistic auditing can for example be used to assess whether the company has staff members with necessary language skills in positions that require extensive international communication by testing the 'language proficiency profile' of the post holder (Reeves & Wright, 1996, p. 48). Language testing as a way of measuring individual-level language skills may also be used for other language management tools, for example in connection with the recruitment of new employees, as discussed by Kingsley (2010, pp. 175-182) and Vandermeeren (2005; see also section 2.4.2.5).

Linguistic audits can generate knowledge about the relationship between language variables on the one side and economic measurements, such as productivity and costs, on the other (Grin, Sfreddo, & Vaillancourt, 2010, p. 38). However, as argued by Grin et al. (2010, pp. 131−134) the reliability of the audit may be questioned as the methodology is based on feedback from employees. Some informants may choose to either over- or underestimate their answers, which may result in a biased assessment of the actual language needs. Another serious problem with linguistic auditing is that the full procedure is fairly time-consuming and resource intensive. A 'lighter' version of linguistic auditing can be found in the language check-up methodology proposed by Feely and Reeves (2001), which is a self-administered system for employees based on the same principles as linguistic auditing. Like the full linguistic auditing, language check-ups are also designed to identify typical cross-lingual communication patterns.

2.4.2.2 Translation and interpretation

Translation is defined by Piekkari et al. (2013, p. 772) as the process of moving communication from one language to another. In the work of Piekkari et al. (2013) and Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 28) the term 'translation' is used both for written and oral communication, although 'interpretation' is often used specifically for oral communication (e.g. Angelelli, 2012; Hymes, 1972; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006).

Companies that wish to make use of translation as a language management tool may choose to do this through different arrangements. It makes sense to distinguish between translation activities that are undertaken by company-external parties, such as external language and translation agencies or bureaus, and the type of translation activities that are undertaken by company-internal parties, in situations where the company has established an internal in-house department (CILT, 2006, 2011; Piekkari et al., 2013; Piekkari et al., 2014). Often, the amount and frequency of translation requests do not justify the establishment of a permanent unit or the employment of translators in-house, which is when an external agency may be called upon, i.e. outsourcing (Feely & Harzing, 2003).

In later years new technical solutions have made it possible for companies to ask interested translators to bid for a translation job, which often is referred to as 'crowdsourcing'. As described by Howe (2009) crowdsourcing involves outsourcing tasks through open calls to undefined, generally large, groups of people. According to Garcia (2009) Facebook successfully crowdsourced translation to the Facebook users when in 2007 they asked their bilingual users to translate websites into various languages such as Spanish, French and German for free. One could, however, imagine that issues of confidentiality and information security may limit the use of crowdsourcing (Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 35-36), and that the quality of the translation could be compromised in the absence of quality control (Zaidan & Callison-Burch, 2011).

Another negative side of both crowdsourcing and the more traditional forms of outsourcing of translation needs, discussed by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 40), is that outsourcing reduces the company's stock of language capital. Language capital in an organisational context is defined by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 106) as 'the pool of language capability upon which the organization can draw'. Instead of building up language competence, i.e. language capital, in-house, the company creates an outside component of its language capital when commissioning translation tasks from external agencies. The main benefit of having an internal language service department is of course the possibility to develop subject matter expertise and company-specific knowledge, which may result in more efficient working processes, and also higher-quality services (Janssens et al., 2004).

2.4.2.3 Technological solutions

In addition to human translators, technological and online solutions may also provide certain benefits in the area of translation and language assistance. Machine translation programmes or the use of web-based tools are efficient in the sense that they require low time input, translating information from one language into another in a fraction of time. However, it is argued by Charles (2007) that viewing machine translation as the solution to linguistic diversity represents a rather simplistic view on language and communication. Lester's (1994, p. 44) prediction some 20 years ago that 'if all else fails, recently launched software packages offering automatic translation of the text might lessen the need for some people to learn a language at all', has not yet come true. The majority of these tools are still insufficiently

developed to be applied without any type of human proof-reading, and the use of them for professional purposes is somewhat disputed (Duchêne & Heller, 2012).

Yet, the technology has undoubtedly advanced in recent years, and the assistance of translation technology, commonly referred to as translation memory (TM) or translation memory systems (TMS) is likely to speed up the translation process (Garcia, 2009). As argued by McEntee-Atalianis (2006, p. 343): 'The combined exploitation of translators, developed multilingual databases and machine translation will […] enable the provision of interlingual communication for individuals and larger communities […] at affordable rates'.

2.4.2.4 Language training

One way to reduce the need for translation and interpretation could be to improve the language competencies of employees, and offer language courses for staff members. However, as mentioned in the previous discussion (section 2.3.4.7), language training is not necessarily the most efficient language management tool, as it is tends to be costly and time-consuming (e.g. Feely, 2004; Reeves & Wright, 1996). Another potential problem, found in an analysis conducted by Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002, p. 22), is that training is often reserved for top or middle managers, which excludes a considerable number of employees who may be equally dependent on professional language skills in their job functions. Lønsmann (2011) found a similar pattern in her case study, where employees were given very diverse opportunities for improving their linguistic repertoire. Here, language classes were covered by the respective departments, which meant that factors other than the actual needs were often decisive for whether or not individuals were able to undertake training. For this reason Lønsmann (2011, p. 292) recommends having a centralised education budget in order to avoid differential treatment of employees with regard to language courses.

On the other side, employees can also be hard to motivate and deliberately refrain from participating in language courses, as observed by Sherman et al. (2012) and Neeley (2011). Malkamäki and Herberts (2014, p. 27) found in a case study of a Finnish firm, Wärtsilä, that staff members occasionally found it difficult to justify spending time on language education if it happened at the expense of one's actual work tasks. Neeley (2011) presents an interesting perspective on how employees may be motivated to undertake training; in particular, the CEO of the previously mentioned Japanese firm Rakuten preferred to let employees pay for their own language studies, as a demonstration of commitment. The CEO feared that if the company paid for the language training of employees, they would take it less seriously.

Although there may be some challenges associated with language training, there may also be significant benefits from investing in the language skills of employees, as observed by Volk, Köhler, and Pudelko (2014). These authors argue that working in a foreign language, so-called level 2 processing, ties up scarce cognitive resources as compared to conducting work in one's own mother tongue. Level 2

processing under an English language policy, for example, takes up a significant amount of working memory capacity, leading to less efficient work processes. Therefore, higher language proficiency in the foreign language – which one may achieve through language training – will lead to more automatic processes and consequently also increased work efficiency.

2.4.2.5 Selective recruitment

Selective recruitment in the context of this study, also known as language-sensitive recruitment, refers to the employment of language-competent personnel. Peltokorpi and Vaara (2014, p. 601) define language-sensitive recruitment as 'practices in which a certain proficiency in the corporate language is used as a precondition for employment'. Selective recruitment appears to be a frequently used language management tool, judging by findings provided by previous studies (CILT, 2006, 2011). In the ELAN report (CILT, 2006, p. 47), for example, 94 % of all MNCs included in the study (30 companies in total) reported that selective recruitment was common practice. Indeed, it may seem as if Lester's (1994, p. 43) claim that hiring people who already possess the required language skills is the 'easiest and cheapest way to approach the language problem' for companies operating across multiple linguistic borders. Selective recruitment was also found to be among the three most effective language management tools in SMEs (CILT, 2011). The PIMLICO report (CILT, 2011, pp. 21-23) also mentions shorter term arrangements, i.e. taking on student placements or use of local agents, as alternative forms of selective recruitment.

Selective recruitment may seem as a relatively easy tool implement in practice, but it is not necessarily the most cost-efficient solution (cf. Lester, 1994). Recruitment is often a time-consuming process, which is why Grin et al. (2010) claim that a rational employer may be better off seeking potential candidates with language skills lower than those actually needed for the job. Data from the Swiss labour market reveal how English skills are associated with sizeable wage premiums, sometimes the wage difference can be as high as 30 % at the top level of competence (Grin, 2001, p. 73). Peltokorpi and Vaara (2014) also indicate that language-sensitive recruitment may have higher recruiting and compensation costs as compared to employing other candidates who do not possess the same language skills. Another problem with selective recruitment, discussed by Feely and Harzing (2003), is that it may make the existing post-holder redundant, which may require costly follow-up initiatives.

However, the biggest challenge with language-selective recruitment is probably finding qualified candidates. Companies are often interested in hiring candidates who have language skills in addition to another professional competence. Inman (1980) states the following in her study of the need for foreign language skills in a US based MNC (p. 70): 'an organisation which wishes to hire persons skilled in foreign languages will no doubt seek language expert for those positions rather than someone who is primarily skilled in other areas', and furthermore (p. 73): 'In the business world, a foreign language capability is strictly an ancillary skill. There is really no demand for foreign language majors unless those individuals also possess another 'primary' skill to serve as their main occupation'. Peltokorpi and Vaara

(2014) refer to this problem of balancing professional skills and language skills as misalignment between language and functional competence.

2.4.2.6 Language intermediates

Language intermediates can be defined as employees who function as 'language brokers' or 'bridge individuals' in the sense that they become communication channels for people who would otherwise have difficulties understanding each other (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011). In terms of headquarter-subsidiary communication, language intermediation is quite often performed by expatriates, who are assigned to work at the foreign subsidiary and report back to the corporate headquarters (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2005). Once these employees return to the headquarters they may be able to take on an intermediate role as repatriates if they have acquired language skills in the host-country during their foreign assignment (Thomas, 2008, p. 319). The same goes for inpatriates, who are foreign employees, e.g. from one of the company's international subsidiaries, that have been assigned into the domestic management (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harvey & Buckley, 1997). A recent study of 800 subsidiaries of MNCs in 13 countries, suggest that inpatriation and repatriation of former inpats has become widespread practice; Harzing, Pudelko, and Reiche (2015, p. 9) report that 'when we compared the number of expatriates and former inpatriates (absolute and proportionally), we found that the two were nearly identical. On average each subsidiary had 3.29 former inpatriates and 4.03 expatriates' [per 100 employees].

Language intermediation may also include the establishment of formal schemes where language-skilled employees are 'obliged' to assist other less competent employees. Such positions may be referred to as 'language buddies' (CILT, 2006) 'language nodes' (Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Barner-Rasmussen et al., 2014; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b; Welch et al., 2001) or 'parallel information networks' (Feely & Winslow, 2006; Harzing & Feely, 2008; Harzing et al., 2011).

Unlike informal collegial language help which employees may seek from other staff members this form of language intermediation is formalised in the sense that it is recognised as a management tool by the leadership. Once the language assistance is offered outside such formal arrangements, it may be described as an 'emergent' language management tool (cf. section 2.4.3). This is not a common distinction in the literature, but it could potentially enlighten the role of the language intermediate if one pays attention to whether the person has been (formally) assigned into a language-intermediate position, for example through expatriation, or whether the person (informally) becomes a language intermediate due to the language situation of the company, for example by being the only person who is able to communicate sufficiently in the corporate language – thereby helping colleagues with 'on-the-spot' language needs. However, the distinction between 'management approved' collegial language assistance and the informal language assistance colleagues may seek from each other is not clear-cut in reality. One

way the use of language intermediation as a corporate level language management tool may feed into emergent language intermediation at the front-line level, is for example if the firm keeps an open record of the language skills of employees, e.g. on the company's intranet site (web portal which only employees can access), so that personnel may find colleagues with necessary language skills when they encounter the need. In the ELAN report (CILT, 2006, p. 34), 57 % of the firms included in the study reported that they kept a record of their employees' language skills, and that this practice in fact fell under the legal document requirements of certain countries (e.g. Bulgaria, France, Hungary).

Regardless of how one chooses to categorise language intermediation, there may be certain challenges associated with this type of language management tool, e.g. if language intermediates decides to engage in gate-keeping activities, as discussed in section 2.3.4.4.

2.4.3 Emergent solution at the front-line level

Unlike the language management policies and measures described above, this final category of language management tools refers first and foremost to the everyday informal language assistance carried out by employees among themselves. These tools share a common characteristic in the sense that they are spontaneous, basic and so casual in nature that people may not even notice or pay attention to the fact that they make use of them. Previous studies of language and communication in multilingual organisations, e.g. Andersen and Rasmussen (2004), Feely and Harzing (2003), Harzing et al. (2011) and Lønsmann (2011) have highlighted the importance of the informal ad-hoc language resources that employees draw on in response to emergent language needs at the front-line level. For example, the risk for misunderstandings and misinterpretations can be reduced by simplifying the message or by building in redundancy in communication, i.e. asking a colleague to repeat information that has been given, or switch (code-switch) to the local language if this is different from the corporate language (Gertsen, 2012, pp. 214-215; Harzing et al., 2011, pp. 282-283; Søderberg, 2012, pp. 250-251). Other informal, emergent solutions may be found in the use of linguistic tools, such as (non-company-specific) dictionaries or other types of physical or online tools that may be available, or simply asking a colleague for help (Lønsmann, 2011, p. 101; SanAntonio, 1987).

Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002), Harzing et al. (2011) and Shachaf (2008) discuss that the choice of a written communication medium may improve efficiency in communication as compared with an oral communication medium, as different speech varieties, such as accents, may cause comprehension problems, as discussed in section 2.3.4.3. Shachaf (2008, p. 136), for example, found in her study of global virtual teams (GVT) that 'the use of e-mail reduced miscommunication due to language differences among GVT members' and that 'non-native English speakers were able to express themselves better through email than by talking'. Also Harzing et al. (2011) discuss that adjusting the mode of communication by communicating via email rather than phone is a common way of managing

language at the front line. Here, communication mode refers to the medium through which communication is conducted (Fjermestad, 2004) – the 'format' of communication (Altheide, 1994).

The inclusion of emergent tools in the language management taxonomy may need some clarification with regard to the absence of the 'language manager' (cf. Spolsky, 2009, section 2.2.2). These tools refer to the management of discourse at the front-line level rather than the management of language practices emanating from the corporate level. Emergent solutions are, in other words, not subjected to managerial supervision. Drawing on the language management theory presented in section 2.2.1, this final category of language management tools will be located at the simple language management, i.e. the micro level.

There are a number of reasons why emergent solutions are often among the most frequently used language management tools in practice. Employees may simply need a quick and easy way of dealing with a language or communication issue on the spot, as found in Piekkari et al.'s (2013) study of translation in Nordea, where employees often chose self-translation or consulted their network rather than contacting the company's translation department (Piekkari et al., 2013). However, front-line employees may also resign to emergent solutions out of necessity. If a company chooses not invest in other types of language management tools, then the de facto language regulation is a 'laissez-faire approach' (see Phillipson, 2001a, 2001b, 2003 for a discussion of laissez faire language policies) where employees themselves are left to decide what their language practices should be, for example, what language to use in what situation. These cases could be described as language management through a decentralised language policy where the issue of communication is pushed down the hierarchy, out of sight of the top management (Welch et al., 2001). Consequently, in such situations, employees at the front-line are the ones that may have to deal with everyday issues of language and communication (Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004). As argued by Björkman, Barner-Rasmussen and Vaara (2011, p. 418) international management research 'has traditionally regarded firms as the appropriate level of analysis without engaging in more micro-level analysis or searching for micro-foundations of organizational level phenomena'. Thus, 'there is a great need to complement existing knowledge with in-depth analysis at the micro-level', which is why front-line practices have been included in the language management tool taxonomy presented in Table 1.

	LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT TOOLS	DESCRIPTION OF TOOLS
CORPORATE POLICIES	*Common corporate language* Formalised Non-formalised	The use of a lingua franca for internal communicative purposes. Can be based on a formal language policy mandate or without a formal language policy.
	Multiple corporate languages Formalised Non-formalised	The use of multiple languages for internal communicative purposes. Can be based on a formal language policy mandate or without a formal language policy.
	Company-specific language Controlled language Style/writing guidelines Company dictionary Company speak	Various ways to control the language of the company either through hard mechanisms such as imposed restrictions on vocabulary or syntax rules, or milder mechanisms such as company dictionaries or preferred writing standards.
CORPORATE MEASURES	*Language needs analyses* Linguistic auditing Language check-ups	Methodologies to help firms identify the strengths and weaknesses of their organisation in terms of foreign language communication.
	Interpretation/translation Internal interpreters/translators External interpreters/translators Crowdsourcing	The use of translation and interpretation services, either through arrangements with external agents or through the establishment of an internal in-house department, or other alternative solutions.
	Technological solutions Machine translation Translation memory systems	The use of computer-based technologies to translate text or voice from one language into another.
	Language training General Task-specific	Company-funded training programmes to improve the language skills of employees.
	Selective recruitment and staffing Employee selection Local agents Student placements	Recruitment of language skilled personnel, either full-time, part-time or for a specific period of time, to fill identified language gaps in the company.
	Language intermediates Language nodes Language buddies Parallel information networks Expatriation, incl. repatriation Inpatriation, incl. repatriation	Strategic use of employees who perform a bridging function by virtue of their language competencies, either as part of, or in addition to, their normal job description, or in formal or informal language networks.
FRONT-LINE PRACTICES	*Emergent solutions* Collegial language help Linguistic tools Redundancy in communication Adjust mode of communication Adjust style of communication Code-switching	Informal tools and changes in communication practices, implemented at the front-line level without a corporate level ‘language manager’.

Table 1 Language management tools

2.4.4 Summary

Section 2.4 has described and discussed various language management tools identified in the literature. A central part of this discussion has been the differentiation between corporate policies, corporate measures ('corporate' as in management as decision-makers, cf. section 2.3.2) and everyday emergent front-line practices. The main features of these three categories can be summarised as follows: *corporate policies* are the deliberate control of issues pertaining to language and communication, developed at the managerial level of a firm either in the form of a formalised language policy mandate or without a formal language policy; *corporate measures* are the planned activities the management may make use of in order to address the language needs of the organisation; and *front-line practices* refer to the use of informal, emergent language management tools available to staff members. The language management tools discussed in this section are summarised in Table 1.

2.5 Effects of industry sectors on language management

So far this literature review has not discussed the effects of sector-specific characteristics on corporate language management, the reason being that very few studies take these characteristics explicitly into account. However, there are various ways in which the sector may be recognised in studies of language and communication internally in business organisations, and these ways will be discussed in this section.

To begin with, there are a number of previous studies that focus on language and communication practices in particular sectors. Boussebaa, Sinha, and Gabriel (2014) and Rahman (2009), for example, look into the provision of English language services in the telephone call centre industry in India (Boussebaa et al.) and Pakistan (Rahman). Loos (2007) looks at language practices in a Dutch holiday centre located in Germany, while Duchêne (2009) focuses on language use within a tourism call centre in multilingual Switzerland. In a similar type of study, Martin and Davies (2006) examine how front-desk staff at Scottish hotels handled foreign language telephone enquiries. All of these publications are examples of studies undertaken in particular industries (call centres and tourism, i.e. two service industries) where language skills are fundamental to the type of activities typically conducted within the industry. Other examples of industries where language-related work in itself is of academic interest, could be language teaching (Jones, 1995; Seidlhofer, 2004), and the translation and interpretation industry (Blekingsopp & Pajouh, 2010; Janssens et al., 2004, see also Grin, 2001). Heller (2013, p. 352) refers to such industries as 'language industries', and argues that 'we are indeed seeing the emergence of what has been called 'the language industries' – that is, those types of work in which language is either the product or an important dimension of it, for example translation, speech recognition, or language training'.

Some studies consider the industry sector primarily as a methodological concern rather than an analytical issue. Huhta (1999), for example included a broad range of sectors in a report of language and communication skills in Finnish firms; electronics and electrical engineering, forest, wood and paper, mechanical engineering, construction and services (p. 41), and describes the combination of these sectors as a sampling strategy, i.e. 'to represent all major fields of industry and locations throughout the country'.

However, the study barely discusses the findings based on the different industry sectors and therefore neglects this potentially important explanatory factor. One could for example expect that the work environment of these very different sectors may have an impact on how employees communicate with each other for internal communication purposes.

The same criticism may be directed towards Hagen (1999b) and the Elucidate survey of 5000 European firms, which investigated how well companies in different parts of Europe are managing language and cultural issues in international trade. The survey included a wide range of sectors, but failed to provide an adequate discussion of sector-specific findings. For instance Hagen (1999a, p. 49) briefly mentioned that across all UK regions (divided into North of England; West Midlands; London and the South East) 'manufacturing companies are more likely to experience [language] barriers (56 %) than service companies 52 %)', without going into details as to why this is the case. This discrepancy of four percentage points is not particularly noteworthy in itself, but the results indicate that there are significant regional differences in the data set. For example, 70.3 % of manufacturing companies in the South East region report that they have experienced language barriers, in comparison to 51.3 % of manufacturing companies in the North. Unfortunately, because 'sector' in this study is reported merely as a methodological issue – a way of categorising firms – we are not offered an explanation as to whether this difference can be ascribed to factors pertinent to the UK manufacturing sector or something else.

A few publications discuss the relationship between the sector, as a general concept, and language practices within the sector. As mentioned above (section 2.4.1), companies often develop their own communication style, i.e. 'company speak'. Marschan-Piekkari and Reis (2004, p. 7) mention that company speak is often influenced by the industry sector in which the company operates. The same argument is put forward in Welch et al. (2005) and Piekkari et al. (2014) who discuss various layers of language practice in international business. In Welch et al.'s (2005, p. 13) and Piekkari et al.'s (2014, p. 3) model, the three layers of language are: a) everyday spoken/written language; b) company speak, and; c) technical/professional/industry language. 'As with company jargon, there is a coded language that is common within and between group, and can be used to include or exclude others from a specific group', Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 2) observe. Clearly then, the common communication style – i.e. the combination of content, code, and communication rules (Williams & Spiro, 1985) – of the particular industry may to a large extent affect the language practices of the firm in question, which also is noted by other scholars, e.g. Tietze (2008) and Brannen and Doz (2012). In particular, Brannen and Doz (2012, p. 97) note that

‘Firms whose language is conceptually poor and very context-specific will find it difficult to see beyond their immediate and proximate context, they will risk being short-sighted and short-term oriented, and often unaware of exogenous strategic developments, such as industry or market convergence phenomena they may fall vulnerable to.’ In other words, if the company’s communication style is misaligned with the communication style of the sector, the firm may not be able to fully participate in the industry network, and consequently, miss out on up-to-date information on recent developments in the sector within which it operates.

This thesis is a cross-sector study of language and communication practices in the financial service sector and the manufacturing sector. While a limited amount of research has been conducted on this topic in manufacturing companies, the financial sector has probably been among the most frequently visited industry sectors for academic enquiry in this area. In fact, the language policy of one of the case studies included in this study, Nordea (including its predecessors), has been thoroughly investigated in the business and management literature over the last decades. Piekkari et al. (2005), for example, examined resource management implications following the Swedish language policy decision of MeritaNordbanken in 1997, and Vaara et al. (2005) found that the case of Nordea was a good illustration of how corporate language policies by nature are highly political (see also section 2.3.4.4). When Nordea implemented its current language policy, Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) considered the communicative implications of adopting English as the lingua franca in Nordea following the 2000 merger. Nordea’s language policy is also given a prominent position in Kangasharju et al.’s (2010) discussion of corporate language policies across six Finnish firms (also included in Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 224). Cost-efficiency, legislation and reputation criteria are identified as focus areas reflected in Nordea’s language policy text that regulates the company’s internal linguistic-communicative environment. Nordea’s translation department has also been subjected to academic research; Piekkari et al. (2013) scrutinise the use and non-use of Nordea’s own in-house translation department in their study of how emergent translation needs are handled by employees in the organisation, as mentioned above. Yet, most of these studies focus primarily on Nordea’s company-specific characteristics, and to a lesser degree on the financial sector which Nordea is part of. Piekkari et al. (2013) is an exception, as these authors explicitly discuss the handling of translation needs in Nordea in relation to the financial service sector. When the authors, for example, review various translation approaches that have been identified in the literature, they state the following with regard to the alternative of ‘not doing anything’, i.e. ignoring the translation request and hoping that the need eventually will go away (p. 777): ‘the nature of the service industry makes the ‘do nothing’ option less feasible if the customer is waiting in person for a prompt response.’ This is an example of how sector-specific characteristics may shed light on company-specific findings. In this study (Piekkari et al., 2013) did not observe any indications of passive behaviour to translation enquiries, as identified by Marschan et al. (1997), and the fact that Nordea is a financial service firm may explain that finding.

Two other studies of financial services based on sector-specific characteristics are the studies conducted by Kingsley (2010) on language management practices in multilingual banks in Luxembourg, and Chew (2005), on newly graduated employees working in financial institutions located in Hong Kong. Both of these studies refer to English as the 'industry language' of the international financial community, and include this observation in the data analysis (see also Graddol, 1997, p. 8, where international banking ranks high on the list of 'major international domains of English'). Kingsley (2010, p. 171), for instance, states that in her case studies 'The importance of English in international banking was largely taken for granted', and in her analysis she found that 'English was overall the most frequently used language' in the three case companies (p. 262). Likewise, Chew (2005, p. 433) writes that 'the language of international finance and banking is English and this already determines the working language in these organisations'. The international work environment of global banking activities clearly influenced language choices in the companies included in these studies, although both authors also point out that the use of local languages was common practice in the banks, primarily for oral communication.

The fact that English is described as the industry language of international banking is clearly one example of how sector-specific characteristics are of importance when conducting firm-level analyses, in this case for companies within the financial service sector. Now, looking one step further, what else do we know about the ways in which sector-specific characteristics may influence language and communication practices in financial services vs. manufacturing companies? When carefully reviewing the literature, there are two groups of sector-specific characteristics that are acknowledged when comparing these two sectors, i.e. financial service sector against the manufacturing sector. These characteristics relate firstly, to the different employee composition of these sectors, and secondly, the nature of their operations, which is connected to the output of their work processes; i.e. services vs. goods.

Looking first at the composition of employees, a number of previous studies comment on the fact that individual-level characteristics of the workforce may have an impact on language and communication practices. In particular, all manufacturing companies employ – by virtue of being manufacturing companies – a number of production workers. Several authors find that the educational background of employees tends to be limited at the lower level of the organisational hierarchy, which is again related to limited foreign language skills (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011, p. 293; Björkman & Piekkari, 2009, p. 107; Feely, 2004, p. 329; Fredriksson et al., 2006, p. 410; Hagen, 1999a, p. 39; Malkamäki & Herberts, 2014, p. 41, 85; Piekkari & Tietze, 2011, p. 268; Tietze, 2008, p. 97). As stated by Feely (2004, p. 329): 'Manufacturing companies characterised by very large numbers of employees and generally modest educational levels, may suffer more than service organisations such as international banking or IT corporations where numbers [of employees] are lower but educational standards on the whole will be higher'. Recalling what was argued in section 2.1 with regard to how increased language

penetration affects employees at all organisational levels, Søderberg (2012, p. 247) explains why communication between blue-collar workers in Denmark and India may be problematic. The quote is taken from a study of a Danish manufacturing firm with R&D facilities in China and India: 'Sometimes, when tools that have been designed and developed in India are manufactured in Denmark, the Indian team members are required to collaborate with workers at the Danish factory, and the company does not always send a professional translator who can facilitate the dialogue'.

Different educational levels may also mean that certain groups of employees will benefit more from company-funded language training programmes. Grin et al. (2010, p. 149) argue that 'language skills are of greater value to some employees than others […] for example, employees in the financial sector (which tend to benefit more from language skills than other sectors do […] could be induced to endow programmes that facilitate the acquisition of foreign language skills' and furthermore (p. 149) 'Generally, it makes sense that language training beyond initial instruction be differently funded by sectors'. Also Bellak (2014, p. 309) argues along the same lines when discussing her findings on language training of employees in the manufacturing sector, in particular with regard to the division between white-collar and blue-collar workers: 'The findings suggest to better invest in English language training for middle and top management levels since they engage in international and interlingual encounters (but may have limited language skills) than for operative or blue-collar staff whose work is more locally bound'. Consequently, previous studies suggest that lack of foreign language skills at the front-line level: i) can create greater communicative problems in manufacturing companies than in financial service companies, and ii) that the problems among employees in manufacturing companies may be more difficult to address than in financial services.

The second sector-specific characteristic commonly addressed in the literature relates to the different types of operations and working processes pertinent to financial service companies and manufacturing companies. Where manufacturing companies produce a tangible asset which they sell to customers in exchange for money, financial service companies sell an intangible asset in the sense that their operations are built on providing services to their customers (Duchêne & Heller, 2012; Frehen, Goetzmann, & Rouwenhorst, 2013). In this sense, the comparison between financial service sector firms and the manufacturing sector firms may be seen as an illustration of the old vs. the new economy. The 'old economy' is typically described as a labour-intensive economy driven by 'Taylorist forms of production' characterised by 'extreme labour discipline and supervision of work, aimed at minimising production timer per unit of commodity' (Duchêne & Heller, 2012, p. 326). In this context, communication may be seen as a means of achieving maximum production effectiveness and generate value in economic sense (Grin et al., 2010). In contrast, companies operating within a service-based industry, the 'new economy', typically 'sell' information as part of the services they deliver to their customers. Consequently, language skills are part of the 'package' and often a fundamental criterion for being able to offer a satisfactory service (Dhir, 2005; Ehrenreich, 2010; Heller, 2013; Kaplan & Baldauf,

1997; pp. 153-192). The characteristics associated with the old vs. the new economy may consequently be of importance when examining language and communication practices, although this assumption is often implicit in the literature, compared to studies that discuss different employee composition, as mentioned above.

This section started out by stating that few studies of language and communication in business organisations examine how sector-specific characteristics may be addressed at a strategic level. The discussion has demonstrated that a number of previous publications mention or consider factors pertinent to the industry to some extent. Still, the type of industry sector is rarely acknowledged when it comes to analysing the ways in which language can be regulated, controlled and managed based on these sector-specific characteristics. When Grin et al. (2010, p. 149), for instance, find that financial sector employees benefit more from foreign language training than employees in other sectors, and Bellak (2014, p. 309) advice against investing in English language training for blue-collar workers, one could question whether other language management tool are more suitable for the manufacturing sector. Thus, there are good reasons for paying attention to how and by what means the industry sector is reflected in the way companies manage language. The present study contributes to the existing literature by seeking a contextualised explanation to these language management questions.

2.6 Summary

This literature review has examined previously published material on the topic of language and communication in business organisations. By drawing on a combination of sociolinguistic and international business and management publications, the present chapter has sought to discuss and explain key concepts such as language management, corporate language policies, and language management tools. The discussion has also revealed that more research is needed on the effects of the type of industry sector on corporate language management. Thus, the present study contributes to the literature by offering a cross-sector study of language management in financial service companies and manufacturing companies.

3 Methodology

3.1 A case study approach

The previous chapter identified a research gap by demonstrating a lack of systematic research on the effects of industry sectors on corporate language management. The present study aims to contribute to filling this gap by investigating corporate language management strategies in a qualitative case study with two matched pair cases across two industry sectors, underpinned by a realist ontology combined with a constructivist epistemology – i.e. critical realist assumptions (Maxwell, 2012).

Firstly, this is a study that employs qualitative data and methods of analysis. In line with Doz (2011, p. 583), the present study perceives 'qualitative research' as 'qualitative analysis […] of qualitative data […]. Qualitative research is useful for gaining in-depth understanding (Patton, 2002), rich explanations (Weick, 2007) and realistic insight into a particular phenomenon (Pratt, 2008). A qualitative research design is also flexible in the way that data collection and theory building are closely interlinked, which in light of this project's purpose is considered highly advantageous.

Case studies may be defined in numerous ways, as discussed by e.g. Gerring (2004), Platt (1992) and Ragin (1992). The present study focuses on understanding a particular phenomenon, namely the effects of industry sectors on corporate language management, which corresponds to Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 25) definition of '*cases* as a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context'. Case studies are seen as particularly appropriate in contemporary research areas as it does not depend on the existence of previous literature, which is scarce in the present research situation (cf. Eisenhardt, 1989; Yin, 2009). The closeness of the case study provides a strong basis for developing holistic understanding, since a case study approach offers the possibility to examine the phenomenon – corporate language management – in its own context (Gibbert, Ruigrok, & Wicki, 2008, p. 1466). For this reason, Flyvberg (2006, p. 241) observes that case studies are very useful for 'understanding the degree to which certain phenomena are present in a given group or how they vary across cases'.

Flyvberg's observations are particularly relevant to the present study, as it consists of multiple case companies, i.e. two matched pair cases. Multiple cases are beneficial in the sense that they allow for cross-case comparison, which is often described as a strong basis for providing compelling evidence. In the words of Eisenhardt (1989, p. 541): 'the idea behind […] cross-case searching tactics is to force investigators to go beyond initial impressions' […] which will 'improve the likelihood of accurate and reliable theory, that is, a theory with a close fit with the data'. In the context of this study, the two matched pairs will facilitate cross-sector comparison of findings across the two financial service cases and the two manufacturing cases. This is an important aspect of the case selection strategy, as the cross-sector comparison will shed light on the effects of industry sectors from two different angles (financial services vs. manufacturing). Bazeley (2013, p. 255) describes the benefits of comparative analysis very accurately when stating that 'the process of comparison, like no other, brings into sharp focus the

distinguishing features of whatever it is you are considering'. Applied to the present study, Bazeley's words may serve as a justification for comparing corporate language management across two very different sectors – in order to bring out the 'the distinguishing features' of sector effects on the case companies' approach to language management.

The present study is a study of sector effects across two industries, yet, it comes with the following caveat: this is a study that examines the effects of sector alongside other contextual factors. The sectors must, in other words, be seen as a part of the company's context. In a case study design, it is impossible to isolate the effects of the sector from other effects; rather the sector effects are coupled and intertwined with other company-specific factors which together influence the way the case companies manage language. For this reason, it is important to emphasise that all sector-specific effects are discussed on the basis of findings obtained from the two pairs of cases. In line with the recommendations provided by Miles and Huberman (1994, pp. 207-208), the study will put much emphasis on providing comprehensive within-case analyses before moving over to the cross-case analyses.

At this point it may be worth recalling the two research questions for this study, which are:

RQ1: How is the context reflected in the way language is managed

a) in the two financial service companies?

b) in the two manufacturing companies?

RQ2: Which language management tools are implemented and why

a) in the two financial service companies?

b) in the two manufacturing companies?

The first research question recognises the inter-connected relationship between a company's context and the sector as part of this context. This question has been formulated in a relatively open manner, as the first part of the project largely focuses on gaining knowledge about the case companies' overall situation, and in relation to that, their approach to language management. As four case companies are included in this study, the first part of this thesis will, as already mentioned, consist of four within-case analyses, according to the two industry sectors. Based on the findings presented in these within-case analyses and a brief cross-case analysis between the two pairs of cases, the ensuing discussion across the industry sectors will seek to identify sector-specific effects on the companies' approach to language management.

The second research question is more narrowly defined and focuses explicitly on the deployment of language management tools (cf. section 2.4) in the case companies. Also these two empirical chapters (financial services; Ch. 7 and manufacturing; Ch. 8) will lay emphasis on the four within-case situations before going into a discussion on the effects of industry sectors on the use of the various tools. Still, like

the first research question, the second research question also aims to understand how and why the two industries may affect the use of various language management tools.

This study is underpinned by the philosophy of critical realism. The distinction between ontology and epistemology is essential in critical realism: critical realists assume that a real world exists independently of the observers (i.e. a realist ontology) while at the same time acknowledging that our knowledge of the worlds is socially constructed (i.e. a constructivist epistemology) (Bhaskar, 1978; Easton, 2010; Maxwell, 2012; Outhwaite, 1998; Sayer, 1992). My motivation for carrying out a study that examines the effects of industry sector on corporate language management lies in discovering what those effects are, how they play out in practice, and why they do so. In the language of critical realism, industry effects may therefore be described as 'causal mechanisms', which are defined by Morais (2011, p. 67) as 'the process by which a structure is activated'. Causal mechanisms are central for generating causal explanations, i.e. the relationship between the cause (industry sectors) and effect (language management). Therefore, a causal explanation involves identifying the causal mechanism (industry sectors) and connecting them to the events that occur (selection of language management tools) (Easton, 2011, p. 122).

In their 2011 article 'Theorising from case studies', Welch et al. identify four methods of case study research, where the philosophical orientation of critical realism forms the basis for what the authors call a 'contextualised explanation'. Seeking causal explanations involves 'understanding the constituent nature of objects', in the words of Welch et al. (2011, p. 748). 'This method of theorising is based on the assertion that case studies can generate causal explanations that preserve rather than eradicate contextual richness' (p. 750). In line with this view on critical realist case studies, the present study also emphasises the role of context when investigating the effects of industry sectors on corporate language management. However, it is also the intention of this project to examine the use of language management tools as they have been defined in the literature review – consequently, this thesis also contains elements of what Welch et al. labels 'the natural experiment' by referring to falsificationist positivist assumptions, commonly referred to as theory-testing studies. Without adhering to positivism as such, it is clear that parts of this project (especially regarding RQ2) are deductive in nature, which in relation to the critical realism position can be seen as an expression of post-positivism (Lapid, 1989). Thus, in Welch et al.'s typology, the present study is placed in between the 'contextualised explanation' and the 'natural experiment'.

It follows from the constructivist epistemology of critical realism that knowledge is considered 'fallible and theory-laden' (Sayer, 1992, p. 5), which is an important consideration also in the present study. This is not an experiment carried out in a laboratory; it consists of real-world companies and a real-world researcher who collected real-world empirical data by real-world methods. Clearly, several interpretative elements are present and may affect the findings obtained through this research process in one way or another. However, the constructivist epistemology of critical realism must be seen in close

relation to the realist ontology; even if it is impossible to achieve a purely objective account of the world, that does not contradict the world's existence (Maxwell, 2012, p. vii). In other words: I conduct this study while believing that it is possible to examine the effects of industry sector on corporate language management, while acknowledging that I as a researcher take an active part in constructing the observations I make when carrying out the study.

3.2 Choice of case companies

3.2.1 Case screening

It follows from the previous section that this is a study in which the case companies play a vital role. As it will be discussed in section 3.2, I adopted a purposeful sampling strategy where much emphasis was put on finding the 'right' case companies (cf. Miles & Huberman, 1994, pp. 27-34). I started looking for cases at the same time as I started writing my PhD application, i.e. in the autumn of 2011. At the time I had a rough idea of what kind of project I wanted to carry out, and my initial approach was to look for companies with detailed language regulations (which I later refer to as 'high' language management companies).

In addition to official communication channels and public information available through the companies' annual reports, press releases, media coverage etc., I also found informal channels a very useful way of obtaining information. For instance, I found the social media network LinkedIn to be an excellent place to identify relevant people to contact in potential case companies. I signed up for a number of LinkedIn network groups such as Communication professionals; Corporate communication; Corporate communication executive network; Cross cultural management; and Internal communication, and once I was a member of these groups, I automatically got access to the member list which I carefully 'screened' for potential candidates to contact. LinkedIn's open search function also worked relatively well for identifying language and communication professionals in specific companies, e.g. I could do a search for 'Company X' + 'communication', which would give a list of people working with communication in Company X. I also did the same type of search in the Danish Communication association 'Kommunikationsforeningen', which has an open member list on their web pages (kommunikationsforeningen.dk). My rationale for approaching the companies through these informal channels was to identify employees who had chosen to actively take part in a professional community – hence, I assumed these people would have a genuine interest in language and communication issues, which would make them more inclined to take part in a research project.

In total, I was in contact with 20 companies as part of the screening and selection process. A number of these expressed an interest in the project but communicated that they were unable to take part due to time and resource constraints. One company stood out when they responded to my email by stating that they did not find the topic of my project – language and communication – relevant to their 'situation' (translated from Norwegian):

> Sorry, but this [project] sounds more extensive than we are willing to contribute to. I also have problems understanding how our situation relates to the problem statement. We therefore have to decline your offer to participate in the study.

I found this reply somewhat peculiar, given that the company has operations in over 30 countries and employs roughly 1500 people worldwide. One could sense that this response indicates a low degree of language awareness (cf. section 2.3.4.9); however, I was unable to obtain further information about this particular company's language situation.

In the early stages of the data collecting phase two companies that I had an initial agreement with decided to discontinue the cooperation. In both cases, it was explained to me that the company did not want to continue spending time on the project. One person wrote that she 'no longer had the capacity to assist me' in the data collection process, suggesting that she felt obliged to 'supervise' me to make sure I wasn't collecting data on my own. Fortunately, the decision was communicated to me before I had started conducting interviews with other employees in the companies.

3.2.2 Case selection

The decision to include firms from two different sectors was initially based on the different contexts of communication that these two sectors represent. As indicated in section 2.5, financial services and manufacturing are two sectors where sector-specific characteristics could be expected to have an impact on corporate language management. Furthermore, given the different nature of these sectors, there are reasons to assume that the sector effects will differ in financial service companies and manufacturing companies. Blue-collar employees in the manufacturing industry have been found to have lower foreign language skills than white-collar employees (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011), which is likely to have an effect on corporate mass communication in manufacturing companies. On the other hand, we know that financial service companies are highly dependent on language and communication since such companies sell information as part of the service encounter. This nature of financial services' customer-company relationship (see Holmquist & Grönroos, 2012; Holmquist & Van Vaerenbergh's, 2013) is likely to create a strong force for local responsiveness (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989, p. 8), which according to Luo and Shenkar (2006; cf. section 2.3.4.6) could complicate the implementation of a common corporate language.

In addition to the two different sectors, the companies have also been selected on the basis of their different approaches to language management, which means that the companies constitute two matched pair cases. As a sampling strategy, the case companies' degree of internal language management were defined as either high or low, which is a theory-driven dichotomization based on the work of e.g. Feely (2004), Feely and Winslow (2006) and CILT (2006). Feely and Winslow (2006, p. 16) for example

discuss ‘aggregate language management scores’ when investigating the language management practices of 50 MNCs located in the UK, France and Germany, which they calculate based on the number of ‘language management modes’ that the respective companies make use of (largely consistent with the ‘language management measures’ defined in section 2.4.2). Without knowing exactly which language management tools the case companies made use of before conducting my study, the four case companies were grouped into a ‘high’ and ‘low’ category based on my initial impression of their language awareness (cf. section 2.3.4.9) and corresponding language management behaviour. Given that the purpose of this study is to examine industry effects on corporate language management, I found it appropriate to opt for a diverse selection strategy within the two industries to allow for a useful cross-case comparison also between the two financial services and manufacturing companies (Pache & Santos, 2013; Seawright & Gerring, 2008) before engaging in a cross-sector discussion. In this way I lean on Ragin (1997, p. 386), who writes that ‘case-oriented researchers often pay special attention to the diverse ways a common outcome may be reached’ – where ‘the common outcome’ in the present study may be seen as industry effects on the development of corporate language strategies.

For example, I knew from a number of previous studies that Nordea implemented their language policy in 2000 and that the company has a well-established in-house translation department to take care of both external and internal language needs (e.g. Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005). I also knew from the existing literature that Grundfos implemented their language policy in 2002 (e.g. Bergenholtz et al., 2003; da Silva et al., 2003) and from my own screening process (Grundfos’ website contains a large amounts of information about the company) that the company produces an employee magazine in eight languages, which I supposed was bound to require some form of translation. Consequently, these two companies were categorised as ‘high’ language management companies, i.e. companies that displayed a high degree of language management.

In comparison, ECCO and Saxo Bank were categorised as ‘low’ language management companies based on their initial response to my project when I first contacted them. Informants in both companies explained that the company made use of English as a company language, but that no formal language policy existed. In both cases my requests were met with positive replies, but also a warning that the company didn’t have much information to share with me on the topic of language and communication. One informant, for example wrote the following in a reply to my email (translated from Danish):

> I don’t know how much we can help you, but we are positive, so why don’t we meet and talk about it – then you can make up your mind if you think we are relevant for your project.

I later held introductory meetings with three of the four case companies (ECCO; Saxo Bank; Nordea) before I started interviewing other employees in the organisation. This was a way of gaining information about the language management practices of the firm, and the meetings largely supported my initial

impreession of the companies' degree of language management. Due to the location of Grundfos' headquarters (Bjerringbro, Jutland), I did not travel to Grundfos for an introductory meeting, but I spoke to an informant in the company's communication department on the phone before going there to conduct interviews.

Consequently, the sampling strategy is based on two parameters – industry sector and degree of language management – corresponding to the two-by-two matrix below. The matrix is followed by a short presentation of the four companies and their approach to language management.

Industry sector

		Financial service companies	**Manufacturing companies**
Degree of language management	**High**	Nordea	Grundfos
	Low	Saxo Bank	ECCO

Figure 3 Purposeful sampling of case companies

Nordea Bank AB is one of the leading financial services groups in the Nordic and Baltic Sea region. In addition to their eight home markets, Nordea has more than 800 branches and is present in 19 countries.[4] The company employs approx. 30,000 employees world-wide. Nordea was formed as a merger between several Nordic companies in 2000, but the history of the company dates back to 1820. The company introduced English as its corporate language in 2000, and while British English is used in cross-border communication, Nordea's language policy states that country-specific internal communication can be done in the local language. Nordea has an in-house translation unit at each head office in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, and a staff of approximately 25 people in total that work full-time with translation.

Saxo Bank A/S is an online investment bank and provider of traditional banking services. Since its start-up in 1992, the company's geographical footprint has expanded rapidly, and the company is now present in approx. 25 countries and employs around 1500 employees world-wide. Key informants describe Saxo Bank as a 'born global company', where the use of English as the common corporate language has been a natural choice. The company has not implemented a formal language policy.

Grundfos Holding A/S is one of the world's largest producers of pumps in terms of production units. The company was founded in 1945, and consists today of more than 80 companies in 55 countries

[4] All factual information about the case companies is from 2013 when the majority of interviews were conducted. Numbers are from annual reports and other publicly available sources, cf. Appendix 1.

world-wide, and employs roughly 19,000 people in total. The company uses British English as its common corporate language, which is formalised in the company's official language policy from 2002. However, the language policy also states that communication within a local company should be conducted in the local language. Grundfos has a translation department that translates external material only.

ECCO Sko A/S is a Danish shoe manufacturer and producer of leather goods. From a small start-up in Denmark in 1963, the company has become a major producer of footwear, and ECCO's products are now sold in almost 90 countries worldwide. The company employs around 19,000 employees in total. ECCO does not have an explicitly formulated language policy, but the use of English is widespread for internal communication purposes, according to key informants. The company has recently established a new communication unit.

	Nordea	**Saxo Bank**	**Grundfos**	**ECCO**
Description	Leading Nordic bank	Leading online investment bank	World leading manufacturer of pumps	Major producer of shoes and leather
Year founded	2000	1992	1945	1963
Number of employees, 2013	30,000	1500	19,000	19,000
Revenue in 2013, EURm	9891	384	3118	1130
Present in number of countries, 2013	19	25	55	87
Approach to language management	Formalised language policy. Common corporate language British English + use of Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish.	Non-formalised language policy. Common corporate language English.	Formalised language policy. Common corporate language British English + use of local language (not specified).	Non-formalised language policy. Common corporate language English.

Table 2 Summary of case companies

3.3 Data collection

Maxwell (2012, pp. 71-91; see also Ragin, 1992) describes how a typical critical realist research design is characterised by high degree of flexibility and interaction between the different elements of the research process. This was also the case for my study; rather than following a linear research model consisting of distinct data collection phases I started collecting data at an early stage of the project by familiarising myself with the case companies' different language management approaches, and the last interview was conducted less than three months before submitting the thesis. In total, the data collection

spanned over 2.5 years, from August 2012 to February 2015. However, the last interview was an exception (to be discussed in section 8.1.2), as all other interviews were conducted in 2013 and in the beginning of 2014.

The fact that I have cooperated with multiple case companies has also had a clear impact on how the data collection took place. Evidently, in a study consisting of multiple case companies, it is not just the research design that needs to be flexible – the researcher must also be flexible. Indeed, when preparing and planning for company visits and interviews, there were times when I felt more like an administrator than a researcher, trying to schedule interview appointments in four locations (Copenhagen; Stockholm; Bredebro; Bjerringbro) and plan my own itinerary accordingly. There is no doubt that the administrative workload would have been significantly lower had I only cooperated with one case company, or cooperated with the case companies one at a time rather than simultaneously as I chose to do. However, in alignment with what Eisenhardt (1989, 1991) advocates, as mentioned above, I agree that that there is a definite value in drawing on multiple case units – i.e. case companies – and doing so at the same time; as Eisenhardt argues (1989, p. 547), one of the main benefits of building theory from cases is that 'The likelihood of valid theory is high because the theory-building process is so intimately tied with evidence that is very likely that the resultant theory will be consistent with empirical observations'.

Having said that, it may be worth paying attention to Dyer and Wilkins (1991), who criticise Eisenhardt's approach to multiple case study research by stating that the use of multiple cases leads to a weaker understanding of the case contexts. According to these authors, 'the more contexts a researcher investigates, the less contextual insight he or she can communicate' (p. 614). As a critical realist I position myself in between Eisenhardt's positivist assumptions and Dyer and Wilkins 'interpretive paradigm' (p. 615) by advocating the benefits of conducting a case study that includes *a small number* of cases which allows for cross-case comparisons as part of the data collection (i.e. unlike Eisenhardt's 1989, p. 542; and Yin's 2009, p. 56 replication logic where each case is regarded as a separate entity before moving to cross-case comparisons). In practical terms, this means that when observing an interesting phenomenon when gathering data in one of the case companies, I was able to follow up on this in one of the other cases almost immediately. Thus, I believe that conducting multiple case studies simultaneously is likely to lead to a better understanding of the contexts, as it provides the opportunity to compare and contrast observations while the study is carried out, which, through a process of systematic comparison, accentuate the distinguishing features of the cases (cf. Bazeley, 2013; section 3.1) – and especially when the cases have been selected due to their diverse contextual characteristics, such as industry sectors. Triangulation of observations across case settings is also likely to reduce the subjectivity of the researcher (cf. Moran-Ellis et al., 2006, who advocate triangulation as a process rather than an outcome), which is covered only very briefly in the work of Eisenhardt (1989, 1991; see also Ravenswood, 2010). Thus, the administrative cost of conducting multiple case studies may be high, but if

the number of cases is kept small, it is likely to 'buy' richer, more contextualised data, which is what Dyer and Wilkins (1991) call for.

The following three sections will discuss the main sources of data included in this study, which are written documentation, company visits and interview data.

3.3.1 Documentation

The present study makes use of a wide variety of written documentation, both internal material which I received from informants in the case companies, and publicly available material, which I obtained primarily from the companies' websites. A complete overview of the document data is enclosed in Appendix 1.

Company-specific documentation was found to be a very valuable source of data in all four case companies. In the two 'high' language management companies Nordea and Grundfos, the companies' formal language policies were naturally of great interest, and these documents are reviewed in sections 7.1.1 (Nordea) and 8.1.1 (Grundfos). Other documents directly related to the control and management of language and communication were found in writing and communication guidelines (Saxo Bank), strategy documents (Nordea and ECCO), and group policies (Grundfos).

I also examined a wide variety of other written documentation (i.e. not directly related to language and communication) in order to make myself familiar with the company and the company's context, such as annual reports, press releases, corporate culture booklets, etc., which often contained a lot of useful information about the company and its operations. As is evident from RQ1, an important purpose of this thesis is to examine language management in context, that is, the company in which the language management activities are carried out in practice. This requires a good understanding of the particular case company. Some of the documents I reviewed which primarily serve purposes other than informing the reader about language-related issues turned out to contain valuable information about language and communication in the case companies. For example, in ECCO's annual report from 2009 (p. 59), I learned that 'At all ECCO's factories, the ECCO Code of Conduct is translated into local languages and the factories are audited continuously in relation to the ten commitments'. It was natural to follow up on this piece of information when conducting interviews with employees in the company's communication department (who produced the annual report).

3.3.2 Company visits

A critical realist methodology acknowledges the many ways in which researchers gain knowledge of particular phenomena (i.e. the constructivist epistemology). Oliver (2011) compares this aspect of critical realism to Glaeser's (1998, pp. 8-9, 2001, pp. 145-147) statement that 'all is data'. Indeed, Glaeser's viewpoint was also an important motivation for me to visit the companies in person, to access 'all the data surrounding what is being told' (Glaeser, 2001, p. 145). Most interviews were conducted in the

companies' headquarters (cf. section 3.3.3) which allowed me to create my own impression of the companies' physical facilities and work environment.

Saxo Bank's headquarters and Nordea's Danish headquarters are located in the Copenhagen area, which made it possible for me to visit these facilities relatively easily. Over a period of approximately 16 months (from September 2012 to January 2014) I visited Saxo Bank 11 times, ten times to meet with interviewees and one time to attend a public event organised by Saxo Bank under the title 'Capitalism without guilt - Ayn Rand's radical defense of free markets'. As discussed in section 4.2.1.3, Saxo Bank's corporate values are largely based on the work of the capitalist philosopher Ayn Rand, and I found this meeting to be a good opportunity to learn more about this philosopher's views, as it appears to have had a strong impact on Saxo Bank's corporate culture. When visiting Saxo Bank's headquarters I was also able to observe the company's large collection of modern art, which includes, among other things, a stuffed bull and bear, two animals commonly used as metaphors of upward and downward trends in the financial market. Other objects in the company's collection include a Formula one car in the lobby and a full-size Tyrannosaurus Rex skeleton in the canteen. Observing these objects or attending a presentation of capitalist philosophy naturally does not improve a researcher's understanding of the company's language strategy, but it contributes to create an impression of what kind of company this is, cf. Glaser's statement that 'all is data'.

I have visited Nordea's Danish headquarters in Copenhagen three times in relation to interview appointments (August 2012; May 2013; October 2013), and in November 2013 I travelled to Nordea's corporate headquarters in Stockholm for a two-day stay. Before going to Stockholm I had arranged to meet with five interviewees and planned my itinerary according to their calendar. As the informants were working in different office buildings in the city centre of Stockholm, I was able to visit three of Nordea's building during the stay.

ECCO's headquarters are situated in a small Danish town called Bredebro, located on the Danish peninsula Jutland. It takes approximately four hours by train to get to Bredebro from Copenhagen. During my cooperation with ECCO I have visited Bredebro three times; in August 2012, in July 2013 and in August 2013. Travelling to Bredebro to visit ECCO is an interesting experience, because Bredebro in many ways *is* ECCO – the company consitutes such a significant part of the townscape of Bredebro that it is difficult to imagine Bredebro without ECCO. The following piece of anecdotal evidence may be used to illustrate this: when I was staying in one of Bredebro's guest houses, I picked up a tourist guide which contained information about the region, including a brief description of some of the towns in the area. As an introduction to Bredebro, the guide states that (*Rømø og Omegn Tourist Guide*, 2012, p. 61):

> Bredebro is especially known for the shoe factory ECCO, which was founded in 1963 by Birthe and Karl Toosbuy. Here, the worldwide known brand ECCO was born.

My impression of the strong ties between Bredebro and ECCO was confirmed when, on another occasion, one of the receptionists in the guest house asked me (translated from Danish): 'I suppose you are here to visit ECCO?'

I started cooperating with Grundfos in August 2013, and therefore I did not visit Grundfos' headquarters for an introductory meeting in the autumn of 2012, as in the other three cases. The reason that Grundfos came into the picture a year later than the other cases was because of failed collaborations with two other manufacturers, as mentioned in section 3.2.1. This meant that my cooperation with Grundfos differed from the other three cases, which I had maintained regular contact with throughout my PhD studies, i.e. resembling a longitudinal research design (cf. Burgelman, 2011). Fortunately, as a 'high' language management company, I was able to read up on Grundfos' language management approach in the existing research literature and my contact person in Grundfos also sent me the company's language policy physically in the mail (as discussed in section 8.1.1, this policy comes in the form of a booklet) so that I was able to review this policy before travelling to Grundfos' headquarters in Bjerringbro in September 2013. Like Bredebro, where ECCO's headquarters are located, Bjerringbro is also a small Jutland town, with some travelling distance from Copenhagen. Given that the cooperation with Grundfos was initiated at a later stage in the data collection process, I asked my contact in Grundfos whether it would be possible to visit the company's headquarters for a two-day stay, and conduct a number of interviews while I was there. This was made possible thanks to generous support from one of the communication department's secretaries who helped me arrange the visit and get in touch with a number of relevant people in the company. During my visit to Bjerringbro 19-20 September 2013, I met with a total of eight informants at Grundfos' facilities – two of these interviews were conducted in meeting rooms located in Grundfos' production halls, which means I was able to observe how Grundfos' highly technical products are made and get an impression of the work environment in the company's production. I have later conducted telephone interviews with three informants who I was unable to meet with during the two-day stay. Although telephone interviews are often perceived to be of lower quality – Aquilino (1994, p. 212) for example states that 'The absence of nonverbal communication in the telephone medium results in greater social distance between interviewer and respondent than in face-to-face communication' – there is a definite logistic advantage in conducting them (Rhode, Lewinsohn, & Seeley, 1997). Hence, in cases where it was difficult to arrange a physical meeting, telephone interviews were used instead.

When spending time in the case companies to conduct interviews, I deliberately tried to accommodate to the people who were hosting me. For example, if the interviewees invited me for lunch, I would always accept and take the time to socialise in more informal settings. However, if the informants were busy with their normal tasks, I would of course respect this and look after myself in between the interviews.

After each company visit, I would write down my observations in a notebook, which I kept for future reference. These notes primarily contained company-specific information that had come to my knowledge during the visits or my own reflections about things I felt could be of relevance. One observation after visiting e.g. Saxo Bank could be 'Saxo Bank has an in-house TV studio which they use for market commentary and filming town hall meetings held by the management'.

As a final note it may be worth emphasising that the present study does not make use of participant observation. Rather, the motivation behind the company visits was to observe the physical facilities of the companies and get a first-hand idea of the company setting and the interviewees' context. Visiting the companies also allowed me to carry out interviewees face-to-face, which will be discussed next.

3.3.3 Interviews

Interview data represent an important source of data in all the case companies. As mentioned above, I conducted introductory meetings with three of the case companies during the autumn of 2012. The meetings were held at the companies' headquarters in Copenhagen (Saxo Bank and Nordea (Danish headquarters)) and in Bredebro, Jutland (ECCO) with informants working with or involved with language and/or communication-related activities in the company. In addition to providing valuable information about the company in general and its language situation in particular, the introductory meetings were also a way of establishing contact, and the meetings were therefore conducted in a relatively informal setting without the use of a tape recorder. I took notes during the meetings which were organised, rewritten and turned into a structured summary shortly after the meetings were over.

I have conducted 46 interviews in total (including introductory meetings) with 42 informants in the four case companies collectively (an overview of informants is provided in Table 3, and a summary of the distribution of informants is provided in Table 4, see Appendix 2). On three occasions the meetings were held with two informants at the same time, as is evident from Table 3. The interviewees were identified by a snowballing/chain sampling strategy (cf. Patton, 2002, p. 237), where I asked the contact persons and the persons I interviewed to help put me in touch with colleagues in particular business areas, for example in the company's communication department, HR department, etc. In this way I tried to maintain some control over who the informants suggested as interviewees, although the suggestion in the end was based on the informant and his/her network in the company.

Before I started conducting interviews and approaching potential respondents, I found it useful to make a general distinction between two main groups of informants. I labelled these two groups of informants 'key informants' (cf. Kumar, Stern, & Anderson, 1993) and 'role informants' (cf. Walker & Enticott, 2004), based on the type of data I expected these interviews to generate. Firstly, as described by Kumar et al. (1993, p. 1635) 'Key informants are usually chosen on the basis of their formal roles in an organization'. In my study, key informants are identified as managers and key employees working with language or communication, either directly as part of a communications team or department, or indirectly

through the nature of their job position. A central part of this project is to investigate how language and linguistic diversity can be efficiently managed through the deployment of various language management tools, which is reflected in the second research question. As language management tools have been defined as emanating from the corporate level (excluding emergent solutions at the front-line), RQ2 'departs' from a managerial point of view, hence, it was necessary to talk to the people in charge of or involved in the process of designing, planning or implementing various language management tools. Organisational members who are in a position to carry such language management activities can be seen as 'language managers' (Spolsky, 2009, p. 4; cf. section 2.2.2), and key informants with regard to language management. In addition to the 'language managers', I also identified the people who indirectly work with language management in some form, for example HR consultants, as key informants.

Furthermore, I found it necessary to conduct interviews with 'normal' employees who have not been involved in carrying out language management activities, as they are the ones who ultimately have to work under and follow the language strategies in practice. These respondents can be considered role informants (Walker & Enticott, 2004), as they were interviewed about their language practices, and how language management affects their daily work-life. Unlike the key informants who are interviewed about language management as a topic of investigation, the role informants are interviewed primarily about how they experience the company's language management or lack thereof. When searching for role informants, I deliberately tried to recruit employees in different business areas in order to allow for comparison of interview data across organisational units, which is a form of sampling strategy that offers the possibility of 'unit triangulation' (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 2004; Piekkari et al., 2009).

Combining the perspectives of key and role informants provides the opportunity to examine the relationship between *de facto* and *de jure* language policy – a relationship previous research suggests may not always turn out the way corporate decision makers initially had planned (cf. section 2.3.4.5). However, on that note it may worth emphasising that the present study relies on reported practice from both key and role informants, that is, informants' own account of how and in what language they communicate (cf. King & De Fina, 2010). Reported language practices can constitute a method bias if these are not consistent with actual language practices, but as stated by Björkman, Barner-Rasmussen and Li (2004, p. 453) the bias may be addressed by asking follow-up questions during the interview. Comparing interview data from different informants is also a way of limiting the risk of inaccuracy, thus improving the credibility of the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, pp. 236-240; Symon & Cassell, 2012, p. 212) or internal validity in positivistic terminology (Yin, 2009, pp. 41-42).

It should be made clear that the division of key and role informants does not correspond to organisational ranking. In Grundfos for example, respondent Grundfos_6, Personal assistant, is identified as a key informant, as this person played an important part in the formulation of the company's formal language policy. In comparison, respondent Grundfos_8, Senior vice president is identified as a role informant, as this person was interviewed primarily about language use within the business area he is in

charge of, and not language management as such. Still, the two categories of key and role informants were not mutually exclusive in the actual interview situation – for example, I interviewed three translators in Nordea, and these key informants also knew a lot about language practices in the company, as the majority of internal mass communication is translated by the translation department.

The total number of interviews was seen as sufficient when the interviews yielded little new information on the topic of investigation. The point of saturation was achieved at different stages in the four case companies, which to some extent can be seen in relation to the company's handling of language and communication issues. In particular, out of the four case companies, ECCO stands out as a case where a lot was going on in the area of language and communication while I was collecting data on this company. I decided to address this by conducting a follow-up interview approximately 1.5 years after my last visit to the company's headquarters, to find out whether the communication department's efforts in this area had been successful (to be discussed in section 5.2 and 8.1.2). ECCO thus constitutes a special situation, as the point of saturation was achieved at earlier stages in the three other cases, which overall displayed more 'stable' language management practices.

The majority of interviews were conducted in the companies' office location either in Copenhagen (Saxo Bank; Nordea), Stockholm (Nordea), Bredebro (ECCO) and Bjerringbro (Grundfos), where I had asked the interviewees to book a meeting room prior to the interview. On a few occasions it was difficult to organise a physical meeting, and in those cases the interviews were conducted over the phone, as previously mentioned (see Table 3). Furthermore, one interviewee often worked from home and invited me to his house to do the interview there, and another interviewee preferred to meet with me after working hours and we met in a café in central Copenhagen. One informant also came to my office in Frederiksberg for the interview, which the informant suggested himself as it turned out that he lived close to Copenhagen Business School.

At the time when I formalised the cooperation with the case companies (early autumn 2012 for ECCO, Nordea, and Saxo Bank; autumn 2013 for Grundfos), I made a confidentiality agreement which was signed by me and my primary supervisor and emailed as a pdf file to the contact persons in the companies. An example of one of these agreements is enclosed in Appendix 3. Furthermore, I asked the majority of interviewees to sign a consent form, stating that that they agreed to participate in the project, and granting the permission to record their participation (enclosed in Appendix 4). However, I did not find it necessary to ask the contact persons in the case companies to sign the consent form, as these meetings were based on a verbal agreement and an informed consent to contribute to the project (Kvale & Brinkman, 2009, pp. 70-72). There were also a few occasions where the interviews appeared spontaneously when I was 'on site' in the companies' facilities and in those cases the interviews were also conducted on the basis of informed consents. These interviews were unstructured, i.e. they were carried out as a conversation (Moore, 2011) without the use of the tape recorder, but with me carefully taking notes of what was being said.

All pre-arranged interviews were semi-structured, which allowed for the possibility to follow up and explore interesting issues that came up during the interview (Kvale, 2007, p. 51). Since the respondents came from different backgrounds and worked in different areas of the case companies, I would often prepare a separate list of open-ended questions for each individual. Normally, I would ask the same type of questions to informants in similar job functions across the case companies, for instance when interviewing employees in a communication department, I would ask questions about the company's language policy (where these existed), the organisational structure of the department, and whether the company made use of any language-related tools (language management tools). An example of an interview guide prepared for a communication professional can be found in Appendix 5a (in Norwegian).

Appendix 5b contains an interview guide for an interview which I conducted with an HR professional in one of the case companies' HR department. The motivation for meeting with this informant was to gain insight into language-sensitive recruitment and other language-related concerns on HR issues, which is reflected in the interview questions. In the same way I would develop interview guides for role informants dependent on their position in the company and their job tasks, which often were be based on information I had obtained from other informants during previous interviews (cf. Maxwell's, 2012, interactive model of research design described above). For example, when interviewing a CSR consultant in one of the case companies, the interview guide could look like Appendix 5c (in Norwegian). In comparison, an interview with an international employee would look like Appendix 5d. I deliberately altered and adjusted the interview questions in this way to accommodate to the different professional backgrounds of informants, and to allow for a flexible and 'informant-sensitive' interview situation.

Although the interview questions differed somewhat between informants, the questions were always formulated with reference to the research questions adopted in this study. All informants were for example asked about their use of different language management tools, cf. RQ2 (although I avoided this term, and would rather ask e.g. 'have you been offered any form of language training?'). Concerning the first research question, emphasising the role of the company's context, this was covered through different context-related questions, for example with regard to the informant's typical communication patterns in the organisation. In comparison to RQ2, which is formulated in a rather descriptive way, the interview questions connected to RQ1 were typically more indirect. For instance, 'how would you describe the corporate culture of the company?' is a question (cf. RQ1) that opens up for more interpretation from the researcher than a question about language training (cf. RQ2).

I had prepared a short introduction to the project which I asked my contact persons and interviewees to distribute to potential interview candidates. I wrote this introduction to inform about the project and to recruit interviewees to the study (enclosed in Appendix 6). On a few occasions informants who had been recruited through the 'selective snowballing' sampling strategy described above would

contact me prior to the interview and ask to have a look at the questions before the actual meeting. In these cases I would email the questions to the informant in advance, and the interview guides in Appendix 5 show two examples (5a and 5b) of my response to such requests.

Furthermore, the majority of informants were also asked a number of background questions at the beginning of the interview, where I enquired about their age, educational background, tenure in the company, etc. Having some basic information about the informants and their backgrounds was often an advantage when analysing the interview data, as this information could help explain the respondents' answers, for example in relation to the persons' educational background, or whether he/she had international work experience. The interview protocol is enclosed in Appendix 7, and a summary of the informants' background information generated by this interview protocol is provided in Table 5 and 6 (Appendix 2).

3.3.3.1 Interviewing as inter-viewing

'An interview is literally an inter-view', Kvale (2007, p. 5) observes, and continues: 'an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of common interest'. In line with the critical realist perspective, I too acknowledge the role of the researcher and the researcher's subjectivity as an important consideration in the interview situation. I agree with Maxwell (2012, p. 100), who states that 'The relationships that the researcher creates with the participants in the research are real phenomena; they shape the context within which the research is conducted, and have a profound influence on the research and its results'. It is exactly for this reason that the interview questions sometimes are included when presenting interview data, when the informants' replies must be seen as a direct response to these questions (cf. Alvesson, 2003, pp. 168-171).

I also acknowledge that I as an interviewer may have affected respondents' replies in ways other than through the actual interview questions, body language, etc. When analysing the interview data in NVivo (cf. section 3.4) I recognised some examples of such instances, which I coded under two codes 'comments about interview situation' and 'comments about interviewer'. With regard to the first category, one thing I observed first hand was how differently interviewees could react to the interview setting and the experience of being interviewed. For example, one informant who had been recruited by another informant to take part in a joint meeting with me entered the meeting room five minutes after the meeting had started, sat down, and stated 'can someone please tell me what I'm doing here?' In complete contrast, I also experienced interviewees who appeared to be slightly nervous, and one informant, for instance, interrupted himself in the middle of a sentence to ask: 'is it ok what I'm saying?'. Clearly, responding to these very different types of informant behaviour requires two very different types of interview style – one professional, slightly firm interview style with the purpose of coming across as a highly competent researcher, and one gentle, more fun interview style with the purpose of making the interviewee feel comfortable. Either way, the overall goal of all interviews is of course to make the

informant open up and provide rich and informative interview data.

Another issue that came up during the interview situation was the question of confidentiality. As is evident from the confidentiality agreement and consent form that the interviewees signed prior to the interview (Appendices 3 and 4), informants were promised that all confidential information that would come to my knowledge during the data collection would be treated accordingly. During the interview situation, two informants commented on this with regard to something they had just said:

> […] and now that I have signed that [consent] form, you are of course very attentive to that this is something that won't come out.

> […] and I have never said that, so you are not going to quote me on that, but that's just the way it is.

In both of these cases the informants entrusted me with confidential information, while at the same time pointing out that this was something I was not allowed to include in the thesis – which I of course respect.

In addition to commenting on the interview situation, informants would occasionally also make comments about me as the interviewer. In search for rich, contextualised interview data, the interviews would always start off with some background questions, both with regard to the informants, as mentioned above, but also with regard to the business area and job responsibilities of the informant. Some interviewees found this peculiar, and one informant in one of the case companies' CSR departments, for example, commented that 'you have asked a lot about CSR, but it's not really CSR you are interested in, is it?'. Another informant jokingly replied to one of my 'contextualised' questions: 'What is it that your PhD is about again?' Although these comments were both directed at me in particular, they still point to one important observation: the extent to which language pertains the companies' activities and operations – whether I interviewed informants in a finance department or CSR department or any other department, they all had something to say about language, which corresponds to Welch et al.'s (2005, p. 11) statement that language is 'the essence of international business'.

Another thing that informants occasionally commented on was my Norwegian language background. This is understandable, given that the present study is a study about *language* – hence, the fact that many of the informants were interviewed in a foreign language (Norwegian) did relate to many of the issues that they were being interviewed about. This will be further discussed in section 3.3.3.2, focusing on cross-language interviewing.

Finally, in line with the recommendations provided by Patton (2002, p. 331), I have chosen to include a number of excerpts from the interview data in the empirical chapters, in order to 'capture participants' view of their experiences in their own words', underpinned by Tracy's (2010, p. 840)

mantra: ‘show rather than tell’. Having said that, the researcher naturally plays an active role in the process of selecting which of the informants’ ‘words’ that are ‘shown’, i.e. presented as interview data in the final report. When selecting quotes and excerpts for presentation, I lean on Miles and Hubermann’s (1994, pp. 91-92) philosophy that ‘Valid analysis requires, and is driven by, displays that are focused enough to permit a viewing of a full data set […], and are arranged systematically to answer the research questions at hand’. In the present study, the systematic approach to displaying interview data is largely based on the extensive NVivo coding system, which will be discussed in section 3.4.

3.3.3.2 Cross-language interviewing

Chidlow, Plakoyiannaki, and Welch (2014), Marschan-Piekkari and Reis (2004), Welch and Piekkari (2006) and Xian (2008) emphasise that cross-language interviewing should be treated as a methodological concern. As is evident from Table 3, many informants in the present study spoke Danish, and a few Swedish, while I, as a native Norwegian speaker, spoke Norwegian, making the interviews truly pan-Scandinavian. I have lived in Denmark for several years while doing my PhD, and I have also lived and worked in Stockholm for six months and in Helsinki for three months, which means I feel relatively comfortable with these three Scandinavian languages. Even if I don’t speak Danish or Swedish myself, I consciously adapt my Norwegian when talking to Danes, Swedes, and Swedish-speaking Finns to avoid words that may be misunderstood in the other language (what Giles & Coupland, 1991, p. 27 would call ‘linguistic convergence’ as a function of interpersonal accommodation tactics). Yet, as documented by the following two examples, my Norwegian language background was occasionally commented on by informants (both excerpts translated from Danish):

> I’ll talk slowly now, I may speed up a bit, but it’s so that you are able to understand what I’m saying afterwards.

> The work situation is actually different when you are working in English […] because in Danish you have all these subtle details [in Danish: ‘underfundigheder’] – is it also called that in Norwegian?

I would always ask the informants what language they preferred to do the interview in before starting to ask the interview questions. Most informants preferred to do the interview in their native language, which according to Welch and Piekkari (2006, p. 428) is beneficial in the sense that interviewees usually express themselves better in their native language. However, three native Scandinavian-speakers communicated that they preferred to do the interview in English, and there are reasons to believe that this was at least partly prompted by the fact that I spoke Norwegian. As one native Swedish-speaker stated: ‘I think it’s better in English otherwise I may misunderstand you’.

Overall, the combination of Scandinavian language use between me as the interviewer and the Danish and Swedish-speaking informants went very well. In the few situations misinterpretations or misapprehensions did occur, these were quickly addressed either by me or the interviewees asking clarifying follow-up questions.

After the meetings and interviews had been conducted, they were transcribed in the original interview language and all interview data were subsequently analysed in the original interview language. This allowed me to maintain all the details and nuances of the data throughout the analysis, and it also released me from a major translation task. Thus, the translation from Scandinavian into English took place at the final stage of the research process when reporting on the interview data (Marschan-Piekkari & Reis, 2004). When writing up the thesis, the translation of data from Scandinavian to English was conducted by me, and when in doubt, I consulted a native Danish or Swedish speaker. Given the vast amount of data included in this study I have chosen not to include the original language quotes, but a number of examples of translations from Danish/Swedish into English can be found in Appendix 8, which is an overview of nodes used in NVivo (to be discussed in section 3.4.2).

Furthermore, when reporting on interview data in the empirical chapters, I will refer to the informant ID and refrain from stating explicitly in each case whether the quote has been translated or not, as this information is available in Table 3. Note that all interview data have been analysed solely by content. Note also that repetitions, false starts and minor syntactic and grammatical errors have been corrected in the interview data for ease of reading – so called 'silent editing', cf. Farkas and Poltrock (1996). Non-relevant personal information about informants has been omitted or altered.

3.4 Data analysis

3.4.1 Preparing for data analysis

The majority of interviews were recorded, although as stated in section 3.3.2, the introductory meetings and some more informal meetings were not (see Table 3). In these cases I would write an extensive summary based on the notes I had taken during the meeting shortly after the meeting was over. All recorded interviews were transcribed by me using the software program 'Sound Organizer', which came with the purchase of the digital recorder (Sony IC recorder). Once I had transcribed all interviews (except for the last follow-up interview in February 2015), I decided that I wanted to go through the recordings again, as I felt that I had not been able to fully appreciate the data while transcribing it. I therefore listened through the recordings one more time as a quality control, while checking the accuracy of the interview transcripts.

All summaries of meetings and interview transcripts were written in Microsoft Word format and stored on my computer in four different folders, one for each case company. The majority of written documentation that I received from the companies (cf. section 3.3.1) was sent to me via email by my informants, and this documentation was stored in the same folder, according to case company. The

documentation I obtained in hard-copy format was kept in physical folders – to make sure I didn't mix these up I kept four folders in different colours, i.e. ECCO's folder was red; Grundfos' green; Nordea's blue; and Saxo Bank's yellow. I subsequently scanned all important hard-copy documentation to turn it into pdf-files (e.g. I scanned Grundfos' language policy, but not the brochure I received about their CSR programme, which I considered to be of secondary importance), which allowed me to store all the data electronically.

The next step was to import all electronic data into the qualitative data analysis software NVivo (version 10 for Windows), which I have used consistently for data analysis since May 2014. I made four folders under 'Sources' in NVivo, one for each case company, and with two subfolders – one for interviews/meetings and one for documents – in the same way that I had stored the data on my computer during the data collection. Before undertaking the NVivo analysis, I participated in an NVivo training workshop in Copenhagen 26-27 May 2014 which was organised by the provider of NVivo, Alfasoft. This workshop helped me familiarise myself with NVivo and improved my understanding of how I could use the software for my own project. I was also able to consult the instructor in the afternoon sessions, where we had time to work with our own data, and I greatly benefited from this input on how to structure my NVivo project optimally. I received a comprehensive NVivo workbook at the workshop, with step-by-step guidelines on how to make use of the software, which I have consulted actively throughout the analysis. In addition to this practical NVivo guide, I have also found Bazeley's (2013) and Bazeley and Jackson's (2013) hands-on recommendations for qualitative data analysis in NVivo helpful for understanding the theoretical rationale behind the different features in NVivo.

3.4.2 Developing nodes in NVivo

Coding constitutes an important part of analysing qualitative data. As described by Miles and Hubermann (1994, p. 56): 'Codes are tags or labels for assigning units of meanings to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study'. In NVivo, the codes one uses to store coded text are called 'nodes' (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013, p. 17). The very first nodes I developed in NVivo may be referred to as 'theoretical nodes' (also commonly referred to as 'a priori codes' in the literature; cf. Patton, 2002; Strauss, 1987), as these were largely based on knowledge generated from the theory. The literature review presented in Chapter 2 has been written in various stages as working papers throughout my PhD studies, which means I had already developed the language management tool taxonomy (Table 1) when I started working on the data analysis in NVivo. For this reason it was natural to make nodes corresponding to the various language management tools, e.g. I made one node for 'language training', as I knew I wanted to look for language training when I started analysing the data. However, a problem quickly arose when I realised how much data the node 'Language training' came to encompass. Consequently, I decided to split this node into three: 'Language training English' (i.e. English language training for employees); 'Language training Scandinavian' (i.e. Danish/Norwegian/Swedish/language

training for employees); and ‘Language training other’ (i.e. language training for employees in languages other than English or Scandinavian languages). A complete list of nodes used in this project, including a description of what the node contains and examples from interview data, is presented in Appendix 8.

I also developed a number of nodes based on the interview guides and questions which I had prepared for the interviewees. For example, one of the things I had asked the international employees (non-native Scandinavian) was how they had been recruited and whether or not they had discussed the language situation – not being able to speak a Scandinavian language – in the recruitment process. From the literature review I had already developed a node called ‘selective recruitment’ (cf. section 2.4.2.5), but I realised I needed a code specifically for the recruitment process, hence, the node ‘recruitment process’ occurred.

Finally, the data itself also gave rise to the development of several nodes. For example, one thing I became aware of when visiting the companies and talking to the informants was the importance of the companies’ intranet as the main channel for mass communication. I therefore decided to make a separate node for ‘Intranet’ rather than grouping information on this topic under ‘Communication channels’. Like Marschan (1996, p. 59), I also started to code a small number of interview transcripts – about 15 – to develop a preliminary list of nodes in addition to the theoretically-driven nodes and nodes developed from my own interview preparations. I started with some of the richest interview transcripts in terms of number of pages and content, and I also examined a selection of different interviews, i.e. key and role informants in different business areas. This was done deliberately in order to generate a wide range of preliminary codes. Once I had coded the first 15 interview transcripts, I started over again with the first ones and reorganised the coding of these transcripts according to the new coding system. Fortunately, at this point in the process I had become very familiar with the data – in fact, having carefully examined the interview transcripts while listening to the interview recordings, as described in section 3.4.1 had made me sympathetic to Smith (2002, p. 931) who describes her data analysis as a ‘visceral experience’ where she ‘lived and breathed the cases’. Having this closeness to the data was greatly advantageous whenever I discovered a topic which I felt was ‘nodeworthy’ (Marshall, 2002, p. 67), that is, something which deserved its own node. When making a new node, I could often out of memory remember other text passages in the data set where that node should be applied.

To make sure I hadn’t miscoded or overlooked important passages, I looked through all interview transcripts/meeting summaries again once I had finished coding all the documents. As recommended by Bazeley and Jackson (2007, p. 88) I colour-marked all sources yellow after the first round of coding, to keep track of my coding progress. These colour marks were subsequently changed to green after the second check-up round. Still, only minor changes were made at this stage as I had continuously revised the codes and coded data material throughout the coding process, and this second round therefore primarily served as a quality check.

Although I had imported all empirical data into NVivo as described in section 3.4.1, I decided to only code the interview transcripts/meeting summaries, and leave the written documentation as separate files (still within NVivo). I felt that it would complicate rather than simplify the data analysis if I coded e.g. Nordea's and Grundfos' entire language policy document under the node 'Language policy formalised', given that these are extensive documents (especially Grundfos' language policy, cf. section 8.1.1). Hence, it made more sense to open these documents separately when they were needed for triangulation purposes. NVivo creates reports based on the coded data under each node, so when opening the node 'Language policy formalised – Grundfos' (cf. section 3.4.3 on node hierarchy) NVivo would generate a report which would be displayed as a separate 'window' showing all the data that had been coded in this node. If needed I could open the actual language policy documents in a separate 'window' next to the window that contained the aggregated interview data, which still allowed for an easy comparison between the interview data and the policy document. I found this to be a more systematic way of handling and triangulating the data, and decided to distinguish between interview data and company-specific documents throughout the data analysis. In this way I was attentive to the different characteristics of the collected data (Flick, 2009, p. 449); whereas interview transcripts usually contain large quantities of unstructured qualitative data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, pp. 27-32), the contents of written documentation such as language policies are a lot easier to access.

3.4.3 The coding system

When I first started coding the data I consistently used two hierarchical levels of nodes: a thematic node as the 'parent node' in NVivo's terminology – which corresponds to level 2 coding – and under this node, the company-specific nodes as 'child nodes' – i.e. level 1 codes (Hahn, 2008; QSR International, 2012, p. 240). This hierarchical division was natural given the fact that the present study consists of four case companies, and it made sense to organise the codes according to the case companies to allow for strong within-case analyses. It may be worth mentioning that a parent node also can be opened to display the content of all its child nodes. The parent node 'Company-specific language' for example contains four child nodes: 'Company-specific language ECCO'; 'Company-specific language Grundfos'; 'Company-specific language Nordea'; 'Company-specific language Saxo Bank'. All four company-specific nodes contain data exclusively from the particular firm, but the parent node 'Company-specific language' can also be opened to display coded data from all four cases in the same node.

When I had finished coding the data, I had 102 level 2 nodes in my NVivo project. All level 2 and level 1 nodes combined amounted to 498 nodes in total. I consulted the literature for inspiration on how to proceed with the data analysis at this stage, and I was fascinated with Smith's (2002) report on her sensemaking experience (also mentioned in the above section). While Smith's (2002, p. 383) describes her data analysis as a '7-year journey', my time frame was considerably shorter, and I decided to visualise my nodes by writing them down on 102 pieces of paper, one for each level 2 node, and stick

these up on my office wall in an attempt to find an aggregated level of nodes. This was part of a process that Corbin and Strauss (1990, p. 14) refer to as 'selective coding': 'the process by which *all* categories are unified under a 'core' category'. In other words; I was searching for these core categories to establish the level 3 nodes, thus, moving towards a higher level of abstraction (Bryman & Bell, 2003, p. 8; Corbin & Strauss; 1990; Corley & Gioia, 2004).

I approached the task inductively by carefully reviewing the nodes and clustering them together according to common topics. I had, for example, a number of nodes on the topic of language policy, and these were grouped together alongside the nodes 'Communication policy' and 'Style and writing guidelines' under the common heading 'Language and communication policies'. I also applied deductive logics by consulting the literature review and the language management tool taxonomy in particular. For example, the level 3 node 'Emergent language management tools' as discussed in section 2.4.3 came to encompass the level 2 node 'Collegial language tools', which was identified in the literature as an important form of everyday language assistance at the front-line level. I continued with this strategy of clustering nodes until I had organised the 102 level 2 nodes into 16 level 3 nodes. The number of level 2 nodes was also reduced by two in this process, as I discovered some overlap when looking at the coding system with fresh eyes.

The majority of nodes were relatively easy to group together with other nodes, but there were also a few nodes that I felt more uncertain of. To allow myself some time to think about these nodes, I made space for a separate category of nodes on my office wall, which I called 'Outliers'. Two of these outliers were the nodes 'CSR' – which contained data about the companies' corporate social responsibility programmes – and 'IT' – which contained data about the companies' use of IT and IT support. At the same time, I worked on specifying the coding scheme which I had exported to a word format, i.e. the overview of nodes presented in Appendix 8, and I forced myself to be very clear on the content of each node by formulating explicit definitions. During this process, I came to the conclusion that the two outliers belonged to the level 3 node 'Language and communication areas', as I realised that it is the language and communication practices within these two areas that are of interest to my project, not the existence of CSR or IT-related data in general. Hence, the definition of the node 'CSR' was rewritten to: 'Language and communication practices within the area of corporate social responsibility'; and 'IT': 'Language and communication practices in relation to IT and IT support'. This experience reminded me of how important it is to use clear and appropriate definitions when carrying out selective coding (cf. Fies & Marshall, 2008).

It follows from the previous discussion that the present study makes use of three levels of codes (i.e. NVivo nodes), which largely corresponds to the coding paradigm presented by Corbin and Strauss (1990) which draws a distinction between (a) open coding, i.e. level 1; (b) axial coding, i.e. level 2; and (c) selective coding, i.e. level 3. The three levels can be explained in the following way: Level 1 nodes are the company-specific nodes, which makes it possible to organise data according to the case

companies; Level 2 nodes are focused category codes (cf. Yin, 2011) that have emerged from three sources; theory, interview guides, and the data itself; Level 3 nodes can be described as clusters of codes or major themes, i.e. selective coding in Corbin and Strauss' (1990, p. 14) terminology. It may be worth to add a clarifying comment with regard to the relationship between the level 1 and 2 nodes, given that the distinction between these levels is primarily made for pragmatic reasons and not on the basis of conceptual considerations. All level 2 nodes may in fact be described as aggregated level 1 nodes, as the only difference between level 1 and level 2 nodes is that the first nodes are limited to one of the case companies, whereas level 2 nodes contain data from all four case companies at the same time. This may be seen as a potential weakness of the coding system – however, when commenting on the relationship between axial (level 2) and open (level 1) coding, Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 198) make the following statement, which also is relevant in the context of the present study:

> In previous editions of this book there was mention of something called axial coding. In the 2nd edition, axial coding (the act of relating concepts/categories to each other) was presented as a separate chapter as though it occurred separately from open coding (breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data). But […] open coding and axial coding go hand in hand. The distinctions made between the two types of coding are 'artificial' and for explanatory purposes only.

With this clarification from Corbin and Strauss (2008), I feel confident about applying level 2 nodes for 'explanatory purposes only'.

Finally, it may be worth pointing out that the number of level 1 nodes varies somewhat with respect to different level 2 nodes dependent on the two parameters 'industry sector' and 'degree of language management', on the basis of which the case companies were selected. For example, as is evident from Figure 4, the level 2 node 'Employee mobility', which is grouped under the level 3 node 'HR issues', contains four level 1 nodes, one for each of the case companies. In comparison, the level 2 node 'FIN employees branch', which contains statements about financial sector employees working in the branch area, is only applicable to the two financial service companies, Nordea and Saxo Bank. Consequently, this level 2 node only contains two level 1 nodes.

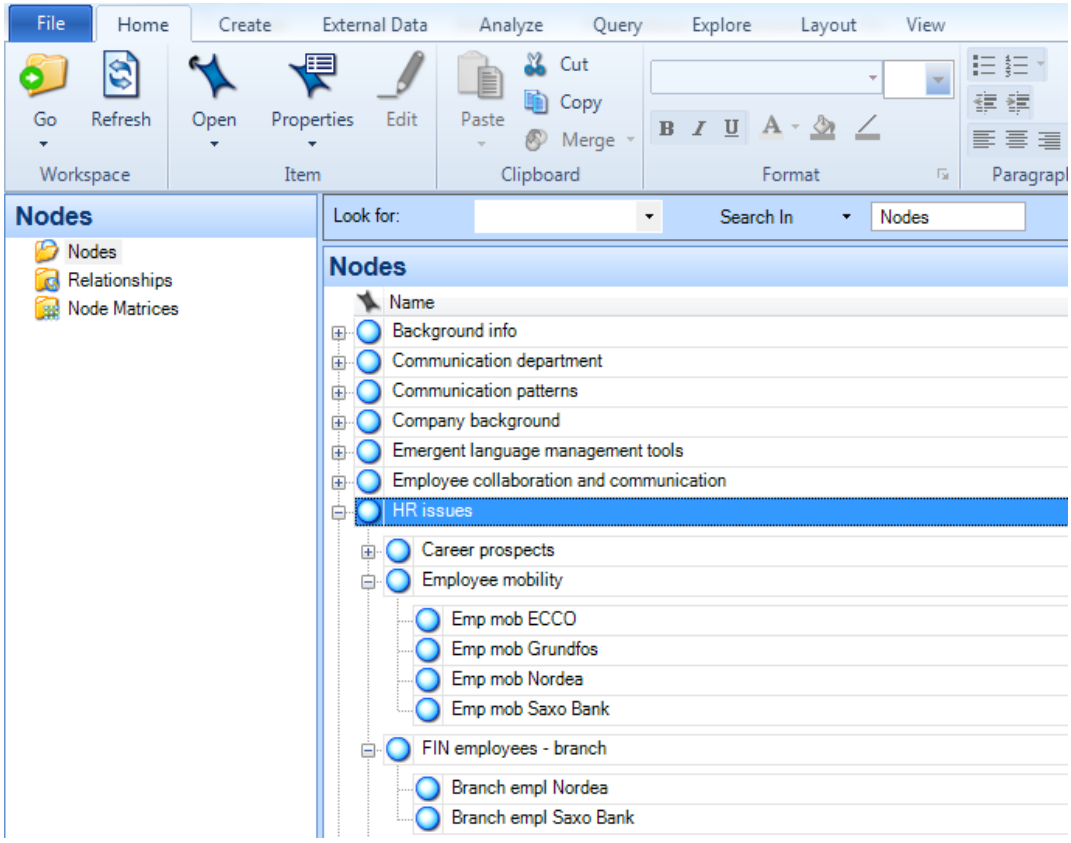

Figure 4 NVivo print screen

In total, the coding scheme for this project consists of 16 level 3 nodes; 100 level 2 nodes; and 378 level 1 nodes. This makes the total number of nodes: (level 1 + level 2 + level 3) = (16 + 100 + 378) = 494. In Appendix 8 the 16 level 3 nodes have been grouped into three categories: (a) Background information that lies outside the scope of the data analysis; (b) Nodes that are relevant to research question 1; and (c) Nodes that are relevant to research question 2. These categories indicate where the contents of the different nodes are utilised, i.e. nodes in category (b) constitute the basis for the empirical Chapters 4 and 5, which answer RQ1, while the nodes in category (c) constitute the basis for the empirical Chapters 7 and 8, which answer RQ2.

3.5 Company verification

On the basis of the empirical chapters, I developed four case narratives that contained data exclusively from each of the case companies. These case narratives were sent to my contact person in the case companies for approval and factual verification. In two of the companies my initial contact person had left the company, and the case narrative was instead sent to one of the other key informants I had been in contact with during the data collection.

With regard to individual informants, I did not find it necessary to send all 46 interview transcripts

back to the informants for verification. This would have been a major administrative task and previous studies question the usefulness of this practice. Marschan (1996, p. 58), for instance, asks 'how many questionnaires in large surveys are sent back to the respondent with an accompanying letter asking the respondent to check whether he or she has selected the right answer?' However, I made an exception for one informant who had talked about issues involving other colleagues, and since some of these issues could be considered delicate, I decided to let the person read through the case narrative and remove parts of the interview data he/she did not feel comfortable with, before sending it to the contact person in that company. A few minor adjustments were made based on this informant's feedback.

3.6 Concluding remarks

This is a case study that aims to provide a rich explanation of how sector effects influence language management in four Scandinavian MNCs. As a conclusion to this methodology chapter, it may be worth saying a few words about quality criteria for qualitative research. I will do so by referring to the critical realist-advocate Ragin (1992, p. 218) who introduced the term 'casing'. According to Ragin, cases should not be seen as empirical units but 'as the products of basic research operations' (p. 218), which means that 'cases often must be delimited or found in the course of research' (p. 220). In line with Ragin's argument it is clear that the boundaries of the present study have been spatially and temporally defined by the researcher; rather than focusing on a single case company, the boundaries of this case are set around the industry sector.

It is important to emphasise that the purpose of this study is not to generalise findings to a wider population. Thus, the four case companies are not seen as representatives of all financial service and manufacturing companies in statistical sense. 'Casing' as a research tactic can therefore be coupled to Symon and Cassell's (2012) discussion on naturalistic criteria (in contrast to positivist criteria) for qualitative research. By drawing on the work of Guba and Lincoln (1989, p. 241), who state that 'Transferability may be thought of as parallel to external validity or generalizability', Symon and Cassell (2012, p. 207) write that 'rather than trying to demonstrate that the results generalize to other contexts, the researcher provides enough detail about the specific research case […] that the reader can judge what other (similar) contexts […] may be informed by the findings.' This also applies to the present case study.

4 Language and communication in financial service companies

In response to the first research question, this chapter will present empirical findings from the two financial service companies, Nordea and Saxo Bank. Specifically, this chapter will focus on the relationship between issues of language and communication on the one side and the company context on the other side, in an attempt to answer RQ 1a: How is the context reflected in the way language is managed in the two financial service companies? The chapter contains three main parts: firstly, a within-case analysis of Nordea, secondly, a within-case analysis of Saxo Bank, and thirdly, a cross-case analysis of Nordea and Saxo Bank.

4.1 Within-case analysis Nordea

4.1.1 Company background

4.1.1.1 Company history

Nordea is one of the leading financial services groups in the Nordic and Baltic countries. The group has existed in its present form since 2000, when it was formed as a merger between several independent banks across the Nordic region. Yet, Nordea is a company with a long-standing history, as it includes some 300 banks which have been merged into the Nordea group over the years, the oldest of these national branches having roots that reach back to 1820 (Björkman et al., 2003; Nordea, 2014). The company's historical background is something informants are strongly aware about, as illustrated by the following two statements:

(1) Nordea is a corporation which consists of a thousand small companies. We have this really big chart when you come to Oslo in Norway, where you can see all the different banks that have merged into Nordea, and it's huge, it's a like a whole wall.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(2) Nordea is not really one bank, but it's basically a modulation, a merger of so many different banks that have brought their own working practices.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

When asked about the connection between the history of the company and the company's language policy, one translator, who took part in developing the policy, gives the following account:

(3) It was clear that we were four Nordic countries when we merged, or that four countries were represented, one of which was Finnish, which meant that we could not understand each other, language-wise, so we had to have a common language, it could have been Swedish, or Danish, but

> the problem is that Finns don't understand Danish, and, honestly, there were too many challenges associated with it, so there was only one obvious solution, which was that English became our common corporate language. Also – there was a background story to it, because MeritaNordbanken, Merita Bank [Finnish bank] and Nordbanken [Swedish bank] were the first to merge, and they had already existed for a couple of years before we merged, actually, and they used Swedish as their common language, which is understandable, but it was English this time around, but it meant that they had already considered various aspects [about language], also because Finland is bilingual, there are some challenges related to language, you can't just merge and think that everything is going to be fine, we knew that language was something we had to decide on, and we knew we had to find a way to handle all of these language issues in the company.
> -Nordea_1, Translator

In this excerpt informant Nordea_1 talks about a merger between a Swedish and a Finnish bank which happened a few years prior to the 2000 merger. At the time it was one of the largest mergers ever to take place between a Swedish and a Finnish company, measured in terms of revenue and number of personnel involved (Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005). The new, merged bank, MeritaNordbanken, one of the forerunners to present-day Nordea, decided to implement Swedish as their common corporate language. Swedish is the national language of Sweden, and together with Finnish an official language in Finland, which is a bilingual country (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2004). The use of Swedish as the working language of the company may have been a pragmatic decision made by the top management, however, the Swedish language policy soon became a highly political issue internally in the group, as it favoured the Swedish-speaking Finns at the expense of the Finnish-speaking Finns. The language policy also seemed to evoke feelings related to the post-colonial history of the two nations, where Swedish was seen as a symbol of Swedish superiority, and conversely, Finnish inferiority (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005; see section 2.3.4.4).

Clearly, the company's previous history with language and communication issues was something that affected the degree of language awareness (Feely & Winslow, 2006) prior to the new Nordic merge in 2000. As the translator states in the previous excerpt: 'we knew we had to find a way to handle all of these language issues'. The company had already experienced that language could be a potentially value-laden topic. Consequently, the company's new English language policy, which will be discussed in section 7.1.1, was the result of 'that language was something we had to decide on', cf. Quote 3.

4.1.1.2 Organisational structure and operations

Nordea's group organisation follows a matrix structure divided into three main business areas: Retail Banking, which offers traditional bank services to small corporate customers and households; Wholesale

Banking, which covers large corporate and institutional customers; and Wealth Management, which provides investment products to high-net-worth individual and institutional customers (Annual report 2011). Administration and support functions are partly centralised, e.g. Group Human Resources, and partly decentralised, e.g. one IT function in each business area.

This partly centralised/partly decentralised set-up is also how the company's communication department is organised, as explained by an informant working in the HR area:

(4) They [the business areas] have their own communication group, so in each division or business area they coordinate their own communication, but when it concern the Nordea communication, it is the communication department that drives that communication, both internally and externally.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

In other words, local communication specific to the respective business area will be handled by the decentralised communication unit, while corporate group-level communication will be handled by the centralised communication department. Together with the other centralised support functions, the communication department is located at the top of the organisational hierarchy. The communication department has been organised in this way since 2011:

(5) Previously, all communication, everybody that dealt with communication in Nordea was located in the [corporate] communication department. But then in connection with an organisational change that took place a couple of years ago, where they divided it up into these three very big business areas, they went in and looked at whether there was any value in having communication officers out in the business areas, because the management needed that type of daily support with regard to communication, and then the employees that were responsible for the respective areas [in the corporate function] were moved out to the business areas.
-Nordea_3, Translator

The corporate communication department consists of four geographically dispersed units, one in each of the Nordic countries Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland. Each of these country-based units employs seven communication professionals (as of March 2014): 'three employees working with external press, three employees working with internal communication, and their manager' (Nordea_4, Communication professional).

What is particularly interesting about Nordea is their in-house translation department, which – like the communication department – is a corporate group function compromising four Nordic teams. The translation department is also organisationally and physically located next to the communication department. This is seen as highly beneficial by one of the key informants:

(6) I think it is – or I don't think, I am certain that it means a lot that we are located organisationally where we are, that we're not tucked away as a peripheral function, [but rather] that we are a part of a communication department, so that we are up with them so to speak, and that we [translation] are regarded as a part of the communication, that we [Nordea] have these languages and that's why it's all interconnected. We are not an appendix.
-Nordea_1, Translator

The size of the four teams varies among the different locations, which should correspond to the number of country-specific translation requests. The smallest team is located in Oslo, Norway, and consists of two translators; the team in Stockholm, Sweden consists of four translators; the team in Copenhagen, Denmark consists of seven translators; and the team in Helsinki, Finland consists of 12 translators (as of November 2013), including three team managers (the team manager in Stockholm also manages the team in Oslo). The translation department covers the entire company, including the international offices, i.e. offices located outside of the Nordic area, but the language repertoire is limited to the four Nordic languages in addition to English. External translation agencies are used if other languages versions are needed.

The translation department translates both internal and external material. Respondent Nordea_1, Translator estimates that external communication accounts for approximately 70 % of the department's total workload and internal communication for the remaining 30 %. These numbers may vary according to the company's translation needs.

4.1.1.3 Corporate culture and identity

It is clear from the interview data that the history of the company, being a merger of several Nordic financial institutions, also affects the way in which the respondents experience the corporate culture and identity of the firm. One informant describes how employees who have been with Nordea for many years may still feel connected to the companies with which they were originally associated with, before these became part of the Nordea group:

(7) Nordea is not that old. Nordea has not existed as this big, Nordic mastodon for all that many years. Many, many colleagues in the branch area have worked in one of the banks that have been merged into becoming Nordea. Their identity is very – and you can hear people say in the corridors 'that was just like when we were in Unibank', [or] 'that was just like when we were in Privatbank'.
-Nordea_4, Communication professional

The heritage of the Nordea group also affects how employees reflect on the corporate culture of the

company. When asked to describe the corporate culture of Nordea today, one informant describes it as a 'consensus culture':

(8) Interviewer: And when you say consensus culture, what specifically do you have in mind?
Interviewee: What I mean is that we are a merger of many different banks, which makes us very cooperation-oriented, it's not like – and I'm saying something I don't know anything about, but I can imagine that in a company like Danske Bank or Mærsk, they will be a lot more like 'let's do it this way' and then they won't discuss it anymore, things aren't really up for discussion or input [from employees], whereas I think we are more cooperation-oriented and focused on creating solutions and implementing them and continuously improving them.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

Another informant in the translation department elaborates on the relationship between the history of the company and its corporate culture, where in her opinion internal communication plays a central role:

(9) Of course there is a lot of focus on external communication […], but I feel that Nordea has focused a lot on internal communication as well, and that is probably because we are a merged bank, so this part where you have to build up a corporate culture and develop a set of values and become one bank, that require an enormous effort internally in the bank, and that's why it has been very natural to focus so much on the internal communication.
-Nordea_3, Translator

In this excerpt the informant explains how internal communication has been used strategically to build a new corporate culture in the post-merger organisation Nordea constitutes. The statement is very much in line with what Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a), building on the work of Ferner, Edwards and Sisson (1995), argue when they state that the adoption of a common corporate language may provide benefits for multinational corporations by fostering a sense of belonging to a global family, which can be seen as a type of soft control mechanism. However, Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999a) discuss these benefits in relation to *one* common corporate language, while the language policy of Nordea, which opens up for the use of local languages in addition to stipulating English as the company language, indicates that the deployment of *multiple* corporate languages may have equally positive effects in this area (Nordea's language policy is further discussed in section 7.1.1 and 7.3).

The choice to combine the use of English with various local languages is also something the informants connect with the identity of the firm. When asked about the relationship between the company's language policy and its organisational culture, one informant makes the following statement:

(10) Yes, of course, we want to profile ourselves as a Nordic bank because the Nordic and the Nordic values have a positive image, also outside the Nordic area, and that of course, that is perfectly consistent with having texts in the Nordic, local languages.
-Nordea_2, Translator

Another informant, Nordea_1, also emphasises the importance of the local embeddedness (commonly referred to as external embeddedness, i.e. the company's relationship to external actors in its local milieu, cf. Hartmann, 2010; Meyer, Mudambi, & Narula, 2011) with regard to the company's identity:

(11) We are one of the biggest banks in Europe today, and when you compare [us with other European banks] in terms of our market value, we are right at the top […] we are in the European league, but we are still – we are a Nordic bank, but we consist of these four […] I mean, the language we are supposed to speak when we look at the Nordic area, well, there are four different languages […] so we are an English-speaking bank with [Nordic] roots.
-Nordea_1, Translator

While it is clear from Quotes 10 and 11 that the country-specific and the Nordic heritage of Nordea clearly influences the respondents view of the corporate identity of the company, other respondents point to the fact that Nordea also operates outside the Nordic region. One informant, who works in the Swedish headquarters in Stockholm, describes the relationship between the Nordic identity and the international identity in the following way:

(12) It is a Nordic bank in the sense that the four Nordic countries are the most prominent partners in the Nordea family of banks or financial firms or whatever you want to call it, but at the same time it is very much an international firm, so of course, it's a Nordic bank, but you know, here I work in Stockholm, and most of my colleagues are Swedes, but at the same time we're so international that I don't really stop and think about whether it is a Nordic or international bank.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

Another respondent describes the same relationship it in the following way:

(13) I see us as a Nordic company with international branches. [Interviewer: Why?] I think it's because… the international branches are – if I only look into the HR area, we have a Nordic set-up with SAP, we're using the same system in the Nordic countries. The countries outside the Nordic area do not use the same system, and that goes for a lot of areas, we are not using the same platform, IT platform, in all areas, so I think that is a reason why we are not seeing ourselves as an

international company. But of course when I think about the way we act, we go to London to a lot of meetings, we even go to New York for a lot of meetings, and Singapore where we also have a branch, so in that sense when you look at it from the outside, I think we are more an international company, but looking from the inside, I believe that we are rather Nordic.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

This informant's understanding of Nordea's identity relates to the company's operations and organisational set-up. Specifically she uses the company's IT system, SAP, and international meeting activities as parameters for evaluating the degree of internationality and 'Nordicness' of the company. Nordea_8 on the other hand (Quote 12) describes three layers of internationality in his excerpt; firstly, the prominence of the (four) Nordic countries, which refers back to the nationality of the four merging banks which were involved in the formation of Nordea in 2000; secondly, the Nordic character of the company, which can be seen in relation to Quote 10 and the respondents' comment that the company seeks to profile itself as a Nordic bank; and thirdly, the international work environment of which the informant is a part – although he is physically located in Stockholm, this informant mentions during the interview that he is frequently in contact with colleagues in Poland, Latvia and Russia.

4.1.2 Leadership and management

4.1.2.1 Corporate governance and control

Respondents describe Nordea as a company with a relatively high degree of corporate governance, defined as the degree to which the management of the firm makes use of laws, rules or factors to control the company's operations (Gillian & Starks, 1998). Corporate governance may also take the form of managerial control mechanisms. One informant, for example, who works within a headquarters IT function, describes how she has to get her material approved before she is allowed to communicate with the company's branches:

(14) We are not allowed to go out with information to branch employees at certain times, because they are really busy at the end of the month and at the beginning of the month […] so if you would like to provide some information that they can then communicate to the customers, we have to have it approved from the management secretariat, so they say 'ok, would you like to go out with this? That time is not good for us, because we have something else going on right then, so you have to postpone it', so it's much more… I wouldn't say quality control, but it's much more approvals before you are actually allowed to send out the information.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

The informant then explains how she has to go through the management secretariat in Sweden and get the go-ahead from the head of the management secretariat before she is allowed to communicate the message to the branch employees. The reason for this approval process, according to the business partner, is to protect the employees from being burdened with unnecessary and irrelevant information. The head of the management secretariat clearly holds a key position in the sense that he ultimately gets to decide what is communicated to the branch employees. A person performing this type of function may be described as a gatekeeper, i.e. an individual with the ability to control and filter information (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999b).

The high degree of corporate governance in the company is also expressed by means of numerous policies and procedures across various administrative and operative functions. 'We have a lot of directives and instructions at Nordea', one respondent (Nordea_3, Translator) reports. This tendency of developing various regulatory initiatives appears to have influenced the development of the language policy as well. The decision to implement the company's current language policy was made on the basis of a business case developed by Nordea_1 and the head of corporate communication at the time, shortly after present-day Nordea was coined in 2000. The informant explains that:

(15) The policy we have for our language use which states the language to be used in what situation and when we are allowed to translate, that was effectuated right after we made that business case, and it was approved in the group executive management.
-Nordea_1, Translator

The business case mentioned in Quote 15 is a document that dates back to November 2000. The business case outlines and evaluates different options for handling translation issues in the company, and provides a set of recommendations based on this analysis, which was subsequently adopted by the executive management, as described in the excerpt above. Thus, the analysis was carried out as a top-down analysis of the company's language and translation needs with the purpose of making a well-informed decision about the company's linguistic-communicative environment.

The business case and the different business scenarios presented in the business case are based on two sources of input; firstly, the merging companies' experience with language and translation issues (situation as-is), and secondly, interviews with the largest stakeholders in the organisation. The first type of input, previous experience with language and translation needs, originates from one of the merging companies' track record with regard to translation needs. Nordea_1 used to work for a Danish bank before this was merged into the new Nordea group in 2000, where she also worked as a translator. However, the merging companies had very different practices with regard to language and translation practices, as the key informant describes in the following way:

(16) Where I came from we had always had in-house translators, and we had a well-established set-up where we kept track of everything we translated […] and we had statistics showing what we had translated and who we had translated it for, how much we had done, etc., so we were able to document what had been translated. They had approached it differently in the other countries. Norway and Sweden had nothing, and Finland had a combination of a communication department consisting of a couple of people and a small unit that was placed somewhere else, and then there were a couple [of people] scattered around in a decentralised arrangement.
-Nordea_1, Translator

The informant further explains that the track record of the Danish translation department was a useful measure of previously experienced language needs:

(17) It was definitely an eye-opener, also for the executive management, because there were a few [units] that perhaps didn't think there was a lot that needed to be translated, and then they realised that they [the units] were actually among the biggest clients.
-Nordea_1, Translator

Secondly, Nordea_1 also chose to interview some of the largest customers, i.e. users of the 'old' translation unit, about their preferences as to how the company should handle its need for translation in the future. These customers were representatives from relevant units and business areas in the organisation, approximately 20 people in total, who were identified on the basis of their requests for translation in the past. The combination of these two sources of information led to the development of the company's language and translation policy as it exists today.

4.1.2.2 Financing of language management activities

One of the outcomes of the business case described in the previous section was the establishment of a centralised translation unit with pooled language resources in the four Nordic countries Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland. The organisation of the new translation unit came with one important caveat: internal cost allocation. It was decided that the translation department should operate as a service unit that would charge fees for its translation services. The fact that the four Nordic translation units charge their customers for the services they provide is something that several respondents reflect on. The translators themselves have the following thoughts on how the model works:

(18) We get paid for what we do by every customer, every unit in the bank, and our prices are competitive, I mean, they would pay the same amount if they had used an external translation

agency. […] We carry our own costs, and because our fees are competitive, it doesn't really matter, financially, and what we do would cost the same if someone else did it.
-Nordea_2, Translator

(19) The different units pay for our services and that has a kind of regulatory effect in the sense that we have our language policy and we have guidelines for what we have to translate, but the fact that the units have to pay for our translation, that means something, right, that they have to consider whether it is really worth it.
-Nordea_3, Translator

These statements, along with the company's language and translation policy, point to three important implications as a result of the cost allocation model. Firstly, the fact that the translation unit is set up to cover its own costs means that the translation unit basically is run as a company within the company. It must cover all of its own expenses and balance its budget each year. One key informant (Nordea_1) describes this as one of the translation department's key performance indicators (KPIs): 'One of the KPIs we have is how much we produce and, and that we break even […] that's the hard numbers'. Another side to this is that the number of people employed in the translation unit must be weighed against the need for translation in the company. The translation units are deliberately understaffed and outsource about 5-10 % of the company's translation requests to external translation agencies, to make sure that their staffing expenses are kept to a minimum. Informant Nordea_1 elaborates:

(20) One thing which is extremely important when you are an internal function like ours – which is a staff function – is that we constantly are on our toes, that we always are performance-oriented, because we constantly have to prove that we… I mean, we have also scaled down [our team], we used to be 20 translators in Denmark, for example, back in time, and today we are seven, so we are constantly adjusting [the size of the teams].
-Nordea_1, Translator

Secondly, as the previous excerpts show, the translation units strive to maintain a competitive price level. The fees for translation services are benchmarked against the fees of external high-quality translation agencies every year and adjusted accordingly. The adjusted prices are then communicated to the rest of the organisation before next year's budgets are made. A third point worth noting is that the cost of ordering translation services is also intended to work as a constraining mechanism, or to have a 'regulatory effect' in the words of Nordea_3, Translator. When talking to some of the customers of the translation department, it is evident that the cost associated with the translation units' services is something they are aware of.

(21) We could probably use it [the translation unit] more, I think so, but it is also a question of – we have internal debiting, we pay for it.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

At the same time, respondents also express that they see the price they have to pay for the translation services as a necessary cost:

(22) We pay for how much we send to translation, and we in Group HR we have said we shouldn't try to communicate and do the translation ourselves, we have experts in this area in-house, and even though we are using the internal cost allocation for it [i.e. pay for the services], we should use the translation [unit].
-Nordea_6, HR Manager

(23) I don't feel that I have problems finding – I mean, that is my responsibility to find the manager or my own manager that has to pay for it [translation].
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

Finally, a comment may be made with regards to the financing of other language related activities. For example, Nordea offers various courses to its employees, among them different types of English courses, which will be discussed in section 7.4.1. The costs associated with these types of language training are covered by the individual employee's department. This means that it is up to the employee's manager to approve requests for language courses and other activities in this area. As in the case of the fees for the use of the translation unit, the costs of other language-related measures are also decentralised to end-user/the department which the end-user works in, i.e. the respective organisational units.

4.1.3 Language and communication practices

4.1.3.1 Communication channels

When asked about the communication channels they typically use in their everyday job functions, several employees mention the company's intranet as the most important medium:

(24) The intranet is the easiest [channel], so we use that a lot. […] The intranet is definitely a large channel, where we do a lot on the intranet pages, the intranet news.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

(25) We have an incredibly large intranet, so we can reach very specific target groups by publishing news or operational information on the intranet, of course that is what we use for mass communication.
-Nordea_4, Communication professional

All employees in Nordea, both at the headquarters and the various local branches, have access to the intranet. The intranet is therefore widely used channel for mass communication, as mentioned in Quotes 24 and 25. The informants also explain that the intranet can be used to reach specific groups of employees. This is possible because the intranet consists of several subpages or sub-sites, targeted towards these groups in particular. In the following excerpt an informant from HR elaborates on how she uses the intranet to communicate information to managers in the Nordea group:

(26) Since I am responsible for this news channel, information to managers, people from other business areas also contact me in order to reach out with a message. This could be if we do something with our computers or the printer set-up, then IT will contact me and ask 'is it possible to have something published to managers?' If the manager needs to do something, or just to inform them first, and then inform the employees, we tend to use the communication in a step-wise manner, meaning that we inform the managers first and then employees. But it's not a closed intranet page for managers, so everybody who has access to the intranet – meaning all employees – they can see what is communicated to managers.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

This informant describes that she uses the intranet to communicate with managers in the group through a sub-site on the intranet directed towards managers. Interestingly, there is no restricted access to the site, which means that all employees in principle can access the information published on the site, if they know where to find it.

The intranet is a truly multilingual online portal, that contains information in up to five languages; the four Nordic languages Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Finnish, in addition to the corporate language English. One respondent, who works as a business partner within the IT area, explains how it works:

(27) The intranet consists of different pages, depending on where you are employed. So if you are employed in Sweden, you will get the Swedish page, and in Denmark of course a Danish page and so on, and we have an international [site] as well, which you can access if you are in Singapore or in London or in New York or whatever.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

The informant then explains that employees themselves decide which language version they want their intranet to be in when they set up their individual internet settings. One of Nordea's international employees, working in the company's headquarters in Stockholm, describes his first encounter with the intranet in the following way:

(28) The same intranet site exists in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish and when I got my computer, when I was at the first set-up, I had my intranet configured to display everything in Swedish, of course I changed that to English, but you know, you have local languages in a Nordic space, and then you also have the same information available in English, and it is completely up to you which language you want to use on the intranet.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

Respondent Nordea_9 explains that if, for some reason, information is published only in English, all employees will receive the English message, regardless of their selected language choice: 'if only one page [language version] is available, that one will be shown for all'. However, if the information is meant to reach a certain group of employees only, for example employees in Sweden, this could also inform the choice of language, as explained by the informant in the HR department:

(29) We're writing about 'mobilt bank ID' [electronic identification for mobile devices], and that is in Swedish because it's only provided in Swedish, but our communication to managers is primarily in English, but as soon as the target group is all employees in Nordea, then we translate it into the four Nordic languages.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

Consequently, the Swedish message that the informant talks about in the above excerpt, concerning mobile bank ID, will only be visible to employees working in Sweden.

It is also evident from the interview data that employees appreciate, and sometimes even demand, information in their own local language. One informant, for example, reports the following:

(30) Yes, we translate [information] for the intranet. We do it because we have noticed that it [the information] doesn't get read that much if it's only in English.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

In the same way, informant Nordea_9 describes a situation where she as an IT specialist uploaded two training videos on the intranet. The following excerpt shows how important the use of local language may be for some employees:

(31) Interviewee: I recorded the demos [two training videos] which we posted on the intranet, on the local pages where you can find everything that I say in the demos, [which] is of course also related to the instructions we already have, which are in local languages, so when for example you access [the intranet] and look at the instructions […] you can find it in the local languages, step by step and with pictures, and then in the corner on the same page you have the demo, but that's in English. So I'm speaking in it [the video] and at the same I show it in the video. Of course it would be better if we could have it in all [languages], but at the moment we have so much to do, so it will only be in English, and it will probably be that maybe for another year.
Interviewer: Ok. But do you think you will eventually [make local language versions]?
Interviewee: Yes. […] We have to. It's already – you know, the first comment we received, I'm not sure if you have seen our intranet page, but we have that [a function where] you can write comments, and the first thing anyone asked was a Finnish guy, he actually wrote the comment in Finnish, and I Google Translated it […] and it was 'why is this not in Finnish?' [laughter] […]
Interviewer: So this person who wrote this comment then, 'why is this not in Finnish?', he addressed you, although he knew you did not speak Finnish?
Interviewee: He didn't send it directly to me, but […] he put it on the intranet, so everybody can see […] it's a common field for everyone, and of course, it was to make a point that it should be in Finnish.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

Clearly, the Finnish-speaking employee featured in Quote 31 felt that he was entitled to watch this video in his native language Finnish. This is noteworthy considering that the information already was available in Finnish in the form of a written instruction, 'step by step and with pictures', as described by the informant. One of the translators in the company's translation department, which also translates material for the company's various intranet sites, reflects on that employees have become used to reading information in their own language. Because of this they may not be realise that the information they receive has in fact been subjected to translation:

(32) On our intranet, where we publish our news, I believe actually that a Dane – when you are located in a branch here in Denmark and you read a news story [on the intranet], for example a news story about Nordea becoming the bank of the year, that is written in English and translated into four languages, but the Danish employee who logs onto our intranet and reads that news story, she or

he doesn't think about that […] they [the Danish employees] think it's a news story written to them in Danish. I don't think many of them really realise that it was written [in English].
-Nordea_3, Translator

In addition to the intranet, other widely used communication channels include, not surprisingly, emails and telephone conversations. Emails appear to be more frequently used than phone calls. This may also be because the company relies on the online communication platform Microsoft Lync for video calls and online meetings. As explained by one informant:

(33) We have a Microsoft tool called Lync that we use for online meetings. You just invite people in, and then you can hold a conference from your own desk. […] It's not as good as physical meetings, but when we don't sit next to each other and we are located in several different countries, with many different [business] areas, then it can be a nice way of holding meetings.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

There are also different types of physical meetings. One type of meeting is of course the normal work-related meetings held by employees on a particular topic. Another type of meeting is the meetings organised by managers at different hierarchical levels. These could for example be meetings for all employees in relation to the publication of the annual report, or as an HR manager describes, a conversation between (middle) managers and the front-line level:

(34) Well, the dialogue between all our employees is also a channel. Cascade information, going from top management through their managers and to the employees, that is also a channel we use.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

In this excerpt the informant describes how the information flow from HR, which is a staff function, may follow a top-down cascade pattern, going from top managers to middle managers to front-line employees. Interestingly, interview data from one of the communication professionals also reveal that the information flow may also take place in a bottom-up fashion. The following respondent is currently working on a large transformation project in the IT area, and in relation to this project she is in the process of establishing a group of ambassadors, who can act as advocates for the project:

(35) Their role will be to deliver the message bottom-up in their own organisation and put it into context, and be somebody that people can turn to and ask what it is really all about. […] They have been selected on the basis of who they are. They are somebody, a colleague that is respected, either a leader or a colleague who people listen to.

-Nordea_5, Communication professional

A final communication channel is mentioned is the use of physical office space. When I ask the informant in the HR department whether she or any of her colleagues in HR ever make use of the physical environment for communicating messages, she responds:

(36) Sometimes, yes, but since we don't sit together, even though we work in Sweden, we are located in different cities and different branches, so the intranet is very convenient to reach a lot of people. […] But for example if we have a health care event in Stockholm for the employees in the Stockholm area, then we can consider using posters in the cantina for example.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

4.1.3.2 Language choice and communication patterns

The language policy of Nordea states that British English is the company's corporate language, while allowing for the use of the Nordic languages as well. According to the first paragraph of the language policy document, which is available to employees on the company's intranet, the decisive factor determining what language to be used in what situation relates to whether or not the communication involves international contact. Specifically, the language policy differentiates between local communication, understood as country-specific communication, and cross-border communication, understood as communication that takes place between offices located in different (Nordic or international) countries. This relationship is expressed in the following way (p. 5):

> Our corporate language is English (British English). This is the language we use in cross-border communication. Local communication - external customer communication as well as internal communication - can be executed in the respective local language.

The language policy document will be scrutinised in further detail in section 7.1.1. What is interesting in this chapter, and in relation to communication trends in particular, is how employees use language in their everyday job functions and the type of language choices they have to make, both at the managerial level and at the front-line level.

As one could expect, the use of English is widespread, which may be illustrated with Quotes 37-39:

(37) In my daily work almost everything is in English, so when I send emails back and forth, internally, it's always in English, and even though I could perhaps write it in Swedish, I do it in English, because it can be that somebody might forward it, and then it's easier that the original email was in

English. All of our meetings are in English, and I guess that is because we are working on a Nordic level, and if you are working on a Nordic level, you have to have it in English, because there is always somebody that cannot – maybe not even speak Nordic languages, we have a lot of consultants and they come from all over the world, so we have to speak English.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(38) We try to do as much as possible in English, so within the IT community everything is in English.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

(39) Most of it [internal communication] is in English, because it's usually mixed groups [we are communicating with], I mean, my boss is in Finland, she understands Swedish but she doesn't want to speak Swedish, instead it's always English, and we usually always correspond in English.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

These quotes have two things in common: they point to the fact that English is chosen as the preferred language of communication based on i) participants, and ii) pragmatism. In regards to the first point, participants, it is evident that the language skills of the people participating in the communication situation inform the choice of English. As the business partner explains, for example, she frequently communicates with international colleagues, therefore she 'has to speak English'. What is also interesting about this quote is that the informant tends to choose English as her working language even in situations where she could use her native language Swedish, because one of her colleagues may be likely to forward her work to a non-Swedish speaking colleague. This particular phenomenon is what Lønsmann (2011, p. 132) labels 'expected addressee', by expanding Bell's (1984) conceptualisation of what constitutes an addressee in a traditional sender-recipient communication model. The expected addressee in Lønsmann's model is defined as future audience. The likelihood of having a future audience explains why in some cases English is chosen as the preferred language choice when for example an email may be forwarded to English-speaking colleagues, which is exactly the situation described by the business partner above.

This first general observation concerning the role of participants and their language skills relates to the second point, where English is chosen for pragmatic reasons, simply because it is the most practical language choice. One informant, Nordea_5, stated in Quote 38 above that she and her colleagues in the IT community, which is an area consisting of employees spread out in different geographic locations, generally rely on English-medium communication. When asked to elaborate on why this is the case, the informant explains that:

(40) I takes a lot of time if we have to translate it into numerous languages, so primarily the Nordic languages but there is also Poland and the Baltic countries, so there are a lot of languages we have to translate into. When there are changes, [new] material, then you have to update a lot of different versions, so… and we believe actually that we are able to reach our target group in English, they are used to working with IT systems and commands, so they understand English very well.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

Again, this excerpt demonstrates that the respondent chooses English for pragmatic reasons, i.e. updating published material, while acknowledging her IT colleagues' English skills. At the same time it is also evident from the quote that as soon as the information is intended for colleagues outside the IT community, it will be translated into the various national languages: 'When we reach out to the rest of Nordea, when it is [directed at] all of Nordea's employees, then it goes through the translation department, and then it will be in the local language.' When asked why this is necessary, the informant elaborates:

(41) I think that we are an organisation that is used to working across different countries, we speak English when we work together. You don't do that in the country-based organisations, for example in Retail Banking, they work primarily in a Danish context, and they speak Danish with customers, and the people they work with on an every-day basis. Also within Wealth Management, that is Private Banking, that is also a country-based organisation, which is why it makes sense… for them it feels completely foreign when something arrives in English.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

In this excerpt the informant points to two interesting factors that appear to influence language use in the company. Firstly, the IT community where the informant works is a corporate function, which means that employees within this area work cross-nationally as they are physically based in different geographical locations. Geographically dispersed teams are a common set-up for corporate group functions, which is confirmed by the company's organisational chart and employee collaboration and communication patterns. The informant explains that the use of English in this cross-national setting is wide-spread and unproblematic. However, the second observation relates to the fact that certain parts of the organisation to a larger extent are embedded in local, country-specific environments. Nordea_5, who works at the company's Danish headquarters in Copenhagen, uses Denmark as an example when she describes that these employees primarily work in a Danish context with Danish customers. In these business areas the use of the national language is seen as the obvious language choice.

This division between the company's corporate functions and the branch area is also commented on by other respondents:

(42) It is a very local competition you are part of, even if you are a Nordic bank, the markets you operate in are very local. I really can't imagine that we just said that everything is in English, I really can't imagine that.
-Nordea_3, Translator

(43) English is the language we use in Nordea when we write reports etc.,[…], but those who work in the [branch] offices usually do not have a reason to use English in their daily life, so for them it's not normal [to use English], even though many of them speak and understand English of course, it's not the same thing at work, as it is having all the terms etc. in one's mother tongue.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

What the respondents point to in these two excerpts is a distinction between the communication that takes place in, or is directed at, the corporate headquarters functions and the communication that takes place in, or is directed at, the local branches of the company. It is stated in the company's language policy that English is the language to be used in cross-border communication. Usually, employees who engage in cross-border communication will work in a headquarters function. Personnel employed in the company's branch offices on the other hand 'do not have a reason to use English', cf. Quote 43. This distinction between corporate group-level communication and local branch communication is therefore very much in line with the company's language policy.

Clearly, Nordea's locally-embedded retail bank operations are one external factor influencing the use of local-language communication in the company's branch offices. However, it is clear from informants' statements that the need for local language communication to a large extent may be explained by company-internal factors, and in particular the level of English language skills among employees in the retail banking, which is described by informants as lower than in the corporate headquarters. The following two informants give a possible explanation to why this is the case:

(44) I think that it is a lot of older people in retail, that have been in the bank maybe for 20-30 years, it's hard for them, maybe they are not that skilled in English, and of course we have to reach them as well, otherwise we have a force out there that is not efficient enough, so I think we at least for a while must have instructions in all local languages, but I think maybe if we look a bit ahead, it could be possible to change and start by only sending it out in English, but that is just my personal view, of course Nordea has to decide, you know, on a strategic level if we should do that or not.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(45) Earlier we said that we have to communicate [in local languages], because we have so many people employed in Nordea who wern born during the 40s, and they are not that good at English, but now they have most likely retired, and… I would say that all of our employees are able to understand English, but that's… I think we have the language versions in the coming years as well in Nordea.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

Quotes 44 and 45 are subjective statements about the relationship between age distribution of employees in the branch area and their level of English language skills. Yet, informants Nordea_9 and Nordea_6 indicate that there is a need for corporate information being published in the various local languages, while suggesting that this situation could change in the future as many of company's senior employees are approaching retirement.

Although it may seem as if the use of English vs. local languages follows the distinction between corporate functions and branch functions, informants at the company's headquarters, where the corporate functions are located, nevertheless state that they also rely on their local language skills in their daily work life:

(46) [When] I talk to Swedish colleagues here in Stockholm, then of course I talk in Swedish, but when I'm talking to Danish colleagues or Norwegian colleagues, it depends, sometimes it is in English sometimes it is in Swedish, and it could be the same person, that one day I'm talking English, and one day I'm talking Swedish, and he's talking Norwegian for instance.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

(47) In my most immediate surroundings, most of my colleagues are Swedes, so when we step out for a coffee break, the conversation will in most cases take place in Swedish, so if I don't speak Swedish I don't take part in the conversation. If I just rely on English, then it's really not that fun for me, it's not really fun for my colleagues, right, so in order to be part of all the social happenings in the workplace, of course, it is really important to have some understanding, [a basic] level of the local language, but in terms of the actual work that we need to perform here, Swedish is really not that mandatory at all.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

Interestingly, Nordea_8 makes yet another distinction between two different areas of communication; the communication that is directly related to job performance and the communication that is related to the social conversation in the workplace. Where English is sufficient for the first category, which may be referred to as 'professional communication' (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2011), the informant

also points to the use of Swedish for social purposes, or 'social communication' (Tange & Lauring, 2009).

However, even this distinction between language choice for professional and social communication purposes is far from clear-cut. Like the previous informant, informant Nordea_10 (below) works in a corporate function in the company's headquarters in Stockholm. When asked about whether she would be able to conduct her work in English only, she responds:

(48) Interviewee: I don't know, I could probably do a great deal of it [work-related tasks], but there are also parts I would miss out on.
Interviewer: So one could say that both [languages] are…?
Interviewee: As it is today, I believe both languages are necessary.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

A final comment may be made with regards to the relationship between the company's internal and external modes of communication. It is worth noting that Nordea's language policy does not distinguish between internal and external communication in terms of local communication, i.e. the formulation 'Local communication - external customer communication as well as internal communication - can be executed in the respective local language.' As stated above, interview data indicate that the high degree of local embeddedness informs the choice of local language for external communication. At the same time these local ties also affect the employees' language choice for internal communication purposes, i.e. Quote 43 where Nordea_10 states that 'those who work in the [branch] offices usually do not have a reason to use English in their daily life'. One of the communication professionals elaborates:

(49) The customers have an enormous impact, and of course if you work in a headquarters position and you talk to customers in English all over the world, then you will have a completely different approach to it [language choice] than if you work in a local branch in a town in Jutland, and you know almost every customer, and you have known them for 20 years.
-Nordea_4, Communication professional

It is evident from these statements that the branch employees' frequent and consistent interaction with the external world, and customers in particular, is an important reason why the use of the local language is also deemed necessary for internal communication.

4.1.3.3 Communication style

Previous empirical studies have found that organisations may develop a company-specific communication style which involves the use of specific terminology and jargon, so-called 'company speak' (de Vecchi, 2012, 2014; Welch et al., 2005). Interview data from Nordea indicate that company speak also occurs here, and one informant who works in the Nordea's translation department, shares her thoughts on this phenomenon:

(50) All companies have their own communication style, and the way we communicate internally in the bank in Denmark, that is a very distinct style which I think people feel confident with, and that's why they understand it well.
-Nordea_3, Translator

Another informant in the HR department also reflects on the particular communication style of the company, which he refers to as 'Nordenglish'. 'Nordenglish' may be described as a specific type of English:

(51) So we have our expressions that are perhaps not 100 % correct English, but everyone here knows what they mean or that this is the words we use […] most employees realise that English is not our mother tongue, and understands if you don't always say the right words in the right way.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

In addition to this distinct type of English described above, another feature that characterises the communication style of the company is the frequent use of abbreviations. Acronyms are, according to deVecchi (2014) a common aspect of internal language. The following two informants report on the occurrence of this phenomenon in Nordea:

(52) Everything is abbreviated. […] You can hardly read a text without coming across at least ten abbreviations for different [things], from products to [business] units, or whatever.
-Nordea_1, Translator

(53) All departments in Nordea are always abbreviated with three letters, it is something that Nordea loves.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

On the topic of company-specific language, it may be worth considering the role of Nordea's translation department. Translation in Nordea will be discussed in detail in section 7.2.1; however, in this

section a few words may be said about how the translation department deals with terms and expressions that are peculiar to Nordea and the financial sector as such in the translation process. In the following excerpt, one of the translators describes how she and her colleagues often consult their 'customers', i.e. the business units that requested the translation, as well as participating in relevant courses:

(54) We often get the texts proofread by one of the customers, and then we have a dialogue about the correct language use, and then we learn from those [customers] if there is a new term which is related to capital adequacy or something like that, that is one area where a lot of things are happening. Then we attend courses of course when there are some that would be suitable for us either internally in the bank or outside the bank, and then we also stay in touch with other areas in the bank where we think things are happening, where we need to know what they are working on. Just today we had a visitor – this was the entire communication department [who participated in the meeting] – from a colleague from Life and Pensions, who talked about what the insurance company is working on right now and things like that are good for us to know as well. […] It is up to us of course to discover in what areas we need to learn more, where there is a [knowledge] gap and in which areas things are happening, so that is – sometimes you must know when you need to know; find out and discover those areas where there is a need.
-Nordea_2, Translator

This key informant in Nordea's translation department describes how Nordea's translators make use of different types of strategies to ensure correct sector-specific terminology in texts that have undergone translation from one language to another. Another informant, who has worked as a translator in Nordea for over 20 years, including the time she worked in one of the Danish predecessors of the Nordea of today, explains how the translators improved their financial vocabulary back in the days when she first started:

(55) We have continuity in our department, and there are translators who have been there for a very long time, so we have actually been there from the beginning when we started doing it [when the translation department was established], […] back then we didn't have the internet or anything […] and we had to improve our skills, so we received analyses from British and American institutions, stockbrokers and things like that which we had to read on the side, to build that vocabulary and that way of writing, but I tell you, in that sense the internet is an enormous help for translators, right, because you can easily look things up.
-Nordea_3, Translator

The insights gained from these two translators demonstrate the highly technical and professional nature of the language of the financial sector. Where company speak in the literature is described primarily as a social language employees become used to and learn how to speak of their own accord (de Vecchi 2012, 2014), we may need the term 'industry-specific language' or 'industry speak' to cover the communication style described in the excerpts above. Industry-specific language may be described as a professional language that relates to the industry context which the company is part of.[5]

Informants in Nordea explain that there have been several changes in the financial sector in the past years. In the aftermath of the financial crisis, the banking industry has been subjected to a number of new legislations and regulations, for example regulations requiring banks to hold more capital than previously (KPMG, 2014; Nordea annual report 2013, p. 7). Being a financial service company, new legislations and the need to comply with regulations, clearly affect several aspects of the company's operations, including the area of language and communication. In particular, one informant in Nordea elaborates on how sector-specific regulations influence customer-directed communication:

(56) In recent years, there has been an enormous change in the banking industry and that means that some of the terms are changing for the banks, and this also affects the customers, and then it is important that we as a bank are able to explain to the customer, why are these things happening, right, why the customers' terms are changing
-Nordea_3, Translator

The previous discussion has demonstrated how important the use of the local language is – both externally towards the customers, and internally, primarily towards the branch employees. The above excerpt supports and amplifies this finding, emphasising that new regulations increase the need for local language communication.

Apart from the company-specific language and company-specific acronyms, some informants believe that the different national backgrounds of employees may have an impact on the communication style in typical everyday communication:

(57) In my experience, Finns […] tend more to explain the reason why they haven't done it in this or the other way, and I think Danes may be a little bit direct sometimes, maybe too direct, and Norwegians and Swedes are in between, so… Danes might be a little bit too direct in their communication, and Finns apologising for the way they haven't or have done something, and Swedes and Norwegians in between [laughter].

[5] I use the term 'industry speak' here as it refers to language use in relation to ongoing business activities within the sector, cf. footnote 1.

-Nordea_6, HR manager

(58) I don't know if you can relate to this as a Norwegian that Norwegians communicate in a very straightforward manner, so it is very… I think they focus a lot on readability, and it also has to be very Norwegian, they don't appreciate English loanwords for example. I also think that people are more formal when they communicate in Swedish than in Danish and Norwegian, I think so, and I can't say anything about Finnish of course, but… even though we have tried to reach a uniform style when we communicate in English in Nordea, I still think sometimes when you look at the translations that you can sense that there are different styles, both because we come from different banks, but also something that is perhaps connected to the language and culture in the countries as well, that we communicate differently.
-Nordea_3, Translator

In line with what these informants have observed, several previous studies have found that different national and cultural backgrounds may have an effect on communication style, also when communicating in a common corporate language (Hall & Hall, 1990; Tietze, 2008).

4.1.4 Summary within-case analysis Nordea

Nordea was formed as a merger of several independent Nordic banks in 2000. Following the merger, the company decided to implement their current language policy, which introduced English as the new common corporate language in addition to the local Nordic languages. The importance of acknowledging local language communication has been related to Nordea's organisational structure and operations, where certain parts of Nordea's business, in particular Retail Banking, to a large extent are embedded in local country-specific environments where the use of local language is imperative. Informants describe Nordea as a company with a high degree of corporate governance, which appears to have affected the formulation of the language policy in Nordea's post-merger climate in the period after 2000.

4.2 Within-case analysis Saxo Bank

4.2.1 Company background

4.2.1.1 Company history

Saxo Bank A/S was founded as an online investment bank in 1992 by two Danish entrepreneurs. Over the past two decades, the company has undergone rapid expansion, and employs, as of October 2014, around 1500 employees. 800 of these are working from the company's headquarters located in Copenhagen, Denmark. Saxo Bank's international presence has also grown rapidly, and the company is now present in 25 countries worldwide (Annual report 2013).

As an investment bank the company's core business is rooted in trading with financial instruments. By offering online trading services Saxo Bank has been able to provide trading and investment opportunities to private and institutional traders from all over the world in a cost-efficient way through it's on internet-based self-service solutions. For this reason, the company has operated on a global level since its start-up in 1992, and is therefore described by informants as a born global company. In line with what Johnson (2001, p. 62) argues, Saxo Bank does indeed fit the definitional description of an international start-up: 'a new venture that exhibits an innate propensity to engage in a meaningful level of international business activity at or near inception, with the intent of achieving strategic competitive advantage'. It is evident from interview data that the scope of the company's international business activities also affects the way in which informants think about language:

(59) A lot of their [Saxo Bank's] business is international, and if you think about it; Saxo is located in Hellerup [in the Copenhagen area], Saxo is Danish, Saxo has Danish owners, [but] only 3 % of their turnover comes from Denmark. 97 % of the turnover comes from the rest of the world. It would be odd if they used Danish as a corporate language.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

In pursuit of a global business model the choice of English as the company's corporate language is described as a 'natural development' and 'a non-official decision that has turned into an official decision' (Saxo Bank_1, Communication professional and Saxo Bank_2, Vice president). These quotes indicate the lack of a formalised language policy for internal communication, which will be discussed in detail later (cf. section 7.1.2). Instead, the use of English as the company's corporate language is to a large extent seen as an obvious solution to language and communication issues, and consequently a formal language policy does not appear to be regarded as necessary.

The company's aspiration for international visibility and recognition is also evident from the company's mission: 'Providing the best and most reliable tools to trade global markets – anytime, anywhere', and corporate statement: 'To be the world's most profitable and professional facilitator in the global capital markets' (Saxo Bank, 2014). While these statements underline the company's ambition to act as a global player, the growth strategy of the company also reveals the need for local market presence. Over the past six years, the company has opened 14 new international offices across six continents (from 11 international offices in 2008 to 25 in 2014). It is clear from one of the company's annual reports (2013, pp. 6-7) that they intend to invest in local representation also going forward: 'Saxo Bank will continue to strengthen its local presence in markets where the growth potential and business conditions in general make it relevant to have a local operation.'

Another part of Saxo Bank's growth strategy concerns their line of products. In 2010 Saxo Bank acquired a Danish retail bank, Brørup Sparekasse, in order to extend their product portfolio to include traditional banking services and pension products in Denmark.

(60) Four years ago we decided that we wanted to strengthen our banking business, to be able to offer more services to our customers. We haven't had that in Saxo Bank previously, even if it's called 'bank', the main focus has been on financial instruments.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

(61) It's possible that some of the customers that have traded at Saxo Bank's trading platform also would like to have some of them [traditional bank products], but they weren't aware that they could actually get their traditional banking products in this bank, and by merging [the two companies] it is now possible.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

The acquired company, Brørup Sparekasse, had a very different background than the young, born-global company Saxo Bank. Founded in 1897, the company came with a strong Danish history and well-established identity based on their century-long background as an independent organisation. As stated in Saxo Bank's annual report from 2011 (p. 35) 'Brørup Sparekasse is known for its strong ties to the local community and continues to serve a varied clientele of retail clients and small businesses'. At the time of acquisition, Brørup Sparekasse had six local branch offices in Jutland, and employed approximatly 70 employees in total. One informant describes how the merger of these two companies, which also represented two different business models, came with certain challenges:

(62) When you take two so completely different companies and try to merge them, and try to give them a joint strategy, then you have to do it by means of trial and error to find the right strategy for these things, because it's very, very different. An online trading business, where you want to have self-service [solutions] and all customers should do everything on their own, and everything is electronic, and then to have a company from Jutland where you walk down to the local market and you meet the cousin of your wife's cousin, and he is the one you give a good loan, because you know that guy, and he's good enough – that is very different.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

As one could expect from a company with such strong ties to the local Danish environment, Brørup Sparekasse ran their business entirely in Danish until the takeover in 2010 (Saxo Privatbank annual

report 2011). The acquisition of Brørup Sparekasse, which was rebranded as Saxo Privatbank in 2012, has therefore had some serious linguistic consequences for both companies involved.

4.2.1.2 Organisational structure and operations

Saxo Bank's organisational structure reflects the company's value chain in the sense that it follows a value chain model. The company's departments represent the various activities that the firm performs for commercial and operating purposes, while recognising the group's international offices as separate legal entities with a high degree of independence. The majority of Saxo Bank's administrative and support functions are located in the company headquarters in the Copenhagen area.

As mentioned above, Saxo Bank has been growing rapidly as a result of its aggressive expansion strategy. This has also had an effect on the company's organisational profile, and informants describe the company as a dynamic entity with frequent organisational changes.

(63) When we look at how many [organisational] changes we have made over the past two and a half years, it has been completely crazy. We have changed basically every function and every business area, every strategy and every everything, and we have basically done that every six months, so people have been through some dramatic organisational changes.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Saxo Bank's acquisition of Saxo Privatbank has also meant that this part of the company has been subjected to several integrative measures in an attempt to bring the two companies closer together. Some areas of responsibility have been moved from the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen to the local Saxo Privatbank offices in Jutland. This has been a strategic decision in order to break down 'the label of us vs. them' (Saxo Bank_4, IT manager), and foster tighter collaboration between employees, who previously used to work for two different companies. One informant in Saxo Privatbank estimates that he, in terms of frequency of communication, relies equally on his colleagues in Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank:

(64) Half of each, I think. Our whole production is centralised in Brørup, Jutland, so when I get a new customer and I need to open an account and make contracts and things, then that is done in Jutland, so in that sense I have a lot of contact with them [Saxo Privatbank in Jutland] through that part of the business, but in addition to that I have a lot of contact with this building here [Saxo Bank headquarters], with our investment experts and everybody else.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

What is interesting about this informant is that he is employed in a part of Saxo Privatbank that is physically located in the same building as the Saxo Bank's headquarters in Copenhagen. His physical location clearly has an impact on the frequency and intensity of communication with employees in the Saxo Bank group. One of his colleagues in Saxo Privatbank, who also is located in the Copenhagen office, confirms this:

(65) It makes a difference that you can just walk into the office next door, and find the person you need to talk to. That enables for more flexible collaboration and we do it [collaborate] more often.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

At the same time, certain groups of Saxo Privatbank employees who are located outside of Copenhagen will be less inclined to maintain everyday contact with the company's group and corporate units.

(66) Some functions are very [focused on] retail banking, they will never talk to anybody here in headquarters, and that means that they are all on their own in their own culture and [they] still live in their own world, and you can't really mix it, there is no reason why we should mix them [Saxo Bank's and Saxo Privatbank's respective functions]. Besides that, the logic has been, let us mix the functions, let us move functions from one location to another so people are forced to communicate with one another to make things work.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

In addition to the operative functions, where some of Saxo Privatbank's personnel are engaged in strategic partnerships with Saxo Bank business units, Saxo Privatbank's integration strategy has also included parts of the company's administrative support functions. Saxo Privatbank does for example not have its own HR department, but the group HR, located at Saxo Bank's headquarters in Copenhagen, may assist in the recruitment of new directors or other key personnel. The same model has been adopted with regard to the handling of the type of communication issues that go through Saxo Bank's communication department. This means that Saxo Privatbank is supported by the same communication department as Saxo Bank.

However, the group's communication department is not a traditional communication department, but rather a public relations department, as it deals solely with external communication, in particular press contact. The department consists of 2.5 employees located at the Saxo Bank headquarters, and another 0.5 employees with PR responsibilities at each of Saxo Bank's international offices (as of November 2013). The local PR coordinators are responsible for taking care of the country-specific communication needs of that particular unit. The PR coordinators do not have any responsibility for the unit's internal communication. In effect then, there is no internal communication manager in the Saxo

Bank group, neither at Saxo Bank's headquarters in Denmark nor in any of the national or international subsidiaries.

4.2.1.3 Corporate culture and identity

Saxo Bank's strong organisational culture was introduced to me already during the first introductory meeting. The company has adopted seven corporate values, which are based on the ideas of the Russian-American philosopher Ayn Rand, known for her vigorous defence of laissez-faire capitalism (Rand et al., 1986). The seven values – rationality, independence, integrity, honesty, justice, productivity, and pride – are described by one informant, who holds a senior position in the company, as 'Moses ten commandments etched in stone'.

Since 2003, Saxo Bank has distributed more than 15,000 of Ayn Rand's books to employees, Danish ministers, and CEOs of the 2000 largest corporations in Denmark (Christensen, 2014). I personally received a copy of 'The free market revolution: How Ayn Rand's ideas can end big government' (Brook & Watkins, 2012) when attending a public event organised by Saxo Bank at their headquarters in Copenhagen in January 2013. This publication provides strong support for a capitalist economy and pursuit of self-interest and profit, and presents the philosophy of capitalism as the solution to a well-functioning, free market, as the following quote from the book may illustrate (Brook & Watkins, 2012, p. 219):

> Learn the case for capitalism. Learn its history, its economies, its philosophic foundation. Read the great economists. Read the Founding Fathers. Above all else, read Ayn Rand. When you know your case, then make it: Speak out in whatever way and on whatever scale is open to you. Tell people what capitalism is. Tell them how it works (and has worked). Tell them why capitalism is *good* [emphasis in original]. That is what's required to change the world.

The corporate culture of Saxo Bank is described by a vice president in the company (Saxo Bank_2) as a 'performance culture' and a culture 'you need three months to get used to'. The description of Saxo Bank as a 'high performance 'company appears to correspond with the company's rationale for sponsoring a motorsport team (Lotus Formula 1 Team) and a cycling team (Team Tinkoff-Saxo) – at stated in Saxo Bank's annual report (2014, p. 31): 'investment in high performance sports echoes our approach to the financial industry. We invest in talent in order to drive performance and empower opportunities.' Another informant gives the following description of how he experiences the Saxo Bank's corporate culture:

(67) Once we've made the decisions they are quickly put into effect, and to me that is a great corporate culture. I quite like it when things move fast, and that decisions can be made, that it doesn't take

six months to make decisions, that we first have to make analyses and this and that, right. The decisions are made, and then we're off.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

Returning then to the acquisition and integration of Saxo Privatbank, the dynamic and vibrant corporate culture which informants describe as characteristic of Saxo Bank stand in stark contrast to how another respondent describes the corporate culture of Saxo Privatbank:

(68) A traditional bank in Jutland is a bank where a lot of time is spent on communication. Customers are people you know in your local area, who you meet with, who you talk to, and that attitude is probably best illustrated from a Copenhagen perspective; if our online bank is out of order in our branch offices, then the view of all our employees in the branches has been 'but the customers can just come to our branch office if they want to do something in the bank, they don't need any system'. In Copenhagen the system has been the life blood [of the business], so if the system is down for more than ten seconds, total panic breaks out. To merge these two things has proven to be – to make the two cultures fit together, that has been enormously difficult, and it is still enormously difficult.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

It is also interesting to note that the way informants describe the two different corporate cultures to a large extent can be seen as a replication of the global vs. the local. Saxo Bank plays the role of the young, energetic born-global company that, according to one of the foreign employees, 'feels like an international company' (Saxo Bank_10, Consultant), where the choice of English is viewed as the unmarked language choice. Saxo Privatbank on the other hand is seen as an old, traditional, slow-moving retail bank – compared to the high phase at the company's headquarters – that is strongly embedded in the local Danish context in which it operates, where the choice of the Danish language is seen as natural for the company's external communication as it is for its internal communication.

Still, the image of the two contrasting corporate cultures may change over time, as increased collaboration and communication across business and administrative units may foster stronger integration between the two companies. This view is expressed by one informant in Saxo Privatbank who has worked for the company since the 2010 merger with Saxo Bank:

(69) I think it has really been a lot like a Danish [company]… but the bank [Saxo Privatbank] has only been a part of Saxo Bank for three years, so I think it was very Danish at the beginning [of the merger], but that is a curve that is moving faster and faster, [that we are] becoming part of something more global.

-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

4.2.2 Leadership and management

4.2.2.1 Corporate governance and control

The corporate culture of Saxo Bank has been described as a culture which is characterised by fast and uncomplicated decision-making processes. This could be related to the fact that we are dealing with a relatively young organisation, and an organisation that has been built up from scratch by two Danish entrepreneurs, as one international employee emphasises:

(70) I prefer the fact that I'm working for Saxo than say a company like Citi, which is absolutely massive in Denmark. I like the fact that I've come to Denmark and I'm working for a company where there's just these two Danish guys at the top.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

It is evident from talking to informants that the company's straightforward way of making decisions reduces development efforts and speeds up implementation time. It appears that this fast-phased execution tradition may have had an impact on language choice in situations where the company has been forced to make active language and communication decisions. As mentioned above, Saxo Bank does not have an explicitly formulated language policy per se, but operates under a non-formalised English language mandate. Saxo Bank A/S has in other words never taken an active stand in regard to their (non-formalised) English language policy. However, when acquiring Saxo Privatbank, which at the time used to operate solely by means of the Danish language, the management of the Saxo Bank group was suddenly confronted with two opposite language backgrounds. The integration of Saxo Privatbank into Saxo Bank's business model therefore meant that language choice was something that needed to be addressed.

In the aftermath of the merger with Saxo Bank it was decided by the newly appointed managing director of Saxo Privatbank that Saxo Privatbank should follow the English language policy of Saxo Bank. This meant a sudden shift from Danish to English in central aspects of the everyday work routines of Saxo Privatbank's personnel. Respondent Saxo Bank_4 describes in the following excerpt how the Saxo Privatbank employees responded when they were introduced to their new IT platform, entirely in English:

(71) Our colleagues in Jutland [employees in Saxo Privatbank] are very good at German. They are not particularly good at English, and that has been a – we have been together for two and a half years now, and we had to admit when we had been together the first two months – we actually started off by saying we will make everything in English, and the intranet is in English, and the terminal

server is in English, and Outlook is in English, and Office is in English, and everything is in English. Two months passed and we changed everything into Danish, because they couldn't cope with it. They really weren't able to figure it out, in English, so we changed the whole platform to Danish.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

The IT manager explains that the decision to introduce English as an operating language in Saxo Privatbank was 'an easy decision' from the point of view of headquarters 'because everybody speaks English and everybody is used to English, and everything is in English [in the headquarters]'. The fact that the English language was seen as the standardised medium of communication in the corporate headquarters functions clearly influenced the managerial decision to extend these language practices to the new branch offices. The informant elaborates how he encountered this view from one of his colleagues in Saxo Bank:

(72) The basic attitude here [in headquarters] was that 'everything is English, we have English as our corporate language, they [employees in Saxo Privatbank] just have to learn English', I said 'it won't work, they can't do it, they never will', 'well, then they'll have to take a course', I said 'no, forget it, it's not going to happen'.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

The IT manager is not the only informant who has raised issues related to language and communication practices following the merger of Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank. Another informant, who is a director in Saxo Privatbank, explains that he has experienced lack of understanding from his colleagues in Saxo Bank's management team in Copenhagen:

(73) His understanding [referring to a member of the executive board] of what kind of branch he had been affiliated with [referring to the merger with Saxo Privatbank], over there [in Jutland], we have had to discuss that, and that has been related to, among other things, some examples of what the consequences of creating uncertainty [for employees] are. A couple of things [information from headquarter] were sent out, which we thought were logical, [but] they raised a huge number of questions and a huge explanation problem and translation needs and all sorts of other things, and people here just hadn't seen that coming. They hadn't seen the challenge.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

Quotes 72 and 73 reveal how the members of the Saxo Bank management team were unaware of, and even contested, the strong role of Danish in Saxo Privatbank. This finding resonates with what Barner-

Rasmussen and Aaarnio (2011) observed in their study of language use in MNC subsidiaries. Specifically, these authors found that decisions about language use taken at the MNC top management level often were insensitive to the realities of the language users further down in the organisation. In Saxo Privatbank the choice of English may also be seen in relationship to what other informants have said about the way in which decisions typically are made and carried out in the organisation. One of the challenges associated with a simplified decision-making model is the risk of making hasty and uninformed decisions. The decision to adopt English as a corporate language in Saxo Privatbank may serve as an example of this.

However, when it became clear that the English language presented a number of challenges to the Saxo Privatbank employees, the IT manager in Quote 71 explains how he and the managing direction of Saxo Privatbank quickly decided to change the IT platform to Danish. When asked to elaborate on what influenced this decision, the informant explains:

(74) It was a typical Copenhagen [headquarters] decision. We decided right away this is wrong, we'll change the whole thing, and that's what we did. So it was based on the feedback we got from the end-users, and that feedback – there was a one single positive comment, it was all negative, and everybody said 'this is going to take more time, we will become less efficient, we can't figure it out, it is too difficult', and then we changed it, so that happened very fast actually.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Saxo Bank_4 here refers to the change from English to Danish as a 'typical Copenhagen decision', which once again seems to resonate with what has been said about typical decision-making processes in the company.

4.2.2.2 Financing of language management activities

Saxo Bank has been categorised as a 'low' language management company based on their approach towards internal language and communication issues. As one would expect, the company has not allocated many resources to cover expenses related to language management activities. However, every Saxo Bank department has a decentralised budget for training and education purposes, which may be used for individual language training on a case-by-case basis. The decentralised budget model implies that the individual employee is dependent on the approval of his or her manager before being able to undertake language training.

Saxo Privatbank has experienced certain language needs which they have partly solved through the use of translation services. As described above, Saxo Privatbank decided to adopt Saxo Bank's English language policy after the merger with Saxo Bank in 2010. However, central parts of Saxo Privatbanks administrative and operational processes are still carried out in Danish. For this reason some interviewees

at the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen are of the opinion that Saxo Privatbank's corporate language is Danish, but this is denied by informants in Saxo Privatbank. One of the directors in Saxo Privatbank describes the double language standards as a result of 'implementation difficulties', and explains that Saxo Privatbank relies on both professional translation agencies and non-professional translation carried out by colleagues in the company:

(75) We have a lot of colleagues from abroad, and we have one in particular from the US who helps us if there are certain forms or brochures or papers that we receive [in English from Saxo Bank], then she will translate that. We have decided to do it like that because if we are going to get it translated in the city [by a professional translator], it's really expensive, and it's kind of stupid, they sit over here [in Copenhagen] and write it in English and send it to Jutland and we then get it translated [laughter], it's completely crazy, but we do it in those cases where the individual employee commits to something, [we] get that translated into Danish.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The informant then explains that he as a manager evaluates the need for Danish translation based on the importance of the document compared to the costs of having the document translated. This also determines whether the company decides to outsource and make use of professional translators, or draw on the language skills of one of their native English-speaking employees.

(76) It is simply too expensive to send it [the documents] out, so in each case we consider how much we need to translate weighted against the price, and the resources we ourselves would have to put into it. Is it cheaper for us to let that person [native English speaker] do what she is employed to do, and send it [the translation request] out, or is it cheaper for us to do it ourselves?
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

4.2.3 Language and communication practices

4.2.3.1 Communication channels

Several respondents point to Saxo Bank's intranet as one of the main communication channels in the company. All employees in the Saxo Bank group, including those located in national and international subsidiaries, have access to the intranet, which is described by one informant, Saxo Bank_2, Vice president, as a combination of an intranet and a shared repository, as a result of the vast amount of information that is stored there. This informant, who works in a position in the marketing department, is also the one who 'holds ownership of the intranet framework', but this responsibility appears to be more of a coordinating role than an editorial function. The communication department, the marketing

department, and the executive director's secretaries are all allowed to upload material on the intranet portal.

The intranet is made up of several sub-sites. Some of these sub-sites are country-specific sites used by the group's branch offices – consequently, they are not all in agreement with the company's English language policy:

(77) The Saxo group has an overarching intranet which is completely in English, and below that [level], if you go into the drop-down menu, then all the different sub-sites in different languages will pop up. They [the local sub-sites] are necessary in order to transfer what does this mean for you in Jutland, what does this mean for you in Dubai, what does this mean for you in Melbourne, what does this mean – there are lots of sub-sites.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The result of this multitude of country and branch specific sub-sites is an intranet that is truly multilingual in nature. The corporate functions located at headquarters in Copenhagen, i.e. the communication and marketing department, are not concerned with the announcements that are publicised at the local branch offices' respective sub-sites, which means that information typically is uploaded in the national language of the end-users. However, not all employees will have access to everything on the intranet, even though they have access to the online portal as such. There may be certain sites that are intended for specific groups of employees, for example one specific department, where access to this site would be restricted. The global news channel is nonetheless open to everybody employed in the Saxo Bank group, and employees are expected to check this main intranet site for new information at least once a day. This channel is typically used for information that applies to all employees regardless of geographical location and/or area of employment.

Saxo Privatbank maintained their own intranet for some time after the 2010 merger with Saxo Bank. Quite recently their intranet has been merged with the group Saxo Bank intranet, and Saxo Privatbank's intranet is now set up as a sub-site in the same way as the other subsidiaries sub-sites. In terms of language choice, the Saxo Bank intranet and information displayed on the Saxo Bank intranet has always been in Danish and will, based on the following excerpt, most likely remain this way:

(78) All material is in Danish, and none of us [in IT] would ever dream of translating it into English, because nobody needs to see it in English, it is Danish to Danes, so why should we change that? So that's why it was an easy decision; if all our material is in Danish, then the intranet is in Danish. It's as easy as that really.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

It is evident from Quote 78 that the choice of the Danish language in this particular setting to a large extent is based on pragmatic reasoning. The information that is available on Saxo Privatbank's intranet, arranged as a sub-site under Saxo Bank's intranet, is intended solely for Saxo Privatbank's employees, who work primarily in a Danish context where the use of the Danish language is dominant. It appears that the close ties with the external local environment strongly affect the choice of the Danish language also for internal modes of communication. As the following two quotes demonstrate, the use of Danish with external communication partners relates to customer communication as well as communication with national authorities and other relevant parties:

(79) Saxo Privatbank's intranet is in Danish, everything else in Saxo Bank is in English, also on the intranet, but… our intranet is [contains] a lot of tools, there are laws and forms and things like that, [for use] both internally and externally, and the vast majority of employees in Saxo Privatbank are Danes and all [customer] advisors and all customers are Danish, so it doesn't make any sense to translate for example 'nu er der kommet nye pensionsregler' ['now there are new pension rules'] into English, just so that every single advisor would have to translate that back into Danish again when they are holding meetings with the customers.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

(80) A lot of our intranet is built around the professional areas, new pension rules, new tax rules, new investment rules, MiFID [Markets in Financial Instruments Directive], Basel III rules [regulatory framework on bank capital adequacy], all of these things that are regulated by the EU. Information about Danish regulations is mostly communicated to us in Danish, the authorities do not write to us in English. Interest organisations around us, and local financial institutions and the Finance Council all write to us in Danish. […] Most of the information that go on the intranet would have to translate into English [if the intranet was in English], because at least 80-90 % of what we receive from the outside world is in Danish.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

In addition to the intranet, which is primarily used for internal mass communication, employees report on frequent use of email, telephone conversations, and physical meetings. The management team of Saxo Bank arranges common meetings, called town hall meetings, for all employees located in the Copenhagen headquarters four times a year. The town hall meetings are always held in English. Saxo Bank has a small TV studio in their headquarters, which they use primarily for market commentary, interviews with financial analysts, etc., but the in-house TV crew is also used for documenting the company's quarterly town hall meetings, which are uploaded on the intranet for employees located outside Copenhagen.

None of the interviewees stated that they made any use of video conference or other online meeting tools. When asked about this form of communication, one informant, who is in regular contact with Saxo Privatbank's offices in Jutland, replies the following:

(81) No, I don't use that today. Either I drive to Jutland if necessary, or I do it [communicate] by mail or phone.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

Also another respondent, the IT manager in Saxo Privatbank, emphasises the importance of physical meetings with his colleagues based outside of Copenhagen:

(82) It's quite far [to the Saxo Privatbank office in Brørup], it's 300 kilometres to Brørup. I'm driving over there tomorrow, and I know it takes three hours to get there, but it is necessary to devote that time, so you devote time to meet each other, and you devote time to see each other. That is important.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

4.2.3.2 Language choice and communication patterns

Considering that informants in Saxo Bank describe the company's English language policy along the lines of a non-formalised policy (cf. section 2.4.1), one may ask how this policy is carried out in practice. When confronted with this question, one informant in the HR department responds:

(83) But everything is in English. Everything is communicated in English; our employee handbook is in English, our intranet is in English, all communication to the entire bank is written in English, all town hall meetings are held in English, everything is done in English, so that's our policy in a way, of course, you need to understand it [English] to work here.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

In this quote the informant emphasises the widespread use of English for various internal communication purposes in the company. Interestingly, the examples of communicative events and situations mentioned above – employee handbook, intranet, mass communication, town hall meetings – are all examples of managerial and/or administrative communication, i.e. information that originates either from the management of the firm or information that serves an administrative purpose. When the HR consultant states that 'everything is held in English, so that's our policy in a way', this claim is clearly not consistent with what the previous discussion has demonstrated in terms of the everyday use of Danish in Saxo Privatbank. However, when looking at the corporate headquarters information that this informant,

who works as an HR consultant at the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen, talks about, it is evident that Saxo Privatbank also receives this type of information in English:

(84) When the corporate level provides information, then everything is in English, we never receive any corporate information in Danish for example, that is communicated in English. Everything we receive [in Saxo Privatbank] in terms of video information and everything else that goes on, that is in English, and if people want to watch it they either have to work out how to understand it, or find someone else who can understand it, and that's just the way it is.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

(85) It makes no sense when they‘re 1100 or 1200-1400 employees over here [in Saxo Bank's headquarters in Copenhagen], that there are 200 [in Saxo Privatbank] that would like to have it in Danish. It makes no sense for them to translate it [information into Danish], so we have to expect that all communication continues to come in English from here, and then we are the ones that need to find out what is the consequence of that?
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

Quotes 84 and 85 paint a clear picture of corporate management and administrative information being communicated in English only. What is particularly interesting about the two previous statements is that they both express an indirect understanding and acceptance of the English language mandate. Saxo Bank_3 states for example that they must find a way to deal with the situation, where 'they' in this case refers to Saxo Privatbank. In other words, the use of English in vertical communication patterns is seen as a fact of life, where the burden of translation evidently falls on the minority who request information in Danish, i.e. Saxo Privatbank, not the sender of the information, Saxo Bank, who also represents the majority in terms of number of employees. Saxo Bank_4 (Quote 84) expresses a similar view when he states that employees themselves are responsible for comprehending corporate information that is presented to them in English.

In certain cases, the management of Saxo Privatbank has chosen to translate important information coming from the Saxo Bank headquarters, as previously mentioned. It is evident from talking to one of the directors in Saxo Privatbank that the choice to use Danish in certain situations has been used strategically, as an integral part of the company's change management strategy, following the merger with Saxo Bank. This merger marked the beginning of a big transformation for employees in Saxo Privatbank, and the use of the Danish language can be seen in relation to this:

(86) It's a new platform, it's a new way of thinking, there are new procedures, there are new collaborations, there are new colleagues, everything is new. When you are in that change process,

then you need to be 100 % certain that you actually understand what you are reading and signing, that is quite essential. […] Insecurity in their [employees'] everyday life is also reflected in that they feel insecure about the [English] language.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The informant then provides an example of how Saxo Privatbank decided to translate Saxo Bank's Code of Conduct from English into Danish. The Code of Conduct is a set of rules that employees have to follow, and they do so by signing the Code of Conduct document, which originally was issued by a Saxo Bank headquarters' function in English only. Specifically, the respondent explains that:

(87) Where the individual employees have to commit themselves to something, we translate it into Danish or we arrange some sessions where we go through it, to find out what is written in this piece of paper, so that as an employee you feel confident about signing it, because that is really what it is about.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The importance of having this information available in Danish from a management perspective can clearly be seen in relation to the nature of the document, where employees commit to act in agreement with the company's Code of Conduct. Saxo Privatbank employees' request for Danish information in this and in other similar cases may be explained by the Danish language background of the company, where employees previously have had little or no exposure of English-medium communication. It is also suggested by one respondent that the need for local language communication to Saxo Privatbank employees may be explained by the age distribution of employees in this part of the company. In particular, the informant states that:

(88) I don't think actually that it is possible to change this [need for Danish language material], it requires a new generation of people, that generation of people we have in Jutland [Saxo Privatbank] if of course related to this that the average age perhaps is something like… 45-50 or something around there. Over here [in the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen], it's probably around 30, and that is the entire difference, actually. […] When you are 30 today, English is such a big part of your everyday life that it doesn't matter, you learn it all the time, people are affected by it all the time, and you are good at it, you are actually good in English when you are 30 years old, you won't be that as a 50 year old if you haven't used it [English]. That's just the way it is.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Based on what the statements made by the two key informants above, i.e. respondent Saxo Bank_3, Director and Saxo Bank_4, IT manager, it is clear that the use of Danish language communication to a large extent has been used strategically as a facilitator in the Saxo Bank-Saxo Privatbank integration process. This observation corresponds with Slangen's (2011) communication-based theory of entry mode, mentioned in section 2.3.4.6. Indeed, Slangen argues that the acquisition of subsidiary requires more frequent communication than a greenfield entry, because of the need to integrate and motivate the existing workforce (also discussed in Gupta & Govindarajan, 2000). Interestingly, when another informant, Saxo Bank_8, Consultant, in Saxo Privatbank states that 'the language [English] becomes less and less of a problem, because English becomes a more and more integral part of the work day' this may be seen as a sign that closer and more established integration between the two companies, in combination with more frequent exposure to headquarters communication by means of the English language, may reduce the need for Danish translations in the future.

At the same time, the use of a Danish Saxo Privatbank intranet has shown that external communication patterns clearly influence Saxo Privatbank's internal language choices. 'The majority [of employees] experience that 95 % or 98 % of their everyday life is in Danish' the Saxo Privatbank director (Saxo Bank_3) observes. The importance of the Danish language in external communication is emphasised in the following statement:

(89) It would be completely unnatural to start up a Danish bank today in the English language, and that means for example that Bank Santander, which wants to enter the Danish market, they have Danish offices. There are no real players on the Danish market – perhaps one or two that do not use the Danish language in Denmark. Look at Handelsbanken for example or SEB, they have chosen to have Danish employees in Danish offices and the corporate language is English, but locally [they operate] in Danish.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

Once again Saxo Privatbank's strong local embeddedness and close connection with the local Danish market seem to influence this part of the company's internal communication patterns.

The integration of Saxo Privatbank into Saxo Bank's operations may cause problems for international employees in the Saxo Bank headquarters who do not speak Danish. One informant, a native English speaking employee working at the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen, describes how he sometimes encounters Danish emails from Saxo Privatbank employees:

(90) There's a separate section that deals with solely Danish clients [Saxo privatbank], so all that stuff will be in Danish, and the stuff that we get in from them, I wouldn't have a clue – or I'd have a clue, because if it says Carlsberg AS, I know what it's about… I've picked up words like shares in

Danish, and I'd kind of recognise some words and some terms but if it's an email asking questions, I can't write it, and I guess it does feel like I can't help out with the work if there are a few emails in Danish, but in general people are ok about that. Most stuff comes in English, it's a big international company.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

It is clear from what this and other informants say, such as the next excerpt (below), that the integration of Saxo Privatbank has introduced new communication needs where the choice of language is less obvious than what used to be the case prior to the merger of Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank:

(91) There is a flow of customers criss-crossing Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank, and even though some of the customers are Danish, they have perhaps had an English-speaking advisor in one of the other platforms, and then it is an advantage that we are able to talk together when we have the same customer.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

Evidently, the previously painted picture of Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank as two companies with two distinct language profiles, i.e. the use of English and Danish respectively, is not as clear-cut in reality. Increased integration, demonstrated by intertwined customer handling, also has implications for the choice of language standards and the consequences of these. Even if Saxo Banks claims to operate according to an English language policy, one informant in the HR department explains that there are certain challenges associated with such a policy, given that the company is physically located in a country where English is not an official language:

(92) You can't say that everybody has to speak English all the time, because that doesn't make sense, but if you communicate something; if you communicate something in an email, or you produce a report about something that is going to be distributed to someone that perhaps doesn't speak Danish, then that [report] should be written in English, and if we are publishing something officially in relation to the bank, then that should also be written in English, but it is extremely hard to make a decision that you [employees] are not allowed to speak Danish, for example, you can't do that in a company where half of the employees come from Denmark.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

Based on this statement and other accounts given by respondents in Saxo Bank, including Saxo Privatbank, the Saxo Bank group appears to be significantly more multilingual than the English only language policy suggests. One could speculate that the absence of an official language policy contributes

to the parallel use of English and Danish in the company's offices in Denmark, and especially in the communication that takes place between the Saxo Bank headquarters and Saxo Privatbank's branch offices, which evidently may create problems for employees without adequate language skills in both languages. As stated by one international employee, who previously explained that he sometimes comes across emails from Saxo Privatbank written in Danish:

(93) If I was busy and I've seen an email come in Danish I think like 'I don't have to deal with that, because I can't.' But say if it was quiet day and I was looking for something to do and this email came in in Danish, like, 'I [sigh]… I can't even do that.' In general, it probably doesn't affect me negatively but there have been times where it has, I guess.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

There are, however, reasons to believe that the degree of contact with the Danish language in headquarters is related to the type of function the employee performs. One of the other non-Danish speaking informants, who works within marketing (Saxo Bank_7), describes working in Saxo Bank as 'ridiculously easy', which indicates that this employee has encountered few language-related problems during his time in company.

Still, one area where the Danish language may create problems in the corporate headquarters is with regard to the more social aspects of the international employee's daily work life. The following excerpt illustrates a situation where a non-Danish speaking employee is excluded from a sociable conversation that took place in Danish:

(94) Interviewer: You said sometimes you find it a bit annoying if people speak Danish –
Interviewee: Yeah, even today it happened. I was just sitting there and somebody came over and he's like a manager or whatever, and they were all laughing in Danish, and I was just sitting there. Like, I caught [mumbling] of what they were talking about because I picked up a few words, but… I was kind of laughing to myself [small laughter] but I didn't have a clue about what they were saying.
Interviewer: When was that, was it –
Interviewee: Just earlier today, about a few hours ago.
Interviewer: During lunch, or at a meeting or…?
Interviewee: No, we were sitting at our desks, and he [the manager] came over and they were all cracking up, and I wasn't.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

This international employee's experience may be seen in relation to what Tange and Lauring (2009) found in their study of 14 multilingual organisations in Denmark. Specifically, Tange and Lauring argue that language-based marginalisation of non-native speakers is a common social dynamic in such organisations, which may ultimately create a sense of isolation for the marginalised part. In the passage presented above, it is clear that respondent Saxo Bank_10 is excluded by his Danish colleagues by means of the Danish language.

4.2.3.3 Communication style

Interview data from employees in the Saxo Bank group point to certain characteristic features of language use and communication practices within the company. One informant in Saxo Privatbank believes that a common aspect of Saxo Bank's company-specific language (Fredriksson et al., 2006; Welch et al., 2005) is the widespread use of English loan words, stemming from the company's high level of international activities. However, when confronted with the predominantly Danish language culture of Saxo Privatbank employees, comprehension problems may occur, as illustrated by the following example:

(95) The ones over here [Saxo Bank employees in Copenhagen] are trading internationally with foreign products and foreign names, and that means that when somebody from here travels to Jutland to speak at an evening meeting or something like that – a work like '*offering*' [code-switching], 'what is our *offering*?', and all of them [Saxo Privatbank employees] where thinking 'what the heck is he talking about? What are our *offerings*? We don't have any *offerings*. What…?' and then he says 'hvad tilbyder vi?' ['what can we offer?'], 'Oh…', then they all understood what he meant. That in itself says a lot about what a big leap it would be [to go from Danish to English], because over here, people constantly mix Danish and English when they talk, a lot of words over here have been replaced by English loanwords, because that's what they [Saxo Bank employees] use in their everyday speech.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The lack of a formalised language policy in the Saxo Bank group has been pointed out several times in the previous discussion. However, this is actually not entirely the case. While it is true that Saxo Bank does not have a language policy *per se*, the company does have something that resembles a communication policy, which goes under the name of a 'communications manual' (a more detailed presentation of this manual will be given in section 7.1.2). I was introduced to this document by an informant in the company's public relations department, which acts as the company's communication department. This informant developed the communication manual in 2008, and he explains that his efforts were prompted by 'uncoordinated communication activities' in the company. What is interesting

about the communication manual is that it deals primarily with external communication, which is why the role of this document has been given a low priority so far.

However, the communication manual may be useful for gaining a better understanding of how Saxo Bank's internal communication typically is carried out in contrast to the company's external communication. Informants actually do report on a significant difference between Saxo Bank's internal and external communication styles. Internal communication is described as informal and inclusive. One example that may illustrate this is the use of the company-specific slang 'Saxonians' which refers to employees working in the Saxo Bank group (cf. company-specific language, de Vecchi, 2012, 2014; Welch et al., 2005). Although the origin of this term remains unclear, the use of it signals a common spirit between employees belonging to the same corporate culture.

The company's external communication style, on the other hand, is described as neutral and formal. This description echoes what is stated in the communication manual (p. 11):

> Tone and style should always be concise and must be relevant, honest, accurate and timely:
>
> -Avoid use of adjectives and superlatives
>
> -Be analytical and fact-based. Talk about substance. Be cautious and conservative when discussing the financial markets
>
> -Avoid being sarcastic, polemic or using humour which could be misinterpreted

One reason that the communication manual emphasises the importance of maintaining a neutral communication style externally may be that Saxo Bank's spokespersons often comment on the financial market situation. As stated in the communication manual (p. 9): 'Saxo Bank should always be cautious and conservative when communicating about the financial markets and the industry'. The manual also contains a section on style guidelines, which will be discussed in detail in section 7.1.2.

As mentioned above in section 4.1.3.3 (Communication style in Nordea), the financial sector has been subjected to a number of new legislations and regulations following the financial crisis. Also in Saxo Bank, informants comment that the introduction of new regulations implies a new communication style to the company's customers. One informant states:

(96) This year there have been a lot of new rules about something like – I talk about pensions now because it is a very good stand-alone example with retirement savings, there are some new legislations that only applies to Denmark with regard to pension, and if we have to explain that legislation in English to Danish colleagues who then need to explain it to Danish customers, then there is a loss, and the risk of miscommunication is also a lot higher.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

Also in this excerpt it is evident that industry-specific regulations increase the need for local language communication to the company's customers. Clearly, the strong local embeddedness and close contact to the Danish market (cf. section 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.3.1) is also seen as increasing the need for local language communication internally in the company. As stated by the informant above, a strict English language policy would in this case lead to a 'loss' in the communication between the company and the customers, leading to increased risk of miscommunication.

Interview data also reveal the use of sector-specific terms and expressions in connection with the Saxo Bank's products and services, i.e. in the company's customer-oriented communication. However, as explained by one customer advisor below, the use of these terms should be kept to a minimum when communicating with customers:

(97) There are a lot of technical terms in our world, and we should of course be better at avoiding such technical terms when we write [to customers], but there are some technical terms we can't avoid.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

As stated by this informant, the use of professional financial-sector terms should be kept to a minimum, given that these terms may be unfamiliar to the customers.

4.2.4 Summary within-case analysis Saxo Bank

Saxo Bank was founded as an online investment bank in 1992. The company has operated on the global financial market since the beginning, which has resulted in a non-formalised English-only policy for internal communication. When Saxo Bank decided to acquire a Danish retail bank, today known as Saxo Privatbank, the English language mandate was not received well by the Saxo Privatbank employees, who favoured the use of Danish due to extensive contact with the local Danish environment. Although internal language and communication has remained unregulated, Saxo Bank has developed a communication manual primarily for externally directed communication activities.

4.3 Cross-case analysis Nordea – Saxo Bank

Nordea and Saxo Bank are two financial service companies that have chosen two very different approaches to language and communication issues. It becomes clear when comparing the two companies with each other that diverse language profiles are not the only thing that separates Nordea and Saxo Bank from one another. The following cross-case analysis will focus on aspects which, based on the previous within-case analyses, appear to have influenced the internal handling of language and communication in the two companies respectively.

One of the first, obvious differences between Nordea and Saxo Bank is that they are two companies with very different backgrounds. Nordea, on the one hand, is a merged organisation of several

independent traditional Nordic banks that over time have come to form the Nordea group as it exists today. Saxo Bank, on the other hand, is described as a young, born global online investment bank, that has developed into a fully licenced Danish Bank in recent years. The question is then, to what extent can these very different company backgrounds explain the choice of different language strategies in the two firms?

Based on the previous discussion there are strong reasons for arguing that the historical accounts of the two companies have had an impact on the degree of language awareness and language responsiveness in the companies as they appear today (CILT, 2006; Feely & Winslow, 2006). The two case companies have two different starting points; where Nordea is based on and made up of local, nationally rooted retail banks, Saxo Bank has operated internationally from the very beginning, and only recently expanded its business to include retail customers in the Danish market. Consequently, where Nordea's internationalisation process can be seen as a gradual development from the various national arenas, Saxo Bank's internationalisation process is almost the reverse model, from having an international market presence through online services to expanding its line of business to the Danish banking industry. These two internationalisation/nationalisation processes also mean that Nordea and Saxo Bank have encountered the question of language in internal work practices at different stages in their phases of expansion. The various pan-Nordic local banks that have come to constitute Nordea in its present form were all traditionally run in the national language of the home country market. In line with what Welch et al. (2001) argue, international expansion will eventually force companies to deal with multiple language environments. Nordea has previously had to overcome severe linguistic difficulties in one of its pre-mergers between the Finnish Merita Bank and the Swedish Nordbanken in 1997. Consequently, the company was aware of and prepared to address the issue of how to handle language in their internal modes of communication when Nordea was formed three years later. Saxo Bank in contrast was a well-established and rapidly expanding international company at the time it was decided to extend their product portfolio in the local, Danish market. This meant that the company had already been functioning by means of the English language in their internal communication patterns for almost 20 years when they acquired a traditional Danish retail bank, Brørup Sparekasse, which ultimately represented a greater need for Danish language use in various aspects of the integration scheme.

It is also necessary to look at how the two companies operate and what type of market profiles they have in order to understand their different choices of language strategy. Both case companies demonstrate that the internal handling of language and communication can be seen in relation to the company's organisational structure and business model. In terms of company-external communication with customers and other external parties, such as national authorities, the use of the local language is perceived as an undisputed fact of life when it comes to retail banking. This may be seen in the light of what Bellak (2014, pp. 288-293) argues with regard to the potentially powerful role of company-external forces dictating the choice of language standard beyond the control of the corporate management. Retail

banking is a service industry where the customer and the customer's needs are in focus (Holmquist & Grönroos, 2012; Holmquist & Van Vaerenbergh, 2013). For this reason, the retail part of the companies' business operations is to a large extent embedded in the national local context, where the use of the local language is natural for employees working in this area, also for internal communication purposes (cf. Meyer et al., 2011). In Nordea, retail banking is by far the biggest business area in terms of revenue, accounting for 54 % of total operating income in 2013, and it is also the business area that employs the highest numbers of personnel, specifically 59 % of the total number of employees, as of 2013. Wealth management is another business area where the use of the customer's language is of great importance. In Nordea, wealth management amounts to 15 % of the total operating income and almost 12 % of the total number of employees. Retail banking and wealth management combined thus accounts for 69 % of total operating income and 71 % of all Nordea group employees (numbers from annual report 2013).

In Saxo Bank, on the other hand, retail banking and wealth management are business areas that are covered by Saxo Privatbank. Saxo Privatbank's total operating income accounts for a relatively small portion of the Saxo Bank group's total revenue, just over 8 %. In terms of the number of employees, Saxo Privatbank makes up a bit more than 9 % of the Saxo Bank group's total workforce (Saxo Bank annual report 2013; Saxo Privatbank annual report 2013). It is also worth pointing out that Saxo Bank initially started up as an online investment bank, and only recently has extended their product line to include traditional retail products by acquiring and building up Saxo Privatbank. Retail banking and wealth management is in other words not a part of Saxo Bank's core business, as it is in Nordea. Instead, Saxo Bank has built its international market presence primarily through its online trading platform. Consequently, we are dealing with two completely different business models. This means that Saxo Bank has been able to offer their services to the global market in a wide range of different languages while keeping the costs of managing multilingualism at a minimum. Interestingly, the Saxo Bank trading platform, SaxoTrader, which provides investors with the technical tools and features necessary to trade successfully, is made available to customers in as many as 20 languages. Still, the cost of running this multilingual platform is nothing compared to running a retail bank in 20 languages, as Saxo Bank's business model is an online solution where customers serve themselves through the SaxoTrader platform (Saxo Bank, 2014).

These two different business models appear to be of explanatory importance when examining patterns of language use in the two companies. In both case companies the use of English is widespread in corporate headquarters communication. However, Nordea and Saxo Bank have chosen two very different strategies for language choice in their vertical communication practices, i.e. communication from headquarters to branch and local subsidiaries. As explained in the within-case analysis, Nordea has established a decentralised translation department which takes care of both external and internal translation needs (more on this in section 7.2.1). These translation units are in effect translating all internal messages directed at the company's branch employees in the four Nordic markets. The burden of

translation, meaning the cost associated with having the information translated by the translation department, lies with the sender of the information. In Saxo Bank all company-internal messages are published solely in English. In cases where Saxo Privatbank employees, who are the Saxo Bank equivalent of retail bank employees in Nordea, request information in their native language, Danish, the burden of translation falls on this part of the company – Saxo Privatbank as the receiver of the messages.

One frequently mentioned reason why the two companies choose to translate information from the common corporate language English to the local national language of the branch office(s) is due to their close and highly specialised interaction with the external world, as previously mentioned, where the national language is seen as an indispensable requirement. Another reason that appears to trigger the need for translation is related to the branch employees and their level of English skills. This issue was touched upon in the two within-case analyses, and may be further illustrated by the following quotes:

(98) We in Denmark believe that we are super international and super global in everything we do, but actually, the correspondence that we [in Saxo Privatbank] receive from Saxo, which is very specific to the company and also the rest of the world, it is the same [information] they send to Jutland [Saxo Privatbank] and that is actually a problem, because they [the employees] have problems understanding the level of English this information is written in, and that means that they dig their heels in and write back 'could we get this in Danish?'
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

(99) We have to take into account that we have employees that have been working with the bank as such, not called Nordea, but from when they were like 16 [years old], and they are almost going to retire now, so they don't have that skill [English language skill], and we have to keep in mind that they are really, really important employees for us, because they have such a good knowledge base, it is important to keep them, [and] that we have to reach them [in their native language], because we cannot reach them in English.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

This finding resonates with what previous studies have found with regard to the importance of having information available in the local, national language of employees also in the Scandinavian countries, where the general population is seen as having a good knowledge of English (Bellak, 2014; Lønsmann, 2011; Tange & Lauring, 2009).

Another factor which seems to have influenced Nordea's and Saxo Bank's different approaches to language is two very different types of corporate cultures. As presented in the within-case analysis, informants in Nordea have pointed to the fact that this company's choice of using several parallel languages in addition to the common corporate language English may be seen in direct relation to the

fact that Nordea is a post-merger organisation which has been confronted with the need to establish a new corporate culture. Again, the company's strong connection with the various national markets through the nature of its operations has accentuated the role of the local languages also for internal communication, as this is one of the most important determinants shaping the linguistic landscape – 'linguascape' in the terminology of Steyaert et al. (2010) – of the majority of Nordea's employees, i.e. the company's branch office employees. The corporate culture of Saxo Bank has been described as a dynamic, performance-based culture rooted in ideas originating from capitalist philosophy. It is also a culture characterised by fast and uncomplicated decision-making processes, where decisions are quickly brought to life, which also holds true for the choice of language for internal use, as described in the within-case analysis.

The particular corporate culture of Saxo Bank can to a large extent be seen in relation to its relatively modest degree of corporate governance and control. Saxo Bank is not a company that tends to develop policies and procedures in various areas to influence the behaviour of its employees. Nordea, on the other hand, may be defined as the opposite, as informants describe Nordea as a company with widespread use of regulatory documents and consequently a high degree of corporate governance. This appears to have prompted the development of a comprehensive business case examining different options for handling the company's translation needs, which ultimately resulted in the company's language policy as it exists today.

Saxo Bank does not have a formalised language policy, but a communications manual, which focuses primarily on the company's external modes of communication. For this reason it is clear that the purpose of this document is of a very different nature than that of Nordea's language policy, which will be investigated further in Chapter 7, where language management tools are discussed in more detail.

Although Nordea and Saxo Bank differ in terms of how explicit choices they have made in the area of language and communication, expressed through their degree of internal language management, the linguistic landscapes of these companies nevertheless share some characteristics. Language policies aside, both Nordea and Saxo Bank must be described as multilingual communities where both English and the local languages exist in parallel. The use of local languages have been emphasised with regards to the branch offices. Still, the corporate headquarters is not an English-only zone, although English-medium communication appears to be more common in corporate headquarters interaction, i.e. between colleagues working in corporate functions in headquarters or in close collaboration with the headquarters for example through the composition of multinational teams. There are, however, reasons to believe that the frequency of local language interaction depends on different headquarters positions. A headquarters employee working in close contact with the branch area will for example be more likely to encounter the use of local language(s) than a headquarters employee who primarily collaborates with international colleagues, where English serves as an obvious language choice in most cases.

5 Language and communication in manufacturing companies

This chapter will present empirical findings from the two manufacturing companies Grundfos and ECCO in response to research question, RQ1b. Like Chapter 4, this chapter will also focus on the relationship between issues of language and communication from the perspective of the company context, when seeking to answer: How is the context reflected in the way language is managed in the two manufacturing companies? The structure of this chapter is identical to Chapter 4, containing within-case analyses of Grundfos and ECCO, followed by a cross-case analysis of Grundfos and ECCO.

5.1 Within-case analysis Grundfos

5.1.1 Company background

5.1.1.1 Company history

Grundfos is one of the world's leading producers of pumps used for a wide range of functions. The line of products includes circulator pumps for heating and air-conditioning, industrial centrifugal pumps, pumps for water supply, sewage and dosing, as well as standard and submersible motors for monitoring and controlling the operation of pumps (Grundfos, 2014). Originally named 'Bjerringbro Foundry and Machine Factory', the company was founded in the small town of Bjerringbro in Jutland by the Danish entrepreneur Poul Due Jensen in 1945. After several name changes, the company acquired its present name, Grundfos, in 1967 (Dingley, 2013). Today the Grundfos group is represented in 57 countries world-wide, and employs almost 19,000 employees in total. As one informant puts it:

(100) In 1945 one man made one pump. Today we are 18,500 [employees] that make 16 million pumps. That is an amazing history, it is an amazing globalisation story.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

Indeed, the Grundfos group has experienced a steady growth rate while accelerating its global expansion over the past 70 years. Increased internationalisation and global collaboration does also appear to have affected the development of the company's language policy. As previously mentioned, Grundfos developed its first official language policy in 2002. An updated version of the language policy was published two years later, in 2004 (to be discussed in section 8.1.1). One of the key persons behind the language policy initiative, who now works as a personal assistance, gives the following account of how being part of an international work environment affects the need for having a formalised language policy:

(101) We are an international company, that's why it is necessary to have an established language policy, because there is a lot of communication between the companies, very much.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

The informant emphasises the international nature of Grundfos, and points to frequent cross-border contact between various Grundfos companies as factors that have prompted the development of the language policy. At the same time it is also worth bearing in mind that the company has been subjected to a gradual process of increased internationalisation of activities. This steady, step-wise development has meant that Grundfos employees over the years have had to find a way to communicate with each other despite their different language backgrounds.

While the company's language policy states that the official corporate language of Grundfos is English, this is not the result of an explicit decision-making process. Rather, another key informant, who also played a significant role in developing the language policy, explains how English became to be the corporate language of Grundfos:

(102) As Grundfos progressively expanded and acquired companies in more and more countries, it became necessary to find a common language to communicate in, and it was a fairly obvious choice that we decided to communicate in English, so it didn't happen the way that the executive board sat down and said 'the next item on the agenda is corporate language. What should that be?' I think it happened gradually by itself.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

Evidence from interview data as well as public company information, e.g. annual reports, paint a picture of a global company with strong international presence and sales reach. Nevertheless, several respondents also mention the strong Danish roots of the company, and how the connection to Denmark – the company's headquarters still being located in the small Jutland town Bjerringbro with approximately 7500 inhabitants (Statistics Denmark, 2014) – still plays an important part in the everyday running of the company.

(103) We are an international company that is on its way to becoming truly global, and it is our strategy as well to become that [global]. But we have a history and a structure which means that we haven't made it there yet. […] We have a Danish management, we have a Danish history and we have a concentration of corporate functions in Denmark which is somewhat bigger than other places, but it is about to be distributed.
Grundfos_3, Communication professional

(104) We are a Danish company that has grown internationally, and we are becoming global, and we are – I think we are as well, I mean, we are well on our way, but we're not quite there.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

Quotes 103 and 104 illustrate that the strong Danish ties still affect the way the business is run today, even if the scope of company's business operations has expanded significantly since 1945. The Danish history of the company is also something that is reflected in the company's organisational structure and operations, and corporate culture, which will be described in the next two sections.

5.1.1.2 Organisational structure and operations

Grundfos' organisational lay-out follows a matrix structure, as explained in the following quote:

(105) Our organisation is built up like a matrix organisation, where the parties that are involved in solving a problem have to find a solution to that [problem] together, rather than having the competences centralised in one area, but [instead in] several different places, where they then together find a solution.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

This organisational set-up clearly necessitates close collaboration and interaction between employees working together (Galbraith, 2009, pp. 143-151). At the same time, the company's high degree of international operations implies regular communication patterns between the headquarters and the various subsidiaries, i.e. vertical communication, as well as between various Grundfos companies, i.e. horizontal communication (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002). The company's overall business activities and strategies 'are striving towards being more and more international' as one informant reports, before elaborating:

(106) We have to. I mean, we have market shares in Denmark that are gigantic, and very hard to exceed, so when we build new sales companies, when we see new opportunities around the world, they are not in Denmark, they are outside. All new investments are made more or less outside Denmark, in terms of factories and so on.
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

The company's current and future business opportunities may consequently be understood as an important factor accentuating the role of language and communication in the company. This can also be seen in relation to the fact that Grundfos' various units and departments commonly consist of members located in dispersed geographical locations, working together in multinational teams. Increased international cooperation in such teams may create certain challenges for the team manager, as stated in the following excerpt:

(107) Communication is a growing challenge in a company like ours, and I'm not just talking about the type of communication we make [in the communication department], but management communication; how do you as a leader communicate to your employees, that is a growing challenge in our company where the manager is not necessarily located in the same place as the employees. You may very well be a manager in Denmark and have employees working for you in China, right, that is completely normal.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

Another informant explains that Grundfos' organisational structure not only dictates communication between employees working together in a geographically dispersed team, but also communication between teams that are situated in various locations:

(108) We do actually have some departments where there is maybe one team in Denmark, then another team in Finland, there's one team in Hungary, one team in the US, [and] as soon as they communicate, it's in English.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

In both of these two examples, there appears to be consistent and continuous exposure to cross-border communication, irrespective of the team dynamics, i.e. whether the team itself is made up of employees situated in various geographical locations, or the team/unit is located in one geographical location with sister teams/units in other geographical locations.

Turning then to Grundfos' communication department, it is interesting to note that the way this department is organised deviates somewhat from the decentralised organisational model described above. The communication department is located and works from the company's headquarters in Bjerringbro. One communication professional provides details on how the department is set-up and run:

(109) We are a corporate department, but we are not globally based, we do not have any branches locally, we are only here in Bjerringbro, so we have a network of employees that are appointed as proof readers locally, so those people will be given this task on top of their normal work, they are not communication people and it is not their main task.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

This informant describes that the unit responsible for the company's internal and external communication is centralised and run as a headquarters function, while ad-hoc language assistance may be obtained from communication partners located in various foreign Grundfos companies. The communication partners primarily act as proof readers of corporate information, which the communication department gets

translated from Danish to eight ‘Grundfos languages’ by an external translation agency (the use of these ‘Grundfos languages’ and purchase of external translation services which will be discussed in detail in section 5.1.3.1). Thus the local proof readers are not members of the communication department, but resources that the communication department may draw on when needed. As mentioned in the quote above these employees typically hold other positions in the company, often working in marketing, HR, or other kinds of support positions. In some cases it may also be the general manager of the company.

The head of corporate communication reports directly to the CEO, which is seen as a clear advantage by employees working in the department. In particular, one informant states that:

(110) It is a great advantage that we have a quick and effective line of communication between the communication department and the top management, so that we instantly can find out what we have to do, because things move fast, and [people] in our outside world don’t want to wait for hours and days to get a response, we have to provide that right away [when we they contact us].
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

Grundfos does also have an in-house translation department in addition to their communication department. This department consists of several international teams, unlike the communication department, with one team located in the headquarters in Bjerringbro, one in Finland, one in China, one in the US, and finally two teams in different locations in Germany. However, the translation department is concerned only with translating documents for external use, e.g. installation and operating instructions, product catalogues etc., and the set-up of this department therefore falls outside of the scope of this analysis.

5.1.1.3 Corporate culture and identity

The previous discussion has revealed that Grundfos’ Danish roots to a large extent influences how the company is organised and run. When interviewing Grundfos employees, the company’s Danish background is also brought up in relation to the company’s corporate culture and identity. When informants are asked whether they perceive Grundfos primarily as a Danish or an international company, one interviewee, (respondent Grundfos_12, Consultant), describes Grundfos as an ‘international Danish company’ and a ‘real international company, with highly developed Danish standards’.

Clearly, Grundfos is a company that has undergone significant global expansion. The strong Danish cultural influence coupled with the company’s organisational structure and operations may create certain challenges. One key informant reflects on the influence of the Danish mind-set on the company’s work culture:

(111) We still think Danish. We still have a very Danish corporate culture. [Interviewer: In what way?] The best example is that in Denmark, we have our summer holiday in the month of July, and Denmark is closed in all of July because of the summer holiday. And two weeks before July, Danes start to think 'I am going on my summer holiday soon', and to weeks after July, Danes start to think 'I have to start working again', so you actually have between six to eight weeks where Denmark is mentally on summer holiday, but they are not away on summer holiday in China, and the Chinese work culture is like… especially now, we have a lot of examples from the IT department, where the Chinese are very, very skilled employees, but they need to know what they are supposed to do. They are not like… like in Scandinavia, where we are autonomous, right, independent employees who organise our work day and solve our tasks within a time frame – in China you actually have to use an old-school management style, which is [telling the employees] 'you have to solve this task, and it has to be done at this point in time', but when you have a six to eight week summer holiday in Denmark and China does not receive any signal about 'you need to solve this task', then they just look out of the window, because they don't have anything to do [being ironic], and Grundfos in Denmark is closed. That is not a global working culture, that is a Danish culture.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

The Danish tradition of 'shutting down' during the summer break has to be seen in relation to the centralisation of corporate functions in the company's headquarters in Bjerringbro. Even if the company aspires to think and act on a global scale, the above example indicates that a dominant Danish mind-set still affects the company's international business operations. In line with Perlmutter's (1969) classical tripartite division of international executives' attitudes towards the multinational enterprise's operations – i.e. the ethnocentrism (home-country orientation), polycentrism (host-country orientation) and geocentrism (world- orientation) – the above quote suggests that Grundfos falls in the first category by displaying a strong Danish, ethnocentric worldview.

However, another informant, a communication professional (Grundfos_3), observes that the corporate culture of Grundfos, which he describes as a culture 'where we focus on delegation of responsibility and competences' is not necessarily a result of the company's Danish roots in particular, but rather 'the Nordic culture, which has spread out in the organisation'. At the same time this respondent makes the argument that it is difficult to talk about one common corporate culture, given that the Grundfos group is spread out over a large number of countries worldwide. Some of these international subsidiaries have existed for almost 50 years now, which means that the host-country culture is likely to have an impact on the company's operations.

Whether it is a feature of a typical Danish work culture, a trait of a more general Nordic work culture, or other external stimuli that have affected the corporate culture of Grundfos, one international

employee reflects upon the flat hierarchical structure of the company. In accordance with by respondent Grundfos_3, Communication professional, above, this informant states that:

(112) It's flat [the structure], and that is reflected in the environment, in the work environment. It is comfortable to work in Grundfos. Very comfortable.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

Grundfos_12 is not the only respondent who speaks warmly about the pleasant work environment in Grundfos. One student assistant describes Grundfos' corporate culture as 'open and friendly and welcoming' and says that 'you are met with a smile everywhere you go'. To illustrate her point that Grundfos is an inclusive workplace, the respondent brings up the company's programme for employees with special needs. Grundfos has implemented a programme where they aim to employ at least 3 % of their workforce on special terms, which includes employees with physical or mental disabilities, as well as employees who have been affected by long-term unemployment (Annual report 2013).

(113) Our flex workers [employees with special needs] walk around among us. We have one who comes and empties the garbage cans, and we know that when he comes, he's just a bit different to us, but he is just as good as we are, and we talk to him a bit, and – that's the only thing he needs to do, empty the garbage cans, and he does that very well.
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

The student assistant works on one of Grundfos' truly international projects, where she maintains regular contact with employees in 53 Grundfos companies worldwide. On previous occasions, project material originally produced at the headquarters has been translated into as many as 28 languages in cases where the information was targeted and distributed to all of Grundfos' employees. Interestingly, when the informant is asked about whether she is able to relate her view of the corporate culture of Grundfos to the choice to communicate project information in multiple languages, her response points back to her previous description of an open and inclusive corporate culture:

(114) The fact that we translate into many different languages shows that we – at least in some of the things we communicate – take into account that we are many different people [in the Grundfos group], and also [that we are people] with different cultural backgrounds.
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

Respondent Grundfos_1 is also able to see a positive relationship between Grundfos' corporate culture and the company's approach to language and communication issues. Specifically, this informant compares the company's language policy to the high quality criteria pervading the corporate culture:

(115) I think the language policy underpins our culture and habits, and when it was made, this language policy, it was actually a very big news story in the media, that Grundfos had created this language policy, and it was also presented in the way that it was also a piece of quality, just like our pumps are of the highest quality, our language should also be of the highest quality. That still pertains, and it pertains everywhere in Grundfos, so I think this [language policy], it is just another part of Grundfos' striving for excellence in all areas. So basically, when we make the best pumps in the world, we should also make the best communication in the world; that is not a policy, that is a culture.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

5.1.2 Leadership and management

5.1.2.1 Corporate governance and control

Grundfos is a privately owned company. The Poul Due Jensen Foundation, named after the founder of the company, owns 88 % of the Grundfos group. Established in 1975, the main purpose of the Foundation is to ensure 'a financially sound and sustainable development of Grundfos and its affiliated companies' (Annual report 2013, p. 4). The ownership structure of the company, and the operational implications of this ownership structure, is also something Grundfos employees view as a central part of the company's history as well as future investment strategy:

(116) We are a foundation, and it means a lot to our employees that we are a foundation and not a public limited company. I have met a lot of employees around the world who say that 'I am really happy that most of our profit is reinvested in the company, to develop the company, so that we also in the future are able to deliver products, rather than jumping from quarter to quarter'.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

With regard to the everyday management of the Grundfos group, employees describe Grundfos as a company with a high degree of corporate control. Extensive use of corporate policy documents in a number of areas may serve as an indication of this:

(117) We have policies for policies, and policies and templates and guidelines for an incredible number of things, but that is probably a way to establish that we strive for quality.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

(118) The policies or the rules that we follow, it's like… it's nothing out of the ordinary, nothing strange, nothing unusual for me. It might seem [like that] to people from the outside, to people that are not used to working in the same way, it's like 'wow', right, 'do you follow all these rules?'. For me it's not [like that].
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

It is interesting to note that these two Grundfos employees do not express any discomfort with the policy mandates. Rather, the range of policy documents is described as a confirmation of the company's high quality standards and conventional work values. One reason that employees experience it this way may be that the term 'policy' is to be interpreted fairly broadly:

(119) We use the word policy for something that is more like a guideline, but we also have corporate policies, and they are more overarching, at an overall level.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

Thus it may make good sense to differentiate between two types of policy; firstly, the type that should be understood as guidelines rather than strict regulatory documents, and secondly, the type that are described as 'overarching', cf. Quote 119 above. This second type of policies is referred to as 'Group policies' in Grundfos terminology.

Grundfos has in total 17 group policies, and these are all contained in a document of 28 pages (including some illustrations). This document dates back to 2001, and an updated version of the document appeared in 2014 (in this section the 2001 version will be discussed, as this was the one in force at the time the language policy was developed). The group policies are approved by the executive board, and apply to all companies that 'bear the Grundfos name'. The 17 policies cover the following areas (listed in order of chapters): Business concept, Marketing, Research and development, Purchasing, Production, Quality, Treasury management, Financial planning and control, People management, Service, Environment, Information technology, Communication, Patents, Risk management, Local assembly performed by non-Grundfos company, and Licence.

The group policy concerning communication is of course particularly interesting in the context of this study. The text itself is fairly short and concise; it is only 234 words long and written in a relatively high-flown language. The aim of the policy is 'to contribute to the achievement of the Group's overall objectives as well as to the strengthening of the Group's image towards relevant stakeholders.' After a short introduction, the communication policy deals with the company's internal and external communication in two subsequent paragraphs. In particular, the purpose of the company's internal communication is to 'ensure the greatest possible motivation, sense of community and understanding of the objectives and activities of the Group', and the external communication to 'strengthen the outside

world's conception of the Group as a dynamic and trustworthy partner and employer as well as a responsible citizen.'

One of the most interesting aspects of the communication policy is the commitment to high-quality communication:

> Grundfos' vision to be acknowledged as the leading manufacturer of high-quality pumps also applies to the Group's attitude to written communication. High quality is therefore the only acceptable level of language and communication.

The very last sentence of the communication policy – requiring high-quality language and communication practices – has played a key role also in the development of the company's language policy. The language policy document will be described in detail in section 8.1.1. What is interesting here is the process leading to the creation of the language policy. In this regard, one informant, who works as a translator in Grundfos translation department for external documents, and who was involved in this development process, describes the relationship between the communication policy and the language policy as follows:

(120) We started with those couple of lines, where it says that high-quality language is what we are aiming for, or however it is formulated. That was kind of our guideline.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

While the group policy communication document has been written by communication professionals from the communication department, including the head of corporate communication, and approved by the executive board in a top-down manner, the language policy, in contrast, is the result of a bottom-up initiative from employees across the Grundfos group:

(121) So the initiative was taken by me and four other colleagues who knew each other from different things in Grundfos. We all had a background in language, but we were employed in different positions.in Grundfos. We started the project because we felt that there was a need to improve the quality of our language, and it was primarily the written language we felt needed improvement.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

(122) We were four or five people from different parts of the Grundfos organisation who were talking about working with language in a large corporation like ours, and we felt that it might be a good idea if we had a common attitude towards language, and that's why we started to develop a language guide that is commonly referred to as a language policy, but it is actually

recommendations and guidelines about how to approach language-related questions, both internally in the corporation, but also especially when we write something that is meant for the outside world. We started on our own initiative because there wasn't anybody who launched it as a project, but we were five [employees] who started it on our own initiative, and we were allowed to spend some time on it by our local managers.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

These excerpts from two of the language specialists who took part in drafting the language policy do in fact say a great deal about how the language policy document was initiated. What is particularly interesting in regards to what is being discussed here, is that the language policy was a front-line initiative rather than the result of a managerial decision. The language policy document may in other words be described as a bottom-up language management initiative while at the same time in response to the top-down corporate communication policy.

Still, even if the development of Grundfos' language policy has been described as a process primarily initiated and driven by the group of employees who actively contributed to the development of the language policy document, the management of Grundfos did play an important, though small, part in the policy-making process. One of the key informants explains in the following excerpt exactly how this evolved back in 2002, when the first version of the language policy document was issued – in Danish:

(123) We have actually made two language policies, one in Danish and one in English. […] When we'd finished the Danish version, we arranged – together with our communication department, where one of the members of the group came from – a small event, where we launched the language guide, and of course we had invited members of the company's management team, and several of the executive board members were present, and they were so excited by it, [and] they asked us why we had written it in Danish when a large company like Grundfos uses English a lot […] and our reply was that, well, we were five Danes and we knew the Danish language best, and for that reason we had started with a language guide for Grundfos' Danish employees. Then the natural subsequent question was asked: 'would you be willing to develop a language guide in English, the corporate language of Grundfos?', and yes, so we did, and we were the same group of people, but this time we consulted with colleagues in our German company, in our American company, and in our British company, who we included in the working group.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

As described by this informant, Grundfos' language policy document exists in two language versions, a Danish language version, published in 2002, and an English language version, published in 2004. It is evident from what the informant says in the previous quote that the latter version was developed as the

result of an explicit request from the Grundfos' management team.

Finally, as a concluding comment in this section, it is interesting to note that informant Grundfos_5, Translator refers to the language policy as a language guide. This supports the previous observation that Grundfos has a tendency to develop 'soft policies', i.e. policies that are to be understood as guidelines (cf. Torenvlied & Akkerman, 2004, p. 32), in contrast to the corporate group policies, which should be read as policies in the conventional meaning of the term (cf. section 2.3.1). Whether the language policy document should be interpreted as a language policy or a language guide will be discussed further in section 8.1.1.

5.1.2.2 Financing of language management activities

When it comes to financing language management activities, the cost associated with these kinds of activities are, generally speaking, the responsibility of the respective department. As previously mentioned, Grundfos has an in-house translation department that handles the translation of product information and other external material. The translation department does not translate any material for internal use, which means that the communication department relies on external translation agencies to fulfil their company-specific translation needs, such as the translation of the employee magazine for internal communication purposes. The financial expense related to having an in-house translation department is mentioned as one of the main reasons why Grundfos, or the communication department in particular, chooses to purchase these services on the private market:

(124) It is very, very expensive. We prefer to rely on those [translation agencies] available on the [external] market.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

Indeed, setting up and running an in-house translation unit is a substantial investment that requires significant financial backing, as stated by Grundfos_1. In order to justify the costs associated with having a permanent presence of language specialists, the demand for translation must maintain high and remain stable over time (CILT, 2006, p. 46; Feely & Winslow, 2006, p. 23).

Another reason against having internal language and translation assistance is presented by one of the informants in the communication department:

(125) Translation is not a competence that belongs to a communication department as such, it is a competence that belongs to those who write, that we should be able to write in Danish and English as journalists in a global corporation where the corporate language is English. We have to be able to write in English. That's why we have organised language courses, so that we can improve our written and oral English skills.

-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

In this excerpt the informant expresses a resistance to having professional language and translation assistance as part of the communication department. In his opinion, this type of competence falls outside the communication department's areas of responsibility. Interestingly, the absence of in-house translators offering translation of internal material has triggered another type of language investment in the department, namely the provision of language training for employees working in the communication department.

Language training has also been offered to Grundfos employees outside of the communication department. Grundfos has a training department at the headquarters in Bjerringbro that offers a wide range of courses – i.e. not language courses in particular – and this training department has an ongoing cooperation with an external supplier of language courses. Language courses are usually not organised for a whole department at the same time, as in the case of the communication department, but rather taken by individual employees when needed. The decentralised budget system means that employees who want to improve their language skills need to get an approval from the head of department before being able to sign up for a language course.

Grundfos does, however, have a policy about employees' right to receive culture and language training for the purpose of international assignments and global mobility within the group. The cost related to this type of training is always covered by the host company, i.e. the company where the expatriate will carry out his or her work. One informant working within the HR area explains that the purpose of having a policy in this area is to prevent different practices across the Grundfos group:

(126) It is precisely to avoid a situation where the local company [receiving the expatriate] says 'no, we don't want to pay for that [training]', that's why we have a group-wide policy about that [language training]. But I actually do not experience it as a problem, I mean, I very rarely encounter any resistance [from the host company]
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

The group policy may be seen as a way of ensuring that employees are offered language training before embarking on longer international stays, even if the costs of this type of training are covered by decentralised budgets.

5.1.3 Language and communication practices

5.1.3.1 Communication channels

Grundfos has two main communication channels for company-wide mass communication: the intranet and their global employee magazine, Gmagazine. Both of these channels are primarily administered by the communication department, with some assistance from local resources.

The intranet portal is built up of several different intranets, and consists of multiple country-specific sites in addition to one common group portal. This intranet structure results in a truly multilingual sub-site set-up:

(127) There is one group portal, which is in English, which we [the communication department] maintain with news from the entire group, from all of Grundfos. Then we have a Danish site which we also maintain, but in addition to that there are – there are actually 33 sites, which means there is one German, there is one English, there is one French, there is one American, there is one Brazilian, there is one Chinese, and so on. There are 35 in total, and they are maintained locally, and on a regular basis, it is all in their local language.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

The multilingual intranet set-up also opens up for the use of the Danish language on the Danish part of the intranet. However, there are also international employees at the Grundfos headquarters in Bjerringbro and other Grundfos offices in Denmark who do not speak Danish.

(128) It's [the intranet] in Danish, […], but in that case I use Google Translate [laughter] if I don't understand it. I think sometimes it would be nice to have it in English.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

(129) So I'm working in a Danish company and the Grundfos webpage is all in Danish, and there are several applications that are still in Danish, [for example] to book a flight ticket, [then] certain parts of the information is in Danish.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

Being the headquarters of the company, there are also certain types of information that could be potentially interesting to employees working in one of Grundfos' international subsidiaries. One informant describes how she wanted to alert her international colleagues about two job openings in her department. While the job advert itself was written in English, the Danish intranet arrangement caused a very practical problem related to the application process:

(130) If for example you want to apply for a position in Denmark, you have to go on to the Danish people's portal site [on the intranet], I mean… [laughter], you probably won't get that many international applications then, if it says 'send din ansøgning her' ['submit your application here'] on the button where you submit your application.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

In theory all of Grundfos' employees are granted access to the Grundfos intranet. However, gaining access to the intranet requires the use of a computer, which employees working in Grundfos factories do not automatically have:

(131) We have the challenge with our production workers that they cannot just run to a computer. I sit in front of my computer almost the entire day, but they don't do that, they do of course have some computer stations, but it is difficult to reach them because they do not work with a computer.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

While the intranet is considered the main communication channel for corporate and administrative staff, who account for approximately 53 % of Grundfos' employee composition, Grundfos use their employee magazine as the main communication channel to production workers, who account for the remaining 47 % of the total workforce (Grundfos, 2013). The magazine is made available to all Grundfos' employees, but is considered a particularly important medium to reach out to those employees without intranet access:

(132) The entire magazine is translated into eight languages, and it is distributed globally to 18,500 employees, and it is the only medium in Grundfos that reaches out to all employees, because not everybody can log on to the intranet.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

The employee magazine is a well-established communication channel that has existed for a significant number of years. One communication professional, who has been with the company for almost 20 years, estimates that the magazine was first launched in the 1970-80s, in a slightly different format and under the name 'Around the world'. 'Around the world' was originally issued in four languages: Danish, English, German, and French. Today, the Groundfos employee magazine, Gmagazine, is written for the most part by the corporate communication department in Bjerringbro and translated from Danish – by an external translation agency – into English, German, French, Russian, Spanish, Hungarian, and Chinese. These languages are frequently referred to as the eight 'Grundfos languages', and they are selected on the basis of the scale and nature of the company's international operations:

(133) We have French because we have production and sale in France, we have German because we have production and sale in Germany, English because it is [a] global [language] and our corporate language to begin with, Russian because there are a lot [of employees] in Russia and also in the former Soviet republics and that part of the old Soviet Union still speaks Russian, there are many countries that are able to read a Russian magazine – China, because we have sale and production in China, for example – what more do we have, well, we also have a Spanish translation and a Hungarian [translation]. Hungary is the second biggest Grundfos country, we have four factories down there, we produce a lot [in Hungary], we have a lot of employees – more than 2000 employees in Hungary, so that's why those languages have been selected, it has to do with how many employees and how much production and sale we have in the respective country.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

In a semiotic study consisting of 230 articles from Gmagazine, Maier and Andersen (2012, 2014) discuss how the magazine contributes to create a common corporate identity for employees in Grundfos. The authors (2014, p. 264) state that 'Being a global organization, Grundfos encounters a difficult task as it has to sustain a viable organizational identity while addressing employees from all over the world', but that the Gmagazine 'encourage the employees to identify with a strong global company with different nationalities and high quality products and give the impression of a sense of community among employees across borders and nationalities'. Also in one of the Gmagazines (October, 2012, p. 10), one of the authors, Andersen, is interviewed about the Gmagazine-study, where 'She explains that the communicative strategies that are used in Gmagazine help blur the geographical boundaries and […] that this is possible because the articles help create a sense of solidarity with Grundfos, and also, tells about the individual employee's opportunity to take active part in promoting sustainability'. Thus, Maier and Andersen's (2012, 2014) study suggest that the Gmagazine plays an important part in 'communicating' the corporate identity to Grundfos' employees worldwide.

In addition to the Danish version of Gmagazine, Grundfos has an employee magazine called 'Løberen' ['the runner'] that is brought out in Danish only. This magazine is also produced by the communication department. Løberen is intended only for Grundfos employees in located Denmark, and appears six times a year. Gmagazine is published four times a year.

The fact that Gmagazine comes out in eight languages, all of which are published simultaneously, results in a lengthy production time:

(134) Interviewee: It takes about six to seven weeks from the time we have finished the Danish version, and it is ready for print, till we receive the other language versions.
Interviewer: Is that problematic in any way?

Interviewee: Yes [laughter] it is problematic if you want to be a news media… but that's not really what we want to be, and we're not, right, we have to acknowledge that. Our choices and priorities in terms of material and articles are characterised by that we are not a news media but more of a background media.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

Besides the intranet and the Grundfos employee magazines, which are mostly used for mass communication, respondents report on widespread use of email and telephone conversations as common communication channels. One informant who is in frequent contact with Grundfos employees located in foreign subsidiaries, explains that she tends to combine the use of email and phone calls when communicating with international colleagues.

(135) There are a number of companies out in the regions where it really is just the HR manager that speaks English at a conversational level, but they often have some assistants to take care of certain duties who do not have the technical vocabulary in English, and that is problematic. We are very aware that we don't just send out emails and expect that they receive them, because we know [sigh] they probably don't, instead we follow up on it, we call and have a dialogue where we also check whether the person who has received this [email], whether they really have understood what they need to do.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

This informant, who works in an HR function, explains that the language and terminology used within HR often includes complicated professional and technical terms, for example related to tax and other national legislations. This highly professionalised terminology combined with foreign language communication, i.e. the use of English, influences her choice of communication channels, as evident from the excerpt above.

Employees furthermore report on the use of different video conference tools for online meetings and web conferences, in addition to the traditional physical meetings. Some of the tools mentioned are Skype, Scopia, and Microsoft Lync. Microsoft Lync also features an instant messaging function which some respondents find useful for shorter exchanges.

Grundfos has also made use of the social network community Yammer, which is a communication channel used for private communication in business organisations. Yammer works according to the same principles as Facebook, where employees can build their own company-internal network and interact with other Grundfos employees. An example of the use of Yammer is provided in Grundfos' Gmagazine (2013, p. 31) where a global team manager is interviewed about the communication medium:

‘Many of my employees do not know of other employee’s competences, and since they are working in six different locations around the world, it is extremely important that we all work towards the same goal’. […] Therefore [name of interviewee] set up a group at Yammer, enabling all 63 employees to see what the other members were writing. ‘To most of the employees, this was a completely new communication method, and it is quite different from writing a personal email’, he says, explaining that it felt strange to him as a manager to reply to specific inquiries which were open for everybody to see.

One of the younger informants sees Yammer as an interesting medium and describes the increasing use of it as an ‘exciting development’. At the same time, she also realises that there are some challenges associated with it:

(136) We have a lot of those who are a couple of generations older than me, who are not used to Facebook, for example… and – also, we have talked about Facebook a lot, and we are not allowed to use that [Facebook] during work hours, whereas now we suddenly have this new medium which is just like – it is just the same [as Facebook], it is just called something else, and the way it looks as well, it looks like it [Facebook] too, and now it is suddenly ok to use this [Yammer], and how can I actually use this for work purposes when I have another medium I can use for private purposes but which I am not allowed to use during work hours – I think there have been some issues there, and I think that is also related to [different] generations.
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

Another challenge with regard to company-internal communication was mentioned above, namely that many of Grundfos’ employees are production workers with limited access to the online and network-based communication channels. This means that the communication department and other parties who would like to reach out to this group of employees may have to find alternative communication channels to the ones they would typically use when communicating with white-collar employees. One channel that is utilised today is communication that makes use of the physical environment in the production facilities, for example posters and other visual material. However, this type of physical communication requires local resources for maintenance as the information should be updated and replaced once it is outdated. As it has proven difficult to find the resources to do this, posters and other types of in-house advertisements are used only to a moderate degree.

(137) Our Code of Conduct is signed every year, and it is then signed by all the general managers in our companies around the world, and that poster needs to be replaced with the one from the previous year, and somebody needs to do that, and we have to make them do that, and it’s like that for a lot

of things that needs to be replaced. I travel to some countries where I think 'why have they not replaced that poster?', so that is a good example. If then on a weekly basis they had to replace some news stories physically on a board or something like that, I don't think they wouldn't do that, right, it's not that important for them.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

5.1.3.2 Language choice and communication patterns

As mentioned earlier, Grundfos' language policy states that British English is the company's corporate language. However, the language policy also states that local country-specific communication within one of Grundfos' subsidiaries may be conducted in the local language of the country. This is expressed in the language policy handbook entitled 'In other words…' (p. 46) in the following way:

> Being an international group of companies Grundfos needs a shared corporate language, and this shared language is British English. […] Corporate language does not mean that everybody employed by Grundfos all over the world must speak and write English in all communication. […] [C]ommunication within a local Grundfos company will – and should – be in the local language.

One informant who took part in the crafting of the language policy explains how the language policy should be read in terms of language choice:

(138) You will see that we write in 'In other words…' that English is the official corporate language of Grundfos, but that does not mean that – when you work in a Danish company and you work exclusively with Danish colleagues, then you speak Danish of course, and if you work in a German company and your colleagues are German, then you speak German, but when we communicate between the companies, then we use English as our common language.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

Consequently, the language policy introduces a distinction between cross-border communication, which should be conducted in British English, and country-specific communication, where employees essentially can use the language of their choice. Initial responses from informants indicate that the linguistic demarcation drawn up by the language policy is also deployed in practice. Employees who are engaged in international collaborations with colleagues in foreign Grundfos companies typically communicate by means of the English language. Communication that takes place within local country-specific projects may also be carried out in English, if it is likely that parts of the communication may be presented to international colleagues at a later stage.

(139) English is the language of Grundfos, so when I worked in Hungary, we also used English in all our communication, because we never knew where that email would end up. It could end up with any of our colleagues who do not speak Hungarian. English is the language of Grundfos, so that's how I communicate with them [Hungarian colleagues].
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

(140) We do actually have some departments where there is perhaps one team in Denmark, then another team in Finland, there's one team in Hungary, there's one team in the US, as soon as they communicate, then it is in English, and of course, if there are two guys sitting in Denmark and they are making a presentation that they are going to give to those in Finland, then they don't make it in Danish and translate it, then they make in English to begin with.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

In other words, English is normally used in cross-border communication, which corresponds to the official Grundfos' language policy. At the same time, the use of Danish is widespread at Grundfos' offices in Denmark:

(141) My opinion is that English is the language we need to speak at the corporate level when we are communicating with other [Grundfos] companies. We don't use English as much in the everyday [communication] as I had expected [before I started here], because we are all Danes actually [in Denmark].
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

(142) Of course, I can't be bothered to write in English with my Danish colleague when we are corresponding, if we need to write 15 emails during one day, I really can't see why we should write in English when we're both Danish.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

Both of the above excerpts are statements made by white-collar workers. However, as the following excerpt suggests, the large number of blue-collar workers in the company also affects the choice of language standard, both in Denmark and at foreign production sites. Interestingly, the next informant explicitly states that the need for local-medium communication should be seen in direct relation to Grundfos' employee composition:

(143) I think it would have been different if it had been a different sector. I think something like the IT industry, I think that the English language is more widely used there… [or in] the energy sector,

where you trade energy across borders. Wherever there is production, there will always be – I mean, there will be unskilled workers who do not have an English language background, or the corporate language you have [if you have a foreign language as the corporate language], there you will always have this problem that you have a large group of employees with whom it is important to communicate, and especially if you have production in several countries.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

In this excerpt the informant describes how Grundfos, being a manufacturing company, by definition employs a large number of production workers, who tend to have limited English language skills. For this reason the use of the local language, in this case Danish, is deemed necessary. Consequently, the composition of employees and their language competences, which is a characteristic of manufacturing companies in general, may be seen as a criterion for language use internally in the company.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that there is a need for local language communication internally in Grundfos. One informant who works in the communication department also points out that he and his colleagues in the communication department often produce communication material in Danish:

(144) We make a lot of Danish communication material, because we do actually have – we have 5000 employees in Denmark […] so if I had to estimate how much I make in Danish and how much I make in English, I probably spend two-thirds of my time writing Danish articles and one third writing in English.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

This informant's statement can be seen in relation to the communication department's use of external translators, in particular for the Grundfos employee magazine Gmagazine, as discussed under communication channels. The use of translation services naturally reduces the communication department's need to produce English language material.

In the same way, communication professionals employed in the communication department state that they typically write the annual report in Danish. The report is then translated into English, and the annual report for 2013 was also translated into German. The reason that the annual report text originally is produced in Danish is partly due to the fact that most of the people contributing to the manuscript are Danes; however, it is also a wish from the executive board that the report should be made available in Danish. Actually, when looking at the composition of the executive board, it is hard not to notice the striking homogeneity of the board members: all Danish men born in the period 1955-1970. One key informant, who works in close contact with the executive management, explains that the management team has also considered this:

(145) We were sitting in what was previously called EGMT, the Extended Group Management Team, and there were like 15 people at the time roughly, and Carsten Bjerg [previous CEO] at the time, he reflected on that the majority of the people there were middle-aged, overweight men from Denmark, or even from Jutland, and that represented I think 90 % of the people [in the EGMT].
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

The extended group management team that this informant is referring to is a team consisting of the group executive managers and some selected next level managers in Grundfos. The informant, who is of Scandinavian origin, further explains that that he typically communicates in Danish when he is in contact with his superior and other members of the management board. When asked why Danish is the chosen language of communication in these situations, he replies:

(146) That's a good question. I don't know actually why it's like that. It's sort of I guess standard… the management team are Danes, so they prefer to speak Danish. I… that's why I don't know.
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

This observation may be seen in the light of what Oxelheim et al. (2013) argue when they state that the internationalisation of corporate boards is one of the very last steps in the internationalisation process of MNCs (see also Piekkari et al., 2014). Some of the front-line informants have also reflected on the implications of having an all-Danish management team. With regard to language and communication in the company, one respondent states:

(147) I think it is problematic that our executive board has such poor English skills because it sends a wrong signal to the company. I think it is unfortunate to have a corporate language that the managers of the company are unable to speak fully, so when we have our employee information meetings and things like that, it's in Danish.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

One of the things this informant, who is a native Dane, comments on in this excerpt is the use of Danish in general information meetings, i.e. employee assemblies, held by the top management for Grundfos' employees. One of the international respondents, who is a non-Danish speaker, describes how she experiences these meetings:

(148) There are some general meetings […] every three or every six months, they have a general meeting, it's called by Carsten Bjerg or one of the really top management, where they give

information about Grundfos, the actual results etc., and it's always in Danish [laughter]. So when I attended the first time, they said 'oh, it should be clear because they are using slides in English'. Yes, the slides they use are in English, but there just guiding slides – it would be nice if we can get it [the presentation] in English.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

This informant's statement as well as previous statements from Grundfos' employees located at different hierarchical levels is interesting when compared with the official language policy of the company. The language policy states that the communication that takes place within a Grundfos company may be conducted in the local language of the country. Technically speaking, the management's practice of arranging employee meetings in Danish in Denmark is therefore consistent with Grundfos' language policy. However, the experiences of international employees demonstrate that the use of the Danish language excludes non-Danish speakers at Grundfos' headquarters. One may ask how this is compatible with Grundfos' mission of being perceived as a global company (cf. section 5.1.1.1). What is interesting to note, however, is that management practice of holding annual employee assemblies in Danish have also been found in previous studies of Danish MNCs. Lauring and Klitmøller (2013, p. 93) report that the CEO of a Danish consulting firm addressed the staff in Danish at their annual assembly. Lauring and Klitmøller were puzzled by this practice since that the company in fact employed eight percent foreign nationals in the HQ. In Grundfos the percentage of foreign nationals is around six per cent at the company's headquarters, according to an informant in the company's HR department.

As pointed out by one of the other respondents, there is also a strong signal effect attached to the language practices of the company's executive management. Although the communication that takes place at the Bjerringbro office by definition may be classified as 'local communication', it is still communication that takes place at the headquarters of a company with extensive international operations. The widespread use of Danish in headquarters therefore challenges the image of Grundfos as a truly global corporation.

Another area of communication that may be potentially challenging for international Grundfos employees in Denmark is the type of social communication that takes place in more informal settings. One informant has made the following observation:

(149) Danish employees have a tendency to speak in Danish as soon as they find two Danish-speaking people, even if there are English-speaking people next to them, so that's something that I've been pushing hard, [to] make sure that everybody understands the communication. It might be that you talk about the coffee or that you're picking up the kids in the afternoon, but the guy standing next to you, he doesn't know that if you speak your local language. So I think in general in Grundfos, local Danish people are a bit rude and not used to this thing with speaking [foreign] languages. In a

meeting? Yes, but then you open the door and take a coffee break, and all Danes start to speak Danish.
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

One HR manager has also noted how Danes tend to group themselves together with other Danes to form Danish-speaking constellations. This informant, who has lived and worked abroad herself for many years and considers herself to be part of an international environment in Denmark, thinks it may be a particular Danish phenomenon:

(150) I have experienced a great willingness abroad to accommodate to me or to speak a bit slower [when I have been abroad], and I do not experience that in Denmark. I frequently experience being in a situation where there is a foreign person that looks completely isolated, and all the Danes that are present will be inhospitable and rude and let that person feel really unwelcome rather than try to speak to them in English, or just try to include them in the conversation. I don't think that is just our executive board [referring to the management team's frequent use of Danish], I think that is a very Danish phenomenon rather than a Grundfos phenomenon.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

What this informant observes may find support in previous research findings that demonstrate a potentially negative relationship between linguistic diversity and social inclusion. In line with what several previous studies have found, language is often a mechanism of inclusion or exclusion (cf. section 2.3.4.2). In particular, Tange and Lauring (2006, p. 5) found in in their study of multicultural companies in Denmark that Danish employees often expected non-Danish colleagues to learn Danish in order to integrate: 'Those who do not appear to make the effort, are categorised as unwilling to integrate with the locals, which might result in their exclusion from informal networks.' In line with this statement, the two Grundfos' informants report (above) on a similar type of exclusion of foreign non-Danish speaking employees.

A final observation worth elaborating with regard to communication patterns in Grundfos is the relationship between the company's internal and external modes of communication. Specifically, the two main internal mass communication channels, the employee magazine Gmagazine and the intranet portal, are mentioned as channels that may also provide information to external parties, either directly or indirectly. Two informants from the communication department explain that the Gmagazine, which is a publication written exclusively for Grundfos employees, is sometimes also handed out to Grundfos partners and customers:

(151) It is primarily an employee magazine, but local people [out in the regions] are so happy with the magazine that they actually give it to customers and business partners, 'look – have a look at this, this is actually also Grundfos'.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

(152) The magazine is actually handed out to customers in several places of the world because they [Grundfos employees in international subsidiaries] think it contains relevant information for them [the customers] and because they think that there is a value in showing the customers how we communicate with our employees.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

These statements demonstrate that the traditional demarcation between company-internal and company-external communication is diminishing in Grundfos. It is evident that the employee magazine is used actively to promote and create a positive image of the company for external marketing purposes. For this reason Grundfos_3, Communication professional states that he and his colleagues in the communication department think carefully about what they include in the magazine: 'We do not write anything in here that are unsuitable for our outer world'.

Internal messages may also find their way to the external world through more informal channels, as one informant explains:

(153) We live in a small town here in Bjerringbro, we also do that in other parts of the world, but especially here at the headquarters – in a small town where a lot of citizens work for Grundfos. That means that we can't – I mean, if we write about something on our intranet, our Insite, then it gets published in the newspaper the next day, and that means that we have to think about our internal and external communication as one and the same, and that also means that our external communication – a written press release or if we do an interview in the [external] media, that is also a part of our internal communication, because external communication also contributes to increased understanding and motivation, and also pride at being [employed] in Grundfos.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

It is evident from the excerpt that the indistinct relationship between the company's internal and external messages is seen as a two-way street. Firstly, there is a fair chance that internal mass communication intended solely for Grundfos employees may be picked up by external media, as the company's strong presence in the local environment makes Grundfos-specific information newsworthy to the wider community as well, especially in Bjerringbro where Grundfos is headquartered. Secondly, informant Grundfos_1 also notes that Grundfos' appearance in the external media channels may affect how

employees feel about being associated with the company. In this way, external communication may also serve the purpose of creating stronger employee loyalty, motivation and connectedness to the company.

5.1.3.3 Communication style

Being a production company, Grundfos employs a large number of production workers, as pointed out several times already. It is evident when talking to communication professionals and other Grundfos employees with mass communication responsibilities that this does have an effect on how certain messages are communicated in terms of communication style and also communication mode (e.g. Harzing et al., 2011). One informant explains that her department occasionally relies on visual communication, videos in particular, to accommodate different target groups internally in Grundfos, also those who may be less proficient in English:

(154) It affects us in the sense that we use as much visual and as little verbal communication as possible. There is of course a speak in the videos, but everything that is not said by the speaker is subtitled, and I'm considering whether we should also subtitle what the speaker is saying, because not everybody understands English well enough. The speaker has to talk clearly and pronounce words properly when a local person or a group is being interviewed [in a foreign language], so that people can understand it, or if it is difficult to understand, we can subtitle it, but we try to be as visual as possible and use as few words as possible.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

Another respondent who is in frequent contact with Grundfos employees located in foreign subsidiaries notes that the high degree of international collaboration in the project she is working on affects the project material she and her colleagues develop at headquarters. This informant has previously explained that project material may be translated into as many as 28 languages.

(155) That is something we have to think about of course, and that is also something we think about when we make brochures and roll-ups and posters, that it is possible to translate the formulations we use – they need to be translatable, and they also need to function in different cultures.
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

It is also evident when talking to employees in Grundfos that the international nature of the company's business activities and internal communication patterns influences the use of the English language. One respondent describes a type of English that she labels 'circus English', which she defines in the following way:

(156) It is not correct English, but instead it is short, simple sentences, [and] familiar, everyday words. If you talk to a person that is not that proficient in English, then don't use too many excess words, or extra words, because then they will just wonder 'what does that mean?'. Instead, say 'have you received this? Yes or no?', but avoid long explanations [say] 'you have to do so and so', but not ' if you would like to, it would be appropriate if you would be so and so', and 'I would feel more comfortable with blah blah blah'.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

One of the communications professionals has observed that English medium communication between non-native English-speaking Grundfos employees may result in a particular communication style. This respondent has come up with an appropriate name for this phenomenon – 'Grundfos English':

(157) I often make jokes about how we use Grundfos English. Grundfos English is whatever [English] you are able to speak, right, it is not Oxford English, and it is not grammatically correct and things like that, but people use the tools they have.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

5.1.4 Summary within-case Grundfos

Since its start-up in 1945, the Danish manufacturer Grundfos has experienced a gradual internationalisation process, and the company has today become a leading producer of pumps for several applications. Grundfos has a formal language policy document from 2002, which states that English is the corporate language of the Grundfos group though allowing the use of local languages in company-specific communication. While it is clear that English is commonly used for cross-border communication, interview data also reveal that local language communication is widespread both in white-collar and blue-collar communication.

5.2 Within-case analysis ECCO

5.2.1 Company background

5.2.1.1 Company history

ECCO was founded in 1963 by a Danish entrepreneur with the name of Karl Toosbuy. Toosbuy originally named the business 'Venus', which was changed into ECCO'let in 1969, and later shortened to ECCO (Norlyk, 2013, p. 37). From a small scale start-up in the Jutland town Bredebro, which still serves as the base for the company's headquarters, ECCO has undergone a steady international expansion and is now, some 50 years later, one of the leading shoe brands in the world. ECCO's products are today represented in 87 markets, with over 15,000 shops and selling points. As of 2013, the ECCO group in

total employs just under 19,000 employees (Annual report 2013), 600 of whom are located in the company's headquarters in Bredebro and the Tønder area.

The span of ECCO's international operations has intensified significantly over the past ten years. From 2003 to 2013 the number of ECCO shops increased from 413 to 1177, representing an impressive 185 % increase. The number of shop-in-shops grew from 696 to 1812 over the same period of time, accounting for an increase of 160 %. While ECCO has grown steadily in all markets over the ten year time span, much of the company's expansion has been the result of a strong growth rate in the Asian markets. From representing under 5 % of total revenue in 2003, sales performance in the Asia/Pacific region accounted for 25.5 % of the company's total revenue in 2013 (Annual report 2013).

ECCO has also grown dramatically in terms of number of employees in recent years; ECCO employed close to 10,000 employees in 2003, and this number rose to 19,000 by the end of 2013 – the company has in other words almost doubled its workforce in the last decade (ECCO_2, Communication professional).

The history of the company and the strong connection to the Danish heritage is something respondent are very aware of and attentive to. One informant, ECCO_1, Communication professional, describes ECCO as 'an overgrown shoe shop', with reference to how the company has developed and progressed from its original format to its present status. Another informant, a communication professional, describes the origin and development of the company in a similar manner:

(158) It was a small company founded 50 years ago with only 35 employees locally in Denmark, and it has grown into this huge, multinational corporation with 20,000 employees.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Yet another respondent, who has been with the company for almost 20 years, gives the following account:

(159) Our cultural identity is very much based on having our feet firmly planted. We are a family-owned company, we are not publicly listed, we decide everything ourselves, we do not have to ask about anything, so what I said about having our feet firmly planted in the Jutland soil, I think that is a very good characteristic of ECCO. At the same time – because I've been here for so many years, I notice that the international part is playing a bigger role as well. In the last five to ten years, our visibility in the market, in addition to the product, has increased a lot.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

It is evident from Quotes 158 and 159, as well as the strong global presence of the company, that the international nature of ECCO's activities has become an increasingly important part of the company's

operations in recent years. What is interesting, then, is how the company's history may be related to the choice and use of an English language mandate for internal communication purposes. One informant describes the relationship between ECCOs international outlook and language choice in the following way:

(160) I think ECCO would like to be perceived as an international company, and I think if you would like to be perceived as an international company, well, then you have to speak English, otherwise it's no good.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

This informant's statement is an interesting take on the importance of English in international business. The idea that presented here is that the English language provides an international dimension to the firm (cf. section 2.3.3), but the company does not have a formalised language policy where this is explicitly stated. The choice of the English language mandate appears to be based primarily on pragmatic grounds, which will be discussed further in section 8.1.2.

5.2.1.2 Organisational structure and operations

ECCO is organised and run according to a global value chain model. Unlike most of their competitors in the footwear industry, the company controls the entire value chain by managing every aspect of the shoemaking process. Since leather constitutes the main material in the shoes that ECCO produce, the company owns and operates their own tanneries, as well as shoe factories, which has given rise to the internal slogan 'from cow to shoe' (Corporate press kit, 2012).

ECCO has produced its own leather since the company's first tannery was established in Portugal in 1985. Today ECCO is among the leading producers of leather worldwide, and apart from supplying leather to the company's own shoe factories, ECCO is also engaged in business ventures with external parties, such as the French fashion house Louis Vuitton, providing materials for the brands leather good collections (ECCO Leather, 2013).

A natural result of ECCO's global value chain model is a strong, international production network. ECCO may be described as one of the offshoring pioneers in Danish manufacturing, and since the establishment of a Portuguese factory in 1984 and the tannery the following year, they have set up subsidiaries in a number of foreign locations (Nielsen, Pedersen, & Pyndt, 2008). Today, ECCO's global production unit is the most geographically spread division, with factories and tanneries located in Thailand, Indonesia, China, as well as two shoe factories in Portugal and Slovakia, and a tannery in the Netherlands (Annual report 2012). Interview data suggest that there are various degrees of international collaboration, and thus frequency and depth of communicative interaction, in the different business areas. In relation to the global production units, one informant gives the following report:

(161) The way the company was set up globally, [meant that] the units were intended to almost compete with each other, not work together, because they [the management] felt that this would somehow improve performance, that they were competing with each other. […] So best practice was not something that was common at all. [Interviewer: Is it still like this?] They're changing it. It has changed quite a bit, and it is still changing. A lot of the political power is being transferred to the units or the regions now, and a lot of this with best practice, and the way they set up the production units – they began to see the benefits of making one master production unit, if you want to call it that, a leading example where they tried out new initiatives and new techniques. Then that could be applied to the other production units if it turned out to be important. So yes, there is definitely more cooperation today.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

This informant describes how the different subsidiaries within the global production unit previously did not have a well-developed culture of knowledge-sharing and openness towards other subsidiaries, leading to a low level of horizontal communication. The explanation given by the informant may be seen in relation to Björkman et al.'s (2004, p. 444) discussion of barriers to inter-unit knowledge transfer, where the authors state that 'it may be in the subsidiary's self-interest not to transfer knowledge to other MNC units, even though this would enhance overall MNC performance.' At the same time the ECCO informant indicate that recent changes in the company's organisational structure may lead to more cooperation between the subsidiaries going forward.

A few words should also be said about how corporate personnel located at the global ECCO headquarters collaborate and communicate with colleagues in foreign office locations. Where the majority of the company's production is offshored to cheap labour economies, typical headquarters functions encompass administrative and support roles, such as business development, marketing and IT. Personnel employed in these functions are often in regular contact with similar functions located at ECCO's various regional headquarters. Interviewees' statements demonstrate that international cooperation is a common part of their work routine, for example when collaborating with team members in foreign locations. One informant, for instance, describes how he is part of a very geographically dispersed team in the IT area:

(162) It's an international team. In our team right now have one [team member] working from the US, and one in Indonesia, one in Portugal, and three in Denmark. In addition to that we also use external consultants.
-ECCO_6, Consultant

ECCO operates with three main regions; region Europe, Middle East and Africa (EMEA), region Americas, and region Asia/Pacific. Another informant, who is a product manager in a business development function, explains that he on a weekly basis is in touch with his dedicated contact persons based in the company's regional headquarters:

(163) In each of the regional headquarters there is one person working full-time as something called regional product manager, who is my contact person in relation to the market.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

Interview data indicate that there is closer collaboration and more frequent interaction between personnel employed in administrative and/or managerial headquarters and regional headquarters positions than employees working in the global production units. The ECCO group structure supports this observation since production facilities are primarily run as separate entities, whereas the administrative and other non-production functions are often geographically distributed, and collaboration between them may take the form of multinational teams.

The communications department is also organised as a corporate headquarters functions, working from the company's headquarters in Bredebro, Denmark. A lot has happened in terms of the organisation of the communication department in recent years. A few years back the responsibilities of the communication department were located under the legal department and the company employed only two to three full-time staff covering internal and external communication tasks for the entire ECCO group. In 2012 a new vice president of corporate communication was hired and an independent communication department was established. The head of corporate communication now reports directly to the COO. The department has also grown in terms of number of communication professionals, and employs, as of August 2013, six full-time people. As one communication professional (ECCO_3) puts it: 'We've just hired, the department has boomed […] We've gone from three to six.'

A communication department consisting of six people appears to be a relatively small number in a company that has almost 19,000 employees. The department does draw on local resources for certain communication purposes in the international regions, but there are no dedicated communication resources in addition to the six employees located at the corporate headquarters function. This type of cooperation therefore takes place on a sporadic ad-hoc basis, as one informant illustrates with respect to the company's country-specific intranet set-up, where the local intranet sub-sites (which will be described in further detail under communication channels, section 5.2.3.1) publish local ECCO news specific to employees in that particular geographic area:

(164) They don't have any resources dedicated to communication in the units, so it's usually a secretary to the management, or a human resource employee, because they typically know English. It's

difficult to find people who speak English, to explain different things to them, and because it's just a part-time job for them, or not even part-time, it's just something they have been told they have to do – in the beginning there weren't many articles on the local news.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

One factor that may explain the small communication team in ECCO is that ECCO is a family-owned company. This means that ECCO does not have to comply with the disclosure regulations that publicly listed companies are subjected to, concerning for example details about their operating results, state of financial conditions, management compensation and remuneration, etc. (Bukh & Nielsen, 2012, p. 8). One key informant in the communication department explains that the department primarily deals with company-internal communication, whereas company-external communication traditionally has been a secondary concern:

(165) It is a privately owned company, and for that reason we have not had the same obligations to disclose information as publicly listed companies, and that means we haven't had the need to be very externally oriented in our communication.
-ECCO_2, Communication professional

A small clarification has to be made in that all external communication in the area of marketing and advertising falls under the responsibility of the marketing department. The type of external communication that the respondent here refers to encompasses information that is not directly related to ECCO's line of products but rather the corporation itself. ECCO_2 explains in the previous excerpt that this type of external corporate communication has had a low priority for the department in the past. Still, the informant also explains that there has been a development in that external communication activities have gained more attention in recent years, though still not to the point that it takes away the focus from the department's internal communication tasks:

(166) The press part of it – the external part of corporate communication – we can use that to support our products and image as a company, but that is not what we put emphasis on, we put emphasis on our internal communication.
-ECCO_2, Communication professional

5.2.1.3 Corporate culture and identity

The history and background of ECCO, as well as the ownership structure, is also something that has affected, and still affects, the company's culture and identity. Two respondents talk enthusiastically about a strong entrepreneurial spirit in the company, which may be seen in relation to ECCO progressing

from a small Danish start-up initiative to becoming one of the world's leading producers of casual footwear. These informants mention creativity and development as key characteristics of the company's culture.

This part of ECCO's small-scale, local origin also has another side to it. In line with what the communication professional stated above with regard to the limited focus on external corporate communication, another informant in the communication department states that the company don't have a 'tradition' for being open to the press:

(167) We don't have a tradition for openness and transparency. The people who founded the company were not like that, and therefore the communication is not like that.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Interestingly, this informant relates what she recognises as a lack of openness and transparency in the company to the personal characteristics of the founder and the founding family. In line with these characteristics, the informant describes what she experience as a 'introvert' corporate culture, where the management plays a strong role in approving both external press releases, but also internal announcements on the company's intranet portal.

While the Danish heritage of ECCO has played a significant role in forming the company's corporate culture, it is also seen as an important part of the company's identity and image. In particular, the Danish roots are something informants are able to identify in the company's marketing material:

(168) Our marketing material is very much based on the simple, the Scandinavian, that this is where we have our roots, and that is one of our values […], one of our [company] values is heritage, that we respect our heritage.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

(169) We often try to market our products on the basis of our being a Danish company, but that is more from a design point of view, really, a consumer will often associate that with something positive, that Scandinavian heritage. But we are a lot more international as a company, as a corporation, right, 94 % of our income is export.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

These two quotes indicate that the Danish heritage perhaps plays a bigger role in creating an external image of the company, expressed through product design and marketing material as mentioned above, than representing the reality employees face in their everyday working lives. As stated by the product manager, the vast majority of the company's income is generated through international export, and the

company's global value chain model and international cooperation paints a picture of a global company. This is further supported by the fact that there are approximately 20 nationalities represented at the company's headquarters in Bredebro – bearing in mind that this is a very small Jutland town with a population of approximately 1500 inhabitants. In Tønder, where ECCO's second headquarters building and conference centre are located, there are approximately 7500 inhabitants, as of 2014 (Statistics Denmark, 2014).

5.2.2 Leadership and management

5.2.2.1 Corporate governance and control

The fact that ECCO is a family owned company has been mentioned several times already. The family ownership of the company does give ECCO a high degree of flexibility and independence compared to other publicly listed companies in Denmark. At the same time, the historical background of the company and its ownership structure have previously been linked to lack of transparency and openness, to the point that the corporate culture has been described as closed and introvert. One of the communication professionals also relates this to the ownership of the company, specifically with regard to the establishment of professional relationships:

(170) A family company is based on relationships and trust and respect, rather than 'we just hire this person, or we hire this external company' and trust them.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Interestingly, this informant furthermore suggests that the importance of trust and relationship building in the company has resulted in a limited willingness to use external professional services in the area of language and communication, as is evident from the following excerpt:

(171) One thing that I quickly noticed [when starting working in the ECCO] was that the company was very reluctant to use professionals – professional writers, agencies, for example that would write an annual report for you, draft an annual report for you… professional proof readers, copy editors, any outside professionals. In the past their text had been handled – before the communication department – I assume by secretaries and other people within the company.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The above statement may be seen in connection with what has previously been said about the company's corporate culture as well as limited emphasis on external communication. Since internal communication has been defined as the primary focus of the communication department, this may also have affected the company's willingness to invest in external language assistance.

Another interesting feature of ECCO's management and leadership style is what one informant describes as 'value-based corporate leadership' (ECCO_1, Communication professional). A very restricted number of corporate policies, guidelines and procedures are mentioned as one of the characteristics of this type of management style. Rather than imposing strict operating policies and procedures, it is clear that ECCO favours the 'unwritten rules'. It appears that this view may have influenced how language policies are perceived in the company:

(172) Language to us is not something that is related to policies, it is something that enables us to cooperate. Whether it is English or another language, we don't care, as long as we can understand each other.
-ECCO_2, Communication professional

This communication professional presents a fairly instrumental take on language and language choice in the company. Combined with what other interviewees have reported, statements from several informants draw a picture of a company that does not make widespread use of corporate policies and other types of corporate governance documents. This absence of internal regulations may also be witnessed in the area of language and communication.

However, ECCO may be described as a company in transition. It is a dynamic company where a lot has happened with regard to corporate control initiatives in the last couple of years. In particular, a new transformation programme called GOHIO, short for 'Getting Our House In Order' was launched at the beginning of 2012. The programme focuses on building a solid foundation for ECCO's future growth by simplifying the company's administrative processes and adapting the current business model to increasing market demands. The GOHIO programme was first introduced to ECCO employees in a news release published on ECCO's internal intranet portal 2 January 2012. In this release, which takes the form of an interview with the COO at the time, it is stated that:

> In recent years ECCO has grown bigger and more complex with new sales channels, new markets and a larger organisation. On top ECCO's customers demand shorter order horizons and faster deliveries, which put pressure on the present set-up. Before ECCO can take its next giant leap forward, we have to simplify our processes and adapt our current business model to the increasing market demands. Therefore the most important programme for ECCO throughout 2012 will be 'Getting Our House in Order'. […] [T]he GOHIO programme is about building a solid foundation for ECCOs future growth. It is about clearing the path and improving the ability to perform, meeting the demands from the markets and to ensure profitable growth as a company.

The previous excerpt points to that ECCO's rapid international expansion (especially since early 2000, cf. section 5.2.1.1) has introduced a greater need for streamlining internal work processes. As a way of achieving this, and supporting the overall goal of building a solid and stable business model for profitable growth in the future, an important part of the GOHIO programme has been to identify various focus areas, referred to as 'work streams'. From the name of the transformation programme one can draw the conclusion that these work streams are areas in need of improvement – 'Getting Our House In Order' suggests that the 'house', i.e. the company, could need some tidying-up. Corporate governance has been identified as one of the work streams of the GOHIO programme, a focus area across the ECCO group, as stated in the internal news release mentioned above:

> *Governance* - The work stream is about how to clarify roles & responsibilities across the ECCO Group and its companies in order to simplify processes and minimize waste.

The GOHIO programme has also affected employees in the communication department. One key informant in the department describes how the GOHIO project has concentrated more resources on the development of corporate policies and guidelines:

(173) They identified this [lack of corporate policies] as a weak part of ECCO in the administration, and so a team was put together from the legal department, and a then new person was hired to be a policy coordinator, meaning she would go out to the departments and coordinate what policies they were going to write, she would make a master. […] So this new person that was hired started working on a template for the policies, and then went out to all the departments in the group, and said that the group policies had to be written like this, and gave them a procedure, and they're still working on it, still coordinating all the new policies. As a part of that [GOHIO programme] they decided that we needed an internal and external communication policy and a press policy.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Consequently, the communication department has started working on developing two types of communication policies, as is evident from the previous excerpt: one (common) policy addressing internal and external communication, and one press policy, addressing media and other PR-related enquires. Respondent ECCO_3, Communication professional emphasises that the GOHIO programme has been a decisive factor for the development of these policies:

(174) So it's a part of that initiative that we need to write these. But, you can say, if the COO hadn't started the GOHIO initiative, then that would never have been brought up, these two policies.

-ECCO_3, Communication professional

This was stated by ECCO_3 at the first of our three interviews, which took place in January 2013. When I spoke to this informant in February 2015, over two years after our first meeting, the GOHIO programme had been completed:

(175) It was a pretty big success […] It was about five work streams, and governance was one of these work streams, the work with the policies. They had an external company […] to run the GOHIO project, so it was very professionally run, with planning and milestones and communication, status, reviews and everything was very formalised and professional, so the programme went through.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

As stated by respondent ECCO_3, the GOHIO transformation programme was completed, and successfully so. The key question then remains: what happened to the language policy initiative? This story will be completed in Chapter 7 which focuses on language management tools in particular, cf. section 7.1.2, which is devoted to language policy in ECCO. For now it is sufficient to say that the initiative to develop a language policy document did not succeed.

5.2.2.2 Financing of language management activities

As ECCO did not have a formalised language or communication policy when I first approached them in 2012, the company was originally categorised as a 'low' language management company. Prior to the introduction of the GOHIO programme, resource allocation in the area of language and communication-related activities was modest (cf. Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 216-217). One communication manager did at one point, shortly after she started working in the company, bring up this issue of to a member of the management board, and the informant describes the outcome as follows:

(176) Communication isn't prioritised, our company is a very bottom-line company; the most important thing is selling shoes, finding new customers, increasing sales and production. And unless you can show some kind of solid financial savings or benefit, it's difficult to get these things through, and actually, when I told you I approached one of the members of the boards about this [language and communication] policy issue originally, she said 'you know what, [name of informant], I would love to put you full time on this and just clean up all the policies and just work with all this language and policy stuff' she said 'but *I* have to present this to the board' and she says '*I* have to and show them what are we going to get out of this economically', and she said 'you know what, that's a really difficult argument'.

-ECCO_3, Communication professional

This informant points to some important characteristics of ECCO in this excerpt – characteristics that may clarify the role and perception of language in the company. Specifically, ECCO is described as a company that is very much focused on the product itself and the operative processes related to efficient product management. Since these core business activities are seen in direct relation to optimising sales performance, the non-core business activities are deemed less important and consequently not worthy of any resource-intensive investments. It is evident from what the respondent reports that language traditionally has been treated as, 'something you need to take care of quickly, in order to sell more'. Tange (2009, p. 138) was faced with a similar argument in her study of language policy and language practices in Grundfos (mentioned in section 2.3.4.5). Specifically, one of the informants in her study emphasised that 'language management is hardly the main concern of an engineering company.' As in the case of ECCO, issues related to language and communication were clearly seen as having secondary importance.

With this in mind it is therefore particularly interesting to see the effect of the GOHIO programme on the development of policy and strategy documents in the company. One reason for this may be that GOHIO is a transformation programme initiated by the management board. This means that the project has been financed in a traditional top-down fashion, based on a decision made by the top management. By contrast, the situation described by the communication professional above is a bottom-up request for resource allocation, which evidently makes it a tougher case to argue for.

Another point that is worth mentioning with regard to how language management activities are financed is the organisation and allocation of language training. ECCO cooperates with an adult education centre located close to the company's headquarters in Bredebro where they are able to organise different types of language courses for employees, primarily in Danish and English. These courses are offered to individual employees from a centralised training budget, which according to one HR informant is seen as a beneficial solution:

(177) That is so that we, among other things, are able to collect all wishes and needs that we receive, and make some good deals, perhaps create some teams rather than having each and every department purchasing four hours [of language training] for one person.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

Financing language training through a centralised pool of resources is in line with the language management recommendations provided by Lønsmann (2011). Specifically, Lønsmann found in her case study of the Danish pharmaceutical company Lundbeck that decentralised language training budgets resulted in different opportunities for employees to improve their language skills. Centralising the

resources in one common budget is one way of reducing differential treatment in this area (cf. section 2.4.2.4)

Employees who want to undertake language training in ECCO should still consult their manager during their annual or mid-year performance appraisal, although the cost of the language training is covered by the HR department. The performance appraisal is a dialogue conducted between the individual employee and his or her manager every six months. One purpose of this interview is to map out current and future competence gaps the employee may have:

(178) We look at it have it has gone so far and if there is anything we need to focus more on in the next six months, and in this connection we will also clarify whether there is a need for language training.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

5.2.3 Language and communication practices

5.2.3.1 Communication channels

It is evident from talking to employees and communication professionals at the ECCO headquarters that the company's intranet is an important channel for internal mass communication. The intranet is made up of several local intranet sites based on geographic location. The different intranet sites will typically contain various types of information relevant for employees, such as HR information and staff announcements, in addition to a combination of global group-wide ECCO news and local, country-specific news. This means that employees working at the headquarters in Denmark for instance will be presented to an intranet site featuring international ECCO news as well as local ECCO news from Denmark. All employees have in theory access to the various local intranet sites, although the intranet sites are developed exclusively for personnel employed in the geographical area they are intended to cover.

In terms of language choice for intranet notices and announcements, there appear to be different strategies as to what the language of communication should be. The global news, which is the news that goes out to all employees in the ECCO group, will normally be written and published in English. This news is for the most part produced centrally by the communication department working from the company's headquarters. The local news, which is intended primarily for employees in a specific ECCO office location, may be produced in the local language of that country or in English. The choice of language is entirely up to the local staff, who are in charge of the local intranet sites. Language practices in this area vary between the different ECCO subsidiaries. The Slovakian intranet will for example typically post information in Slovakian:

(179) You can see on our intranet, if you look at the local news, if you go to Slovakia [the Slovakian intranet] for example, then the local news will be in their own language.
-ECCO_2, Communication professional

On the other hand, most of the Asian intranet sites – more precisely the three intranet sites covering ECCO's shoe factories and tanneries located in China, Thailand, and Indonesia – publish information primarily written in English. One communication professional suggests that this may be because local language information is published via other channels than the intranet site: 'I think a lot of the news that's written in their own language goes into local newsletters', respondent ECCO_2, explains.

Some of the local sites are less frequently updated than for example the headquarters site, which is updated by dedicated communication professionals. There are no such resources outside the company's headquarters, which means that communication tasks often fall in the hands of secretaries, human resource employees or other administrative staff, as mentioned in section 5.2.1.2.

There has been some discussion as to which language the local Danish news published at the Danish headquarters intranet should be in. These are the news items that are intended for employees physically located in Denmark:

(180) We've had this discussion about the local news, headquarters news is what we call it, what language that should be in, because the older members [employees], including the members of the board, believe everything should be in Danish locally, whereas other members of the communication department such as myself feel that if you're going to call this the global headquarters, the news should not just be in Danish.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

As explained above, the global news on the various intranet sites is always published in English irrespective of geographical location. Employees in the respective ECCO subsidiaries are then technically free to choose which language they want to publish their local news in. However, it was mentioned in section 5.2.1.3 that there are a number of international employees located at the company's headquarters in Bredebro, Denmark. The local news published on the headquarters intranet site may be highly relevant for them as well, but they may not be able to access the information if it is published in Danish. For this reason the communication department tries to provide local news items in both Danish and English:

(181) This is about discounts that you get [talking about a news item on the headquarters intranet], employee discounts for buying shoes, which obviously applies mostly to headquarters but

obviously to employees who don't speak Danish, where you can see...I think this one is translated, they should all be translated. It's in Danish and then the English comes at the bottom.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The communication department is not the only party that has access to uploading material on the headquarters intranet site. In certain cases this may lead to conflicting views on the appropriate language choice for intranet information:

(182) We had a discussion with the departments, because local news come from a lot of different sources, it comes from HR, it also comes from for example our art club, the jogging club, and they're not qualified to write in English, and that has been a problem, because they say 'well, you translate it', and we have said that we can't translate everybody's information for all the clubs and organisations, we don't have the resources to do that, it's not – 'I think that's your responsibility' [I told them]. But again, there's nowhere it says that English is the company language, and they don't have the money, an art club doesn't have the money to get all this material translated.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

While it is clear that the intranet is an important channel for company-internal information, it is not a channel that reaches out to all of ECCO's employees. Being a manufacturing company, the vast majority of ECCO's employees are by definition production workers; in fact, employees working in the area of shoe and leather production account for 87.7 % of ECCO's total workforce (the remaining 12.3 % consist of employees in sales (9.3 %) and employees working in headquarters functions (2.9 %) (numbers from annual report 2012). This means that almost 88 % of ECCO's employees have limited intranet access. One communication professional elaborates on this challenge:

(183) We have a well-functioning intranet where we distribute communication to our employees. What is difficult with the intranet is that it only reaches out to the office employees, and that is approximately 2500-2600 people in total [in the entire ECCO group], and that is to some extent good enough, it is a nice target group for us [in the communication department], but we are not able to present our culture and values and messages in general to our factory workers, who constitute the majority of our employees, and the way that the communication [to the factory workers] has been organised so far, it has been very unstructured what they have been told, they are only informed about the things their factory director thinks they need to know, right, so that means that some factories have some news letters that they hand out, others do not, instead there are general meetings. Generally, the communication has been handled in a very unstructured way,

so it is really the local management that plays the decisive role in terms of how employee communication is handled.

-ECCO_2, Communication professional

As described in this excerpt, communication to production workers has typically been left to the local management of the respective factory or tannery. This has resulted in different communication standards across geographical units. One of the things the communication department has looked into quite recently is therefore how they can create a channel that can distribute corporate information to the production workers, which currently does not exist.

Another communication professional explains that the communication department has tried to think of alternative ways of providing an adequate solution for headquarters-factory communication. When communicating with production workers, there are several considerations that need to be taken into account. One of the most important requirements is that material must be made available in the native language of the employees – however, there are also many other factors that makes blue-collar communication a more challenging exercise than white-collar communication:

(184) We're going to have to communicate corporate information through the local language, we're going to have to find some way locally to communicate with them. Another consideration is the way they work, you can set up a kiosk or a little stand with a computer with local information or a bulletin board, but when you have 2500 people working on one shift, how much access is there to that one computer, you also have to think about the way they work as well, how you can reach them. Another challenge is a lot of these – it's not just the language, but the fact that a lot of them don't read at all, that's a consideration that we take into account in the communication department, how we can make some visual material, printed material, that shows different things, how we can convey things to them. But in the end word of mouth is probably going to be a good way to do most things that are important anyway. I think part of the problem with the production workers is also – because the important information is obviously communicated to them, like health and safety, machine safety and that sort of thing that concerns them, everything that concerns them is communicated very well, but corporate information, campaign information for example about the products – they feel very disconnected from the company because they sit and make shoes every day and actually don't make the whole shoe but just a part of the shoe […] they never see the result of their work. A part of our initiative was to put some campaign material, hang it up in the production halls so they could see the campaigns we have, showing these beautiful shoes […] just to show them, not even through spoken word but just in pictures, this is what happens to the products you make, because we became aware of the last couple of years that they don't even know what happens to these shoes, where they are sold, how they are sold, how we sell them, what

happens to the shoes they make. So I think a lot can be done visually as well to make them feel included in the company.

-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Eventually it was decided that the communication department will start up a new employee magazine which will replace the local news letters that are produced out in the regions, where these exist. In the autumn of 2013, the communication department started planning the production of seven versions of the magazine: one version for each of the production facilities in Thailand, Indonesia, China, Portugal, Slovakia, the Netherlands, in addition to a global version. The six local employee magazines will be published in the local language of the country, which will be printed and handed out to employees as a physical magazine, but the same edition will also be translated into English and published online on the intranet as a pdf file for expats and other international employees. In this way the communication department hopes to accommodate the communicative needs of both the local factory workers and other relevant parties that are unable to read the local language:

(185) The [local] version will also be published in English, which means that we will have one version in the local language and one version in English, so that everybody else also can stay updated on what is happening there [in the local production unit], because it is difficult to read Thai obviously, but there are some employees in the US for example who work closely with the shoe factory or tannery in Thailand, then it will be relevant for them to keep track of what is happening [in Thailand], and for that reason it must also be in English.

-ECCO_2, Communication professional

The six local employee magazines will be based on geographical location, which will be reflected in the majority of the content. At the same time, the employee magazines are also intended to work as a communication channel from the headquarters to the production unit, and some of the content will therefore be based on global news stories. The seventh version of the magazine, the global employee magazine, will only be made available online, and will be written in English only. This version of the magazine will reuse a lot of the material that is published in the various local versions.

In addition to the different intranet and magazine versions, employees in the headquarters report on frequent use of email and telephone conversations when communicating with their colleagues. Some respondents seem to prefer emails to phone calls. One product manager for example, describes how poor telephone reception may be somewhat of a challenge:

(186) I work with two factories, one right next to Hong Kong and one in India, and somehow Hong Kong has a fantastic telephone reception, and the one in India is terrible. It really makes such a difference […]. It sounds really basic, but it is a big problem actually.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

This informant also has a challenge in that he is communicating with colleagues located in very geographically dispersed locations. This is another reason why he prefers email exchanges to telephone calls:

(187) It can be difficult to contact all of them [international colleagues] over the phone, because there is a 12-hour time difference between Hong Kong and Boston, so that is the biggest challenge. For that reason email is often the only way I can communicate with everybody at the same time.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

Finally, physical meetings and personal dialogue are other channels that employees make use of when this is possible. If this is not the case, online meetings and video conferences may be an alternative, although it is not frequently mentioned as a communication channel in the interview data. One respondent explains that he previously participated in video conferences on a regular basis when he held a position as personal assistant (PA) for the vice president of group HR:

(188) When I was working as PA, I participated with my manager in a video conference once a month with all of our HR managers around the world. That was one way of communicating in a more official manner.
-ECCO_8, Project manager

However, after the informant started in a new position as project manager, he explains that he makes less use of video conferencing than in his previous position.

5.2.3.2 Language choice and communication patterns

As mentioned above, ECCO did not have a formalised language policy when I first started conducting interviews in the autumn of 2012. At that time, the choice of operating under an English language mandate was described by key informants in the communication department as a default choice, and a pragmatic choice prompted by having a highly international and linguistically diverse workforce. English was seen as an obvious way of establishing a common communicative ground; as stated by one of the key informants, ECCO_1, Communication professional: ‘what the heck is the alternative?’

Even if English is described as the official corporate language of ECCO, neither of the informants in the communication department, nor for that matter any of the other ECCO respondents, believes this was ever made as an official decision. Consequently, the internal linguistic-communicative area of ECCO is governed by a language policy decision that has never been made in a language policy format that does not exist in a physical, tangible format. One may question then how employees are expected to relate to the non-formalised English language policy of the company in their everyday communicative encounters. One key informant is confronted with the company's lack of explicit language policy document in the following excerpt:

(189) Interviewer: Would you describe English as your company language or –
Interviewee: Yes, it is. English is the corporate language.
Interviewer: Is that written down anywhere?
Interviewee: No.
Interviewer: Ok, then how do people know that this is the case?
Interviewee: Because everything is written in English.
-ECCO_2, Communication professional

In this excerpt the interviewee demonstrates an operational, rather than conceptual, understanding of what it means to have English as a corporate language. It is evident from the statement 'everything is written in English' that the non-formalised English language policy is seen primarily as a consequence of employees' established language practices rather than a policy developed with the purpose of establishing what the language practices of the employees should be. Clearly, this informant is in agreement with Logemann and Piekkari (2015, p. 31; cf. section 2.4.1) who argue that it is possible for a company to operate under a (covert/de facto/non-formalised) English language policy 'jointly agreed upon' by employees.

Several front-line employees do indeed emphasise the importance of English in their everyday tasks. Not surprisingly, the language issue is often brought up in relation to collaboration with international team members and other foreign parties without Danish language skills:

(190) The documentation in ECCO is always required in English, because we have international teams, so all colleagues from around the world need to understand what we are doing. That's why all the documentation is in English.
-ECCO_6, Consultant

(191) I've been in ECCO for five years now, and I have to say, you won't survive here without English. I mean, I use English far more than Danish in my everyday job.

-ECCO_9, Product manager

(192) Right now I'm in Product development, [and] there is a multicultural environment in there [many foreign employees]. There are some Germans there too, but our language in there is English.
-ECCO_10, Trainee

(193) It's been like that since day one, that we've used English. You won't get far with Danish in these big companies. Maybe in this building, though, in the headquarters maybe to some extent, even though we have many foreigners [here].
-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

The above quotes all demonstrate that the English language is a central part of these employees' normal, everyday work life, which may be seen as necessary in view of their frequent interaction with international, non-Danish speaking colleagues. In the last quote, the personal assistant relates the importance of English in ECCO to the company's international outlook. With respect to the company's global operations, Danish is seen as an insufficient medium of communication, i.e. the statement 'you won't get far with Danish'. Interestingly, the informant adopts a more positive view on Danish in the company's headquarters, while at the same time acknowledging that several nationalities are represented also in this office location.

The use of Danish in communication between Danish employees located at the ECCO headquarters is supported by accounts from other respondents. When asked how he typically communicates with his Danish colleagues, the following informant reports:

(194) Well, it is usually in Danish, unless there is a foreign speaker present, because we do have some foreign speakers in our department. If they attend, then it is in English of course, because that is our corporate language. That also means that if you are going to write an email to another Dane, then you will often write it in English, if the mail is going to be forwarded to a foreign colleague at some point, so that person will be able to read it.
-ECCO_8, Project manager

Although it is clear from this excerpt that the respondent usually chooses to communicate in Danish with his Danish colleagues, he also apparently makes frequent use of English-medium communication when communicating with international colleagues in his department. The presence of non-Danish speakers in the department furthermore affects the project manager's language choice in the sense that he will communicate in English to his Danish colleagues if there is a possibility that the information will be made available to international colleagues at a later stage (cf. the concept of expected addressee,

Lønsmann, 2011). It is interesting to note that the informant to some extent explains the choice of English in the company of his international colleagues by referring to ECCO's non-formalised corporate language mandate.

However, using English as a common corporate language without having a language policy document is not always that straightforward and unproblematic. The interview data reveal that the absence of a formalised language policy may lead to discussions about language choice in certain situations. As previously mentioned in relation to communication channels in the company, employees in the communication department have questioned the use of Danish on the headquarters' local intranet site. One communication professional explains that the lack of a formal language policy document has led to some confrontations internally in the company:

(195) Some of the departments came to us with Danish documents that they were producing [which they wanted to publish on the intranet], and when we said 'well, you should have these translated into English because employees all over the world will be reading these, and even the employees at headquarters that don't speak English', and then they said 'it doesn't say anywhere that English is the company language, so we're not going to translate'.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Previous research has found that the convenience of using the local language may undermine the language policy of the firm (Fredriksson et al., 2006; Kingsley, 2011; Lønsmann, 2011; see also section 2.3.4.5). Based on the previous excerpt, one may speculate whether divergence between *de facto* and *de jure* language practices is more likely to occur when the company is operating under a non-formalised language policy as in the case of ECCO, cf. the statement 'it doesn't say anywhere that English is the company language'. The above excerpt demonstrates that the company's choice of using English as the preferred medium of communication clearly is not the preferred choice of all employees. In the absence of a formal language policy there is no company guideline preventing such situations from occurring at the front-line level.

It is also evident from the interview data that there have been some internal discussions on which language the general employee assembly meetings should be conducted in. These meetings are usually organised four times every year, and are open to all employees working at the company's headquarters. One informant, who is employed in the HR department and therefore has been involved in organising these meetings, describes how they resolved the dilemma of choosing between the corporate language, English, and Danish, which of course is the national language of the headquarters location as well as the mother tongue of the majority of employees:

(196) When we have our employee meetings, we have […] started using simultaneous interpreters there [in the employee meetings], who sit in a booth in the corner, and non-Danish employees bring a headset, because the results and the financial results are usually presented in Danish, and they [the interpreters] translate it into English.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

It is noteworthy that a company that originally has been categorised as a 'low' language management company, due to their low language awareness and responsiveness (Feely & Winslow, 2006), makes active use of interpretation services in a situation as the one described above. This will be investigated further in the Chapter 8, which addresses language management tools specifically (cf. section 8.2.2). What is interesting here is that these employee meetings are held in Danish, even though the composition of employees at the company's headquarters repeatedly is described as very international, consisting of over 20 different nationalities. One communication professional reports that the precedence of Danish over English to a large extent may be explained by the language skills of ECCO's production workers, who have a long track record in the company:

(197) There are a lot of production workers – not a lot, but some production workers that have been with the company for many years who don't speak English.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

This informant points to an important factor when she brings up the limited English language skills of ECCO's production workers in Denmark. However, this is by no means a Danish phenomenon, as the vast majority of ECCO's production workers are based outside Denmark, primarily in Asian countries. Two headquarters employees who have been working in ECCO's production facilities in Indonesia for a period of time confirm that the knowledge of English is limited among the locally-employed factory workers:

(198) There are 5000 employees, and the majority of those are locals, and all the bosses speak English because they need to communicate with HQ, but the rest are probably only fluent in Indonesian.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

(199) At the operative level it is all in Indonesian, because they are all Indonesians, and the people in the sewing line [part of the test production where the first prototypes of the shoes are made] are also Indonesians, and it is only the people relatively high up [in the hierarchy] that are actually able to speak English, and they are the ones who communicate with the management down there. When we are out [in the factory] in the introduction to the different areas in the production, then we are

always guided by a manager who introduces us to somebody, then that is all in English, but it is only in English when there is a foreigner there, otherwise it is in Indonesian and then if there is a foreigner present then it's in English.
-ECCO_10, Trainee

It is evident from these quotes that English skills tend to be scarce among production employees at the operative level, and usually a skill possessed only by the local managers (cf. section 2.5). This has implications also for the communication department, which wants to establish tighter communicative lines with the respective production units. Consequently, the use of the local language is seen as an essential success criterion, which is also one the reasons why the communication department has decided to produce seven language versions of the new employee magazine, as previously mentioned. One communication professional elaborates:

(200) I don't think it will change in the near future. I think it will be that way for a long time in these units, we will not have that many people who speak English fluently. So we're going to have to communicate corporate information through the local language.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Limited English language proficiency may be problematic for communication managers working at ECCO's headquarters if there is a situation where they need to get in touch with colleagues in the foreign production sites. Such a situation occurred in 2011 when one of ECCO's factories in Thailand was subjected to a natural disaster (Annual report 2011). In the following excerpt an informant in the company's centralised communication department describes what happened:

(201) We had a huge flood in Thailand, and we lost 30 % of our production overnight. In that situation, obviously the facility was flooded, everybody fled the area, and we had to contact some people, and because no communication network has been built up in ECCO, we didn't have a communications person, a contact, in Thailand to contact, so it was a mad rush from all of us to talk to each other, 'who do you know in Thailand that speaks English?' so we could somehow get some news to put on the portal.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Clearly, in chaotic and demanding situations like the one described here, the language barrier is likely to complicate things even further. It is also evident from the above excerpt that the lack of a formalised communication set-up made it difficult to get hold of information. The informant (ECCO_3, Communication professional) explains that: 'it was a situation where we found an English speaker

standing out on a boat or in water trying to tell us what was going on instead of having an official communication contact.' Shortly after the flooding occurred, a crisis team consisting of senior managers was established, but this team did not include any members of the communication department, which was responsible for sending information out to the organisation.

Another informant, who works as a project manager at the headquarters, has also observed that employees' level of English language skills appear to vary according to organisational ranking. In particular, this informant finds that the level of English language competence can be related to white and blue-collar workers:

(202) Here at the headquarters it's good. I would say that almost everybody speaks a very high level of English, but I can imagine that those who are challenged by English, that will maybe be some of those who work in our shoe production in the warehouse, some blue-collar workers perhaps.
-ECCO_8, Project manager

As stated in Quote 202, the dichotomisation of white-collar and blue-collar workers appears to have explanatory power with regard to language choice. The interviewees report widespread use of English in typical corporate headquarters functions as compared to the dominance of local language use in factories and production facilities, which will be discussed further in section 6.7.

Interview data from the headquarters indicate that in addition to English and Danish, a third language is also sometimes at play: German. This may be explained by the physical location of the company's headquarters, which is in close proximity to the German border. One product manager, for example, explains that he is frequently confronted with the German language in his job function, and that he for this reason seriously questions the role of the English language mandate in the company:

(203) The rule is that we're not allowed to talk German at meetings, but I mean, if the top manager speaks German, the second top manager speaks German, the CEO is German, my manager speaks German, the designer speaks German and another designer is Austrian, then if they meet and there's one guy there that doesn't speak German, they don't care, they speak the language they prefer, right, and that's German. So we have a language policy, but we are definitely not very good at practising it.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

Another informant provides an example of a situation where he was excluded from a meeting due to lack of German skills:

(204) There was one example of a workshop with external consultants where the workshop was held in German, because the consultants couldn't conduct it in English. That affected the composition of the project team. So for example I was not able to participate there [in the workshop].
-ECCO_7, Consultant

This role informant explains that one of his German-speaking colleagues participated in this particular meeting instead of him. Although this was a strategically important meeting according to the interviewee, the team was under time pressure, and he chose to accept the situation:

(205) Their [the external consultant's] other [i.e. non-language competences] competences were at the level where it was acceptable to agree on their terms, basically speak in German, and it was also convenient for us, because we had people in team who were able to speak in German, so it wasn't a huge issue, but still it was not much fun.
-ECCO_7, Consultant

The previous statements indicate that German is occasionally used as a medium of communication internally in ECCO, which may exclude non-German speaking employees.

5.2.3.3 Communication style

Being a large multinational company, ECCO employs a diverse labour force consisting of employees with different backgrounds, including different language backgrounds. It is evident from for example the way the corporate communication department resonates around the importance of communicating mass information in the local language of employees, and particularly employees working with shoe and leather production (cf. section 5.2.3.1), that ECCO tries to accommodate the different language features and communicative skills of their workforce.

Even if English is said to be the corporate language of ECCO, it follows from the previous discussion that the company employs individuals with different levels of English skills. One informant, who is a native Dane and has learned English as part of her compulsory school education, says that she initially felt nervous about her own language skills when she first started working in ECCO. However, she now feels differently about the situation:

(206) I remember when I was first employed in ECCO, I was very anxious about whether my English was sufficient, whether it was good enough. Today I would just think: yes [it is sufficient], I mean, because we communicate in so many different ways, and we are not all at the same level of English [language proficiency], and then we find another way to communicate.
-ECCO_10, Trainee

This informant has worked closely with several of ECCO's foreign production units, in particular the ones located in Asia, during her time in ECCO. She reports that she often relies on her basic English skills when communicating with foreign colleagues in these locations. One way this affects the communication style, ECCO_10 explains, is that she tries to avoid difficult words and complex sentences. Instead 'you learn to talk slowly, and find a different way to communicate'.

The trainee also provides an example of how important subject matter skills may be for successful communication (cf. Feely & Harzing, 2003, p. 44; Schein, 2010, p. 94). In the following excerpt the informant describes how one of her colleagues was able to reduce the language barrier created by limited English skills with professional competence and understanding of the specific situation:

(207) There was some material that needed to be sent from a Chinese supplier, and they [the Chinese supplier] communicated with our purchasing manager in there [referring to own department at the headquarters], and I did not understand the communication, I was in doubt about what was going on actually, but the purchasing manager, he could easily understand it, because he is used to it, he knows the drill.
-ECCO_10, Trainee

Another specific type of communication style may be found in interview data indicating the presence of 'company speak' in ECCO. 'Company speak' refers to a unique company-specific way of communicating internally in the organisation, for example through the use of jargon or specific terminology (e.g. Welch et al., 2005). It is evident from the following quote given by one product manager that company speak indeed occurs in ECCO:

(208) There are a lot of things that are industry-specific, or ECCO-specific, where you sometimes have to keep yourself from saying it to externals, right, just because the message may get lost if you use too many internal expressions which perhaps do not make sense to ordinary [external] people. […] So for example, we call our individual shoes SKUs, which stands for Stock Keeping Unit, which is very ECCO-specific, a word nobody else would use, but everybody that works here knows what a SKU is.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

Two interesting observations may be extracted be from the previous excerpt. Firstly, this informant does not clearly differentiate between industry-specific language and company-specific language, in his words 'ECCO-specific' language. In line with Welch et al.'s (2005) model of layers of language in international business (cf. section 2.5) this indicates a contingent and highly intertwined relationship between these

two categories of language use, i.e. company-specific and industry-specific language. Secondly, it is interesting to note that the informant explains how he must stop himself using company- or sector-specific terminology when communicating with external parties. During our conversation on this topic, the same informant commented that 'right now actually, in a way you are external, right, so when I explain things about the business to you, I use completely different words than I would have done if I was talking to an ECCO employee'. This shows that aspects of company-speak or sector specific language may become an integral part of an employees' vocabulary. The passage above, and in particular the statement that 'you sometimes have to keep yourself from saying it to externals', suggests the strength of the particular language use and communication style of companies may actually challenge and dominate the type of normal language that employees make use of in everyday interactions.

5.2.4 Summary within-case analysis ECCO

ECCO was originally founded as a small shoe manufacturer in 1963. Today, ECCO has become one of the leading shoe brands in the world, and its global expansion has been particularly visible in the past ten years. The company does not have a formal language policy per se, although key informants report that English is used as a common corporate language in the group. The lack of a formalised language policy document is largely explained by the company's culture and identity, as well as limited focus on policy development in the past. However, corporate governance is an area that ECCO's management have started to look into in recent years, and the need for a formal language policy document has been brought up in relation to the introduction of a change management programme.

5.3 Cross-case analysis Grundfos – ECCO

Despite their different product lines, Grundfos and ECCO are two manufacturing companies where the production of goods constitutes the most important part of their business operations. Grundfos and ECCO are also two companies that have made different choices in terms of language use in their internal communication patterns. At the same time these case companies share some characteristics with regard to how linguistic diversity is managed internally in the organisation. The following cross-case analysis, which is based on the language strategies of Grundfos and ECCO respectively as presented in the previous two within-case analyses, will focus on aspects which seem to have influenced the internal handling of language and communication issues.

Grundfos and ECCO appear today as two multinational companies that have undergone similar internationalisation processes. Both companies come from a strong Danish background, they were both founded by a single, entrepreneurial Dane in the post WWII period and the following years – Grundfos was founded in 1945, ECCO in 1963 – and the headquarters of the company are still located in small Jutland towns, Bjerringbro (Grundfos) and Bredebro (ECCO), where their presence represents a significant part of the townscape in both localities. Even though these firms have developed into truly

multinational corporations, as is evident from their geographical spread as well as distribution sales figures, the Danish roots and origins are still ingrained in how the companies are operated and run today.

One example of how the Danish background is visible in the area of language and communication is the centralisation of communication resources in the two companies' head offices. Both Grundfos and ECCO communicate mass information through their centralised communication departments, with some degree of local assistance from regional administrative or support functions when needed. However, one important distinction between the two firms is the maturity of these communication functions. Where Grundfos has employed communication professionals for a number of years – informants are unable to specify for how long the department has existed, but a conservative estimate would be at least 30 years, which is when the original Grundfos' employee magazine was first issued – ECCO's communication department is a relatively new set-up. It is clear from what has been discussed in the two within-case analyses that Grundfos overall has been more prepared and responsive to language and communication than ECCO. This may be seen in relation to the classification of Grundfos as a 'high' language management company and ECCO as a 'low' language management company, cf. section 3.2.2.

It is, however, not possible to ascribe Grundfos' approach to language management to any particular event in the company's history. The company's global expansion has been a gradual process, with increasing vertical interaction between headquarters and subsidiary functions. Instead, there appear to be other factors that have triggered the development of the company's language strategy, including the development of the comprehensive language policy document. In particular, interview data and corporate documentation indicate that Grundfos is an organisation with widespread use of company-internal policies, guidelines, rules and regulations with various degrees of stringency. This high governance climate evidently has affected the bottom-up language policy initiative seen as a response to the company's top-down communication policy.

ECCO on the other hand is defined as almost the complete opposite in terms of governance and control mechanisms. Informants describe ECCO as a company that traditionally has abstained from extensive use of corporate control documents such as policies and procedure manuals. For this reason, the ECCO group has not had a tradition of developing regulatory documents, which clearly explains the absence of a formalised mandate also in the area of language and communication. This may furthermore be seen in light of what the within-case analysis has pointed to concerning characteristics of ECCO's corporate culture and internal communication patterns, where interview data suggest that ECCO in the past has downplayed the role of cross-border collaboration and knowledge-sharing. Interestingly, the corporate culture of Grundfos in contrast is described by employees as inclusive and cooperative, which is supported by the company's matrix structure encouraging interaction with employees in various geographical locations. The high degree of international collaboration is mentioned by one key informant as an important motivation for the language policy initiative.

Having said that, it is also necessary to point to the fact that we are dealing with real-life organisations which evolve and change over time. In ECCO a lot has happened in recent years with regard to corporate communication, both in terms of the staffing of the communication department and the scope of their activities. As mentioned in the within-case analysis, the introduction of a new transformation programme in 2012 has had a direct effect on the development of company-specific policies in various areas, to some extent also in the area of language and communication.

Another area where ECCO's language management approach has been refined in recent years is in terms of greater attention to internal mass communication channels. The company has recently launched a new employee magazine, thereby establishing a direct channel from the corporate headquarters to the various local production units. ECCO's production sites are a communicative zone that traditionally has been dominated by factory directors and local managers, meaning that the level and type of information presented to the production workers have varied significantly between the different production locations. By launching the new magazine, ECCO has decided to invest in an almost identical medium to the one the communication department in Grundfos has produced for a significant number of years.

Publishing an employee magazine is often one of the most expensive vehicles of mass communication, as it is labour-intensive and time-consuming to produce and expensive to print and physically distribute to employees (Moorcroft, 2006). Compared to other online based communication forms it is clearly more resource-intensive – nevertheless, interview data from the two manufacturing companies indicate that there is a need for this type of medium on a group level. The rationale behind the two company-internal magazines is the same in both Grundfos and ECCO: to reach out to a group of employees that does not have access to other mediums of mass communication.

It is also clear from the interview data that an equally important feature of the company magazines is to publish information in the local language of the host-country production facility, which corresponds to the mother tongue of the vast majority of production workers. The use of the various local languages is seen as a success criterion for the practical value of the magazines, according to key informants' statements as presented in the two within-case analyses. The following quotes may further illustrate the imperative of local language information:

(209) That is one of the things they emphasise everywhere when we talk to them [local production managers], if it's not in the local language then there's no point in making it [the employee magazine], because it doesn't have any relevance. Their [production workers'] competence is not to be able to read English, which means that they wouldn't get anything out of an English magazine.

-ECCO_2, Communication professional

(210) Since our main language is English, that is what we use when we write official things, and we are also moving more and more in that direction, but to make sure that everybody understands, let's say Gmagazine, then it is necessary to have in the local language, because down at the floor, in the production in Hungary or Germany or France, they don't understand English, so it's just necessary to have it translated. We can't – when we have so many different types of employees, and many that do not speak English, we need to have in the local languages.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

The importance of communicating corporate information in the local language of production workers may be seen in relation to the composition of employees in the two companies. In Grundfos, production workers make up approximately 47 % of the company's total number of employees, whereas in ECCO production workers accounts for almost 88 % of the total workforce (ECCO annual report 2012; Grundfos, 2013). The lower percentage of production workers in Grundfos may be explained by their highly technical product line which requires the use of specialised machinery replacing manual work processes. However, in both case companies, the production of goods represents the core of the company's business activities, which means that production workers are employees of great value to the companies. Manufacturers are by definition companies whose raison d'être is to produce some kind of physical product, which necessarily requires personnel in the production area of their business operations. This may seem like an obvious observation, but in view of what the previous within-case analyses have shown, it nevertheless raises some interesting questions as to what constitutes a corporate language. If we acknowledge that production workers are vital for producing the goods that lay the foundation for these companies to exist, and we furthermore acknowledge that the professional competence of production workers is more important than their language competence which, based on what this and previous studies have shown (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Fredriksson et al., 2006) necessitates the use of the local language in internal modes of communication, then we might have to reconsider the meaning of the terms 'English lingua franca' or 'English as a common corporate language'. In the case of ECCO for example, the use of English may exclude as many as 88 % of the company's workforce – a figure which clearly challenges the notion of a 'common language'.

The widespread use of local languages is not just visible in the messages and type of communication directed towards production workers. Both of the two case companies' intranet sites have proven to be multilingual online communities, also when it comes to the two headquarters sites, which may present certain challenges to foreign staff located at the Grundfos or ECCO headquarters, or international staff outside Denmark working in close contact with headquarters functions. The intranet, however, is not the only forum where the use of Danish is common in the companies' headquarters. Interview data reveal that Danish-medium communication, and to some extent also German-medium communication in the case of ECCO, excludes staff members without these language skills from

participating in all aspects of the organisational life. This includes communication directly related to an individual's work tasks or other work-related activities, i.e. professional communication, but in particular the type of communication that takes place for social purposes, i.e. social communication.

6 Discussion across the industry sectors

The previous within-case and cross-case analyses between the two pairs of financial service companies and manufacturing companies respectively have shown how different aspects of a company's context may influence its approach to language management. The findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 have illustrated that language and a company's language management approach is closely linked with the company's overall situation – the company's context. An overview of these findings across the four cases is presented in Table 7 (Appendix 9a)

The cross-sector analysis offered in this chapter will discuss how and why the two different industry sectors may influence language management in the case companies. Whereas the two preceding chapters have focused on the relationship between the companies' context and their approach to language management, the present chapter aims to understand whether the companies' approach to language management may be ascribed to factors pertinent to the industry sectors, which in the previous chapters have been seen as intertwined with other contextual factors. In effect, the purpose of this chapter is to examine – through a comparative discussion across the two industry sectors – whether there are any fundamental sector-specific characteristics that may have influenced the case companies' ways of managing language.

Having said that, it may be worth emphasising once again the relationship between industry sectors and context. The two concepts are clearly interrelated, and as mentioned above; sector is seen as a part of the company's context. Still, where context may be described as a generic concept encompassing 'relevant circumstances' (Easton, 2010, p. 121), the purpose of this discussion is to examine the explanatory power of industry sectors as an underlying mechanism of causation (Maxwell, 2012; Sayer, 1992). This discussion, will in other words, look for distinguishing features in the company's context that may be explained by the sector the company operates within. Figues 5 and 6 show how the sector-specific findings presented in this chapter have been distilled from what the previous within- and cross-case analyses have found.

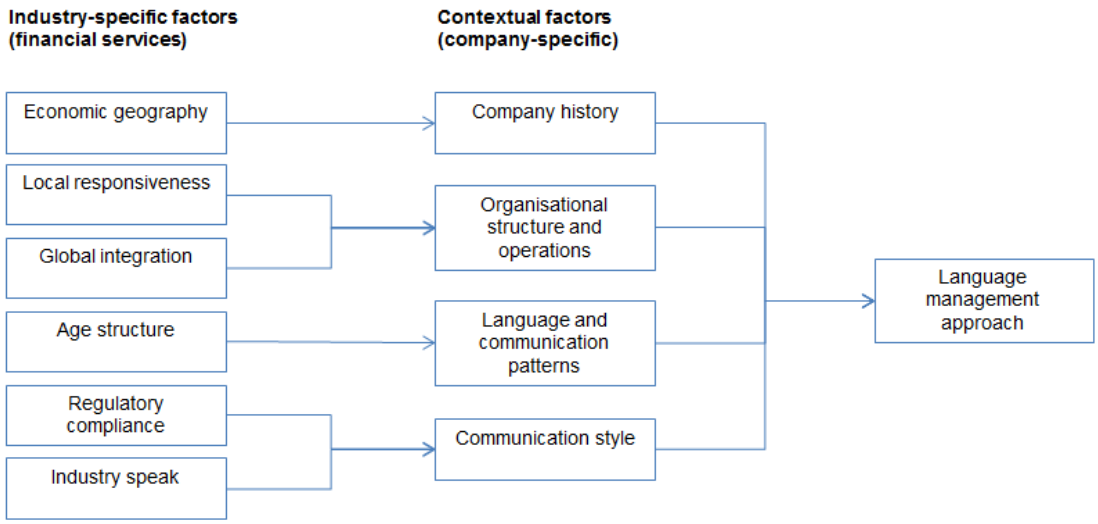

Figure 5 Sector-specific factors distilled from context – financial services

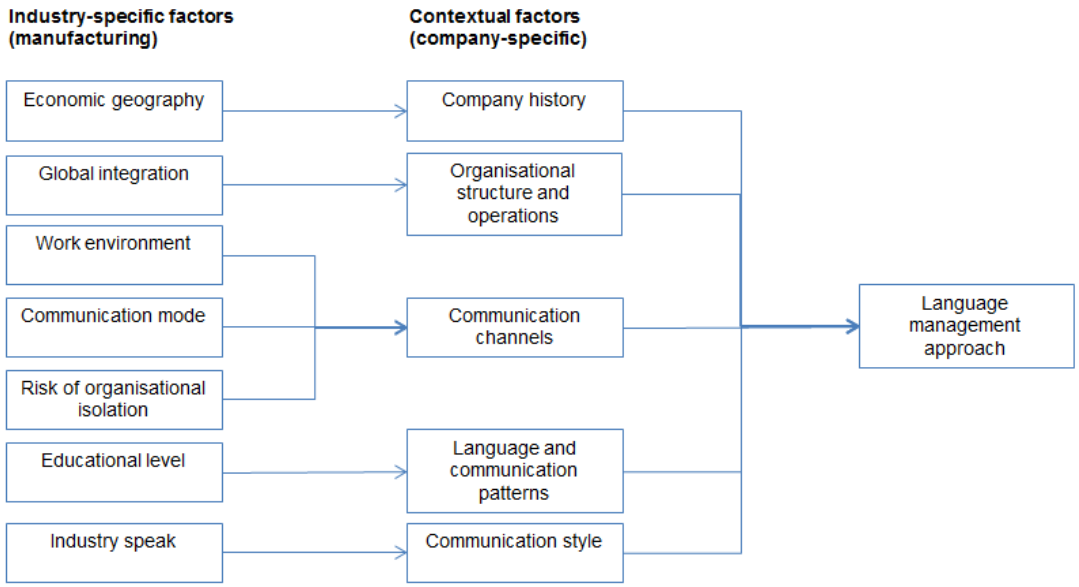

Figure 6 Sector-specific factors distilled from context – manufacturing

On the basis of the sector-specific factors presented in Figures 5 and 6, Figure 7 presents an overview of the combined effects of both sectors on the companies' language management approaches, which forms the basis for the following cross-sector discussion.

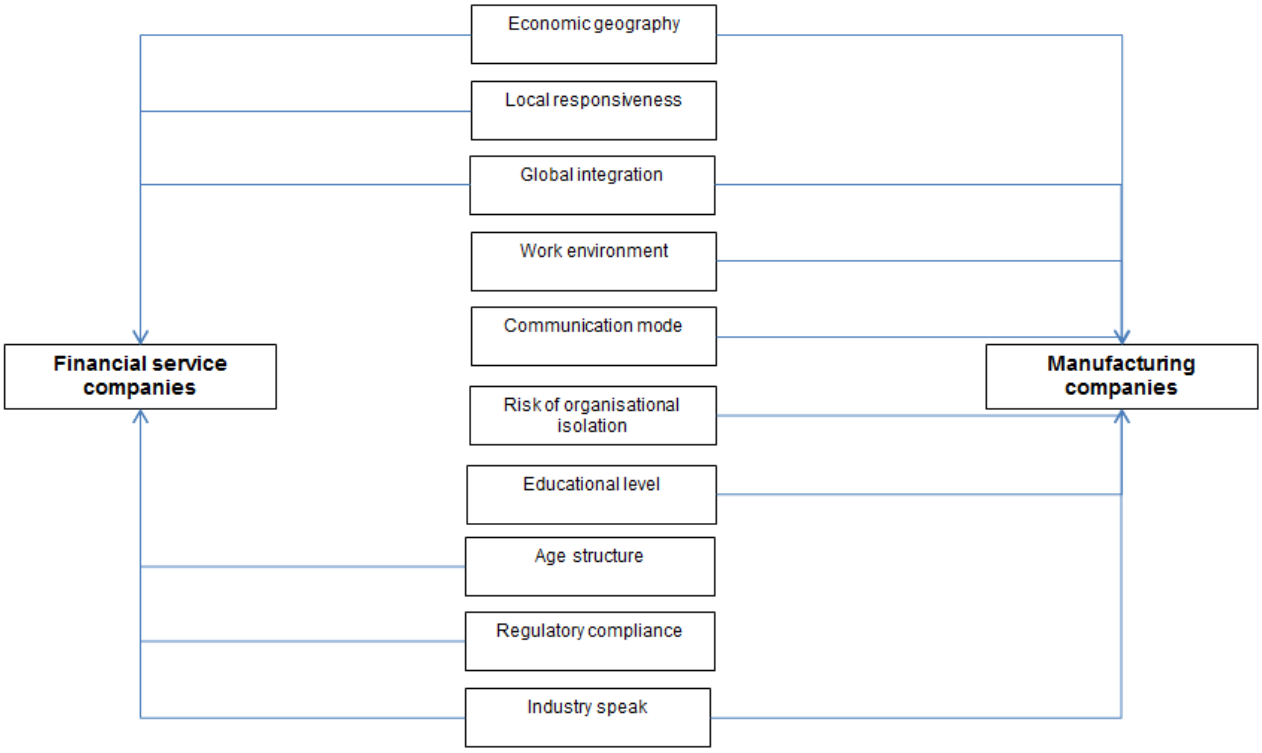

Figure 7 Sector-specific factors financial services and manufacturing combined

6.1 Economic geography

As argued by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 14; cf. section 2.3.3) any firm with international aspirations will at some point have to cross language borders as part of their international expansion strategy. All four case companies included in this study are multinational corporations, thus, they operate by definition in multiple national locations, and consequently also diverse linguistic environments (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007). Clearly, several factors may affect where and how a company chooses to expand internationally, but comparing data from this study to what previous studies have found with regard to commonly adopted expansion strategies for manufacturing companies (Blinder, 2006; Kinkel & Maloca, 2009; Navaretti, Castellani, & Disdier, 2009) and financial companies respectively (Bos & Kolari, 2005; Grant & Venzin, 2009), some sector-specific characteristics appear to have had an impact on where the case companies have decided to locate their international operations, which again influences the degree of multilingualism in the companies. Predicting the geographic location of a business' economic activity is essentially what location theory, originally developed by the German economist Alfred Weber in 1929, is all about, giving rise to the term 'economic geography' (Clark, Feldman, & Gertler, 2000).

Looking first at the two financial services Nordea and Saxo Bank, in addition to their home markets in the Nordic region, these two companies are primarily present in international locations that may be described as financial centres, such as New York, London, Singapore, and Hong Kong (Cassis, 2010; QFC, 2014). When discussing the geographical structure of financial services activities, Dicken (2011, p. 393) states that 'a small number of cities controls almost all of the world's financial

transactions. It is a remarkable level of geographical concentration.' Grant and Venzin (2009, pp. 569-570) explain that a financial company's presence in such centers may be a of great importance: 'For trading and research activities, the relevant knowledge is market information and specialist expertise, so leading investment and wholesale banks need to be located in all the world's major financial centres to be where the action is'. With this in mind, it may be worth returning to Chew (2005, p. 433) and Kingsley (2010, p. 171) (cf. section 2.5) who discuss the importance of English in international banking activities. Indeed, culture and language are factors that the Global Financial Centres Index (QFC, 2014, p. 43) takes into account in their annual ranking of the most competitive financial centers worldwide, although it is 'only' considered the 12th most important factor (the top three criteria are 'availability of skilled personnel', 'regulatory environment' and 'access to international financial markets').

Being present in major global financial centres is also important for the two manufacturing companies in terms of sales and marketing, however, these are not the type of locations where manufacturers are likely to locate their production facilities, which constitute the main part of their business. In a quest for cost-saving measures, the two manufacturing companies Grundfos and ECCO have offshored most of their production to cheap labour economies, e.g. rural China and South-East Asian countries, where they employ local production workers. In line with classic location theory, manufacturers will locate their plants where the costs are the least (i.e. the least cost theory model, Weber, 1929; in Clark et al., 2000), where transport expenditures and wage premiums are described as the 'primary' cost concerns. The production facilities of Grundfos and ECCO are typically located in industrial areas due to the size and scale of the production halls. It is therefore worth consulting Scott (1998, p. 386) who states that:

> [T]he idea of industrial atmosphere (i.e. a set of sociocultural norms and practices revolving around the production system) as proposed by Marshall (1920), relates in the first instance to an underlying, placeless structure of production, and only in the second instance to a place-specific economic geography.

In other words, whereas 'place-specific economic geography' is of secondary concern to manufacturing, it is the primary concern for financial services, as described above.[6]

[6] Economic geography is covered only briefly in this section. Note that manufacturing firms also may agglomerate, but for different reasons than financial services. Porter and Sölvell (1998, p. 441) write that 'A distinction should be made between two broad types of agglomeration economies. One type relates to general economies of regional and urban concentration […] lead[ing] to the emergence of manufacturing belts […]. A second type are the specific economies that relate to firms engaged in similar or interlinked activities, leading to the emergence of industry clusters' [such as financial centres].

Furthermore, the two manufacturers are present in a large number of international locations; Grundfos is present in 57 countries worldwide and ECCO in as many as 87 (in comparison, Nordea and Saxo Bank are present in 18 and 26 countries respectively). Many of these locations are countries that score low on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) scores (ETS, 2014), such as China where both Grundfos and ECCO have large production facilities. It may also be useful to consider the concept of linguistic distance (Miller & Chiswick, 2004), which is a measure of how different various languages are in relation to one another, and in particular in relation to English. In Miller and Chiswick's (2008) model, linguistic distance is measured on a scale ranging from 1.00 to 3.00, where the lower score (1) is given to languages with the highest linguistic distance from English, and the higher score (3) is given to languages with the shortest distance to English. All four Nordic languages are at the short end of the scale (Norway and Sweden score 3.00; Denmark 2.25; and Finland 2.00), compared to for example many Asian languages, where e.g. Japanese and Korean are the two languages with the lowest score (1.00) and consequently the highest linguistic distance to English. Being two very geographically dispersed manufacturers with large shares of foreign production, many of Grundfos' and ECCO's employees will be speakers of languages with high English distance; Cantonese and Mandarin for example (cf. Grundfos and ECCO's production facilities in China) are two languages with high distance to English according to Miller and Chiswick (2008), with scores of 1.25 and 1.50 respectively (on the topic of measuring differences between languages, see also Dow & Karunaratna, 2006; Reiche, Harzing & Pudelko, 2015).

Consequently, there are good reasons for arguing that a company's internationalisation process is influenced by the sector-specific factor *economic geography*. The sectoral effects on geographic location appear to be present in both sectors, but with different results: where the financial sector companies are drawn towards major financial centres where the use of English is widespread, the production segment of manufacturing companies is usually associated with industrial locations where knowledge of English is limited, which is also the case for the two manufacturers included in the present study.

6.2 Local responsiveness

The four within-case analyses have revealed that there are some fundamental sector-specific differences between the financial services and manufacturing companies in terms of organisational structure and operations. In section 2.3.4.6, it was observed that a company's language regulation should follow its overall multinational strategy, and in cases of a mismatch between the two, this could ultimately result in language policy challenge number 6: Language policy not aligned with the overall business plan. Following up on the literature review, data from the present study illustrate that a company's degree of *local responsiveness* as a key aspect of its multinational strategy (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; Harzing, 2000) is affected by sector-specific factors, which in turn, appear to have affected the case companies' approach to language management (cf. Luo & Shenkar, 2006).

Firstly, with regard to the two financial service companies, it is clear from Chapter 4 that Nordea primarily follows as multidomestic strategy with strong local market presence through its extensive retail banking operations, whereas Saxo Bank, which is described as a born global company, has followed a global strategy from the outset. However, when entering the Danish retail banking market, language policy challenge number 6 did in practice apply in the case of Saxo Bank. The company's overall language strategy, to use English as a common corporate language, was clearly not a good match with its desire to expand in the Danish market, as it disregarded the need for local responsiveness which financial services are exposed to (Agnes, 2000). In both Nordea and Saxo Bank, the need for local adaptation is found to be particularly strong in the area of retail banking, which corresponds to what previous studies have found in this area, e.g. Chandra and Chao (2011, p. 60). Consequently, the case discussions of Nordea and Saxo Bank point out that the multidomestic strategy (Nordea) and traits of the multidomestic strategy within a global strategy (Saxo Bank) emphasises degree of local responsiveness and thus the use of local-language communication for financial service companies.

By contrast, the within-case analyses of the two manufacturing companies demonstrate a low degree of local responsiveness (cf. Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989, p. 23). In the present study this can be explained by the different nature of customer interaction between financial services and manufacturing, as local responsiveness also captures differences in customer preferences (Harzing, 2000, p. 108). As mentioned in section 2.5, a service encounter is characterised by interaction and active participation between the customer and the company (Holmquist & Grönroos, 2012). Hence, information is an important part of what financial service companies sell, and language skills are therefore a fundamental vehicle for this information exchange to take place. Indeed, findings from Holmquist and Van Vaerenbergh's (2013) study of consumers' perceived importance of native language use in domestic service encounters in bilingual countries revealed that customers found language skills to be particularly important in high-involvement services like financial services (in comparison low-involvement services include service encounters that are less dependent on co-production, such as grocery shopping). The findings presented in Chapter 4 demonstrate that the importance of local language communication in customer interactions also affects language practices internally in Nordea and Saxo Bank (i.e. Saxo Privatbank).

Customers contact did not appear to have any significant effect on language management in Grundfos and ECCO. A brief comment may be added in that Grundfos occasionally makes use of translation and interpretation services when communicating in business-to-business transactions (B2B). ECCO on the other hand, control its entire value chain, and does primarily engage in business to consumer (B2C) outreach, except for wholesalers. However, there is no evidence in the data set that these differences affect language practices and management of these practices in company-internal communication situations.

6.3 Global integration

Together with local responsiveness, pressure for g*lobal integration* is commonly seen as another determining criterion for a company's multinational strategy, which can also be linked to industry sector (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; Harzing, 2000; Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Prahalad & Doz, 1987). Bartlett and Ghoshal (1989, p. 22-24) discuss the manufacturing industry as a typical 'global industry', combining high global integration with low local responsiveness, and the findings from Chapters 4 and 5 support this by demonstrating that the two manufacturing companies overall display higher levels of global integration than the two financial service companies (although Saxo Bank's trading business is also global in nature). This finding corresponds largely to Grundfos' and ECCO's global-scale operations, as mentioned in section 6.1 (although ECCO, which has expanded significantly in recent years, appears to have been somewhat less global than Grundfos in the past, cf. section 5.2.1.2). Grundfos' and ECCO's global production network (i.e. 'the spread of the value chain across firm boundaries and national borders', Ernst, 2002, p. 508) requires what Prahalad and Doz (1987, pp. 14-15) refer to as 'global strategic coordination', that is 'the central management of resource commitments across national boundaries in the pursuit of a strategy'.

Prahalad and Doz (1987, p. 14) also discuss another variable of global integration, namely the global integration of activities which 'refers to the centralized management of geographically dispersed activities on an ongoing basis'. It is obvious when comparing findings from the two manufacturing companies that they both make extensive use of geographically dispersed multinational teams, which can be seen as an expression of integrated activities (Goviandarajan & Gupta, 2001; Hinds et al., 2014). In line with Gupta and Govindarajan (2000), industries with a high degree of knowledge intensity, e.g. high research and development intensity – which is the case for manufacturing companies – tend to be more global than other industries. Thus, the use of English as a common corporate language for multinational, cross-border team communication is common, although local language communication is necessary at foreign production sites (cf. section 6.7).

Nordea and Saxo Bank also to some extent use multinational team compositions, thereby demonstrating evidence of global strategic activities (Prahalad & Doz, 1987). However, these teams are usually spread out over a smaller number of countries, often limited to the Nordic region, which can explain why the use of Scandinavian languages is occasionally found in communication between pan-Nordic teams members. It is worth noting that pressure for global integration primarily occurs in internationalised divisions, such as activities directed towards large corporate and institutional customers, e.g. wholesale banking, where the use of English is common. Hence, in the two financial companies, global integration results in elements of global/transnational strategies, but not at the expense of local responsiveness in the branch area. This is in line with Prahalad and Doz's (1987, pp. 35-36) observation that different parts of a multinational corporation can be managed differently owing to variations in functions and areas, e.g. wholesale banking vs. retail banking.

6.4 Work environment

Findings stemming from the four case companies' use of communication channels show that the sector-specific factor *work environment*, referring to the physical working conditions of employees (Nordlöf, Wijk, & Lindberg, 2011), has an impact on language management in the two manufacturing companies. Indeed, when comparing data across the two different sectors, there are big differences in terms of the work environment of blue-collar workers and white-collar workers which also affect language and communication practices within the firms. Whereas employees in the two financial service companies report on a wide range of communication channels within easy access, such as email, phone, and intranet (the most frequently mentioned channels), informants in both manufacturing companies explicitly state that access to communication channels is a significant challenge in vertical and horizontal communication patterns due to the physical work environment of the production units, especially in foreign subsidiary locations. Manufacturers are what Chandler (1962, p. 8) call 'industrial enterprises', that is, 'large, private, profit-oriented business firms[s] involved in the handling of goods in some or all of the successive industrial processes from the procurement of the raw material to the sale to the ultimate customer'. The industrial work environment of production plants is by nature a more difficult environment to communicate in, compared to a white-collar office environment.

Consequently, in both Grundfos and ECCO, the work environment of blue-collar employees effectively reduces access to corporate communication channels – the channels which are used for intra-unit information exchange and knowledge sharing within the firms. Like employees in the two financial services, white-collar workers in Grundfos and ECCO have relatively easy access to communication channels by virtue of their office work environment, yet, findings demonstrate that the large number of production workers in industrial environments in these companies also affect white-collar communication practices.

6.5 Communication mode

As stated in section 2.4.3, communication mode refers to the 'format' of communication (Altheide, 1994). In the context of this study the distinction between written, oral, and visual communication modes is particularly interesting (e.g. Lehtonen, 2011). Like work environment discussed above, communication mode is also a sector-specific factor pertinent to language management in the two manufacturing companies. Interview data presented in both Grundfos' and ECCO's within-case analyses demonstrate that there is a limit of language in these multilingual organisations; for this reason, key informants in the two communication departments strongly suggest that there is an increasing need for visual material in mass communication. Written communication, regardless of what language it is written in, is often an inadequate mode to reach production workers due to limited literal skills. Again, this is a sector-specific finding that may be ascribed to the employee composition of the manufacturing

companies, whereas the two financial service firms show no indication of such a need for visual communication.

The same can also be said for the oral communication that takes place between local managers of the manufacturing companies' production units and the local staff. Especially in ECCO, which has a very labour-intensive production, oral communication is often the default communication mode in the company's production segment. Oral interaction is of course also a common way of communicating in the two financial services, as in all other parts of modern society, but these companies are much less dependent on oral communication, in view of the wide range of, and easy access to, communication channels such as email and the company's intranet.

6.6 Risk of organisational isolation

The previous within-case analyses have pointed to a third finding that may be ascribed to the manufacturing sector in particular, namely the *risk of organisational isolation* (cf. Logemann & Piekkari, 2015, p. 42; Young & Tavares, 2004). Organisational isolation can be described as a form of disconnection from the rest of the corporation prompted by distance and separation from ongoing activities in the corporate centre, i.e. headquarters (Marschan, 1996, p. 156). In the two manufacturing companies the risk of organisational isolation increases due to the existence of organisational gatekeepers in key communicative positions (see section 2.3.4.4). When there are few or none direct communication channels from headquarters to the operative staff, a subsidiary manager in a manufacturing firm can easily filter or distort corporate-level information, a phenomenon that has previously been observed by Logemann and Piekkari (2015; mentioned in section 2.3.4.4, in this case study the subsidiary manager, i.e. the gatekeeper, altered email communication from the group president). Therefore, on the basis of previously presented interview data (see Quotes 132 and 183 in particular), the risk of gatekeeping activities can be seen as significantly higher in the two manufacturing companies than in the two financial service companies, given the wide range of communication channels commonly used in financial service companies.

If a breach in headquarter-subsidiary information flow occurs due to a subsidiary manager's gatekeeping activities, this can be seen as a form of 'communication-induced' organisational isolation. Whereas Logemann and Piekkari (2015) talk about 'language pockets' inside multinationals, data from this study indicate that these language pockets may develop into 'communication pockets' with limited or no intra-organisational vertical or horizontal communication resulting from e.g. gatekeeping activities at the local management level, which again is a risk multinational manufacturers are particularly exposed to owing to their geographically dispersed production units. Interview data indicate that gatekeeping also happens within the financial services, but compared to branch offices in these companies, where employees in most cases can utilise several different types of channels to gain headquarter information, foreign production units face a risk of becoming organisationally isolated from their parent due to lack of

headquarter communication. In the case of ECCO for example, implementing the new employee magazine (cf. section 5.2.3.1) can be seen as a way of reducing the risk of organisational isolation.

6.7 Educational level

The previous four within-case analyses have demonstrated that employees' language skills are a very important factor that contributes to shape the language management approaches of the case companies. In line with Welch et al.'s (2005, p. 12) statement that managers need to acknowledge 'language skills are people skills' and that 'language consequences are tied up with the management of people', there are good reasons for paying attention to the language competencies and practices of the companies' workforce.

In line with what previous studies have found (in particular Barner-Ramussen & Aarnio, 2011; cf. section 2.5), interview data presented in Chapter 5 demonstrate that the *educational level* of blue-collar employees in manufacturing companies is of particular interest. On average, personnel employed in financial sector companies in the Nordic countries, including branch offices, have higher educational levels than locally-employed production workers in foreign production units of manufacturing companies (Millar & Jensen, 2009). Manufacturing companies are likely to employ production workers with modest to low educational levels, which has been found to increase the need for local-language communication in production facilities, due to limited English language proficiency among staff members (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011; Malkamäki & Herberts, 2014). In comparison, the majority of employees in the Nordic countries have had English language training as part of their compulsory school education, which is far less common in cheap-labour countries, e.g. in rural China and South-East Asia (Chaganti, 2004, pp. 2221-2222; Phillipson, 2012, p. 6), cf. economic geography in section 6.1. Thus, the educational background of employees in the manufacturing industry is likely to affect the way in which manufacturers manage language (cf. Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999b; Piekkari & Tietze, 2012; Welch et al., 2005), which is reflected in the findings from Grundfos and ECCO.

6.8 Age structure

Although it follows from what was stated above that the educational background of employees in the two financial services is less intrusive than in the two manufacturing firms, the interview data presented in Chapter 4 have pointed to another relevant employee characteristic, namely age. Informants in both Nordea and Saxo Bank have explicitly emphasised the higher *age structure* of branch employees as a factor that affects the level of English language skills in these business areas. The previously presented interview data (in section 4.1.3.2 and 4.2.3.2) must of course be seen as reported practice, i.e. informants' subjective opinions about the language competence level of branch employees, and how this factor creates a demand for local language communication. Nevertheless, data from the Eurobarometer survey (2012) concerning 'Europeans and their languages' supports the assumption that age plays a role for

employees' foreign language skills (European Commission, 2012). In particular, the Eurobarometer survey found that foreign language competence diminishes significantly with age, which suggests that senior staff members are likely to have lower foreign language proficiency than their younger colleagues.

Age was also mentioned by some informants in the two manufacturing companies as a factor that influenced language choice to some degree, i.e. favouring the use of the local language to English. In Grundfos and ECCO, age was primarily mentioned with regard to the use of newer communication channels, such as the intranet and social media (sections 5.1.3.1 and 5.2.3.1). Yet, having senior employees in itself can hardly be seen as an industry sector characteristic. On the other hand, we know from previous studies (Jacobs, Kohli, & Rein, 1991, pp. 93-34) that the tertiary sector (services) overall tend to have a higher proportion of older workers than the secondary sector (manufacturing). Based on a review of the evolution of average retirement ages in OECD countries since 1950, Blöndal and Scarpetta (1999) conclude that 'The incidence of retirement before the age of 65 also differs systematically across sectoral affiliation' (p. 11), where 'Earlier transition to retirement is […] a common feature among civil servants and workers in the manufacturing sectors, while people in the service sector and especially the self-employed tend to retire later than other workers' (p. 43). Hofäcker (2010) also discusses that early retirement is more common in traditional industries (i.e. primary and secondary industries) than in the private service sector. This may be seen in relation to the fact that the majority of employees in the two financial services are located in Scandinavian countries, where the average age of employees tends to be higher than in e.g. Asian countries, where the majority of the manufacturing companies' production workers are located (OECD, 2011). Hofäcker (2010, p. 65) observes that 'As modern societies are de-industrializing and moving towards service economies, older traditional sectors such as manufacturing or construction are declining while new sectors in the service sector expand'. Thus, empirical evidence combined with previous studies suggests that age is a financial service parameter affecting these companies approach to language management.

6.9 Regulatory compliance

Data presented in the two financial services' within-case analyses revealed that regulatory demands have an impact on language and language management in these firms. Thus, *regulatory compliance* is a sector-specific characteristic that appears to affect financial services more than manufacturing companies (KPMG, 2014), also in terms of language and communication practices. This finding is consistent with what Bellak (2014) labels the 'social-regulatory contextual dimension' of corporate language management. In particular, Bellak (2014, p. 290) argues that 'External forces are particularly interesting because they have imposing power in that they impose language on the MNC which has to comply with these linguistic requirements', and furthermore that 'External forces not only represents communication *needs* but *requests* or *mandates* of different kinds'. Findings from the two financial service cases in this study support the argument that regulatory demands have a clear impact on language and

communication, both for external communication practices, i.e. the type of interaction that takes place between the consumers and the company (Holmquist & Grönroos, 2012; Holmquist & Van Vaerenbergh, 2013), and also internally in the company.

In Prahalad and Doz's (1987, p. 21, 67-100) integration-responsiveness grid, regulatory compliance is largely covered by local responsiveness, described as 'demands imposed by host governments'. However, as banking operations have become increasingly international in nature (Dickens, 2011, pp. 390-394) 'international regulation plays an important role because financial assets are mobile and regulatory arbitrage puts conflicting incentives in place' (Herzog, 2013, p. 17; see also Vaubel, 2009, who discusses international coordination of banking regulations following the global financial crisis). Consequently, regulatory compliance should be treated as a distinct sector-specific factor that affects language management practices in financial service companies.

6.10 Industry speak

One common observation across all four case companies was the presence of company speak, a concept that also has been discussed in several previous studies (e.g. de Vecchi 2012, 2014; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Logemann & Piekkari, 2015; Welch et al., 2005; section 2.4.1). The occurrence of company speak is not particularly noteworthy as such, however, findings from the four case companies combined provide a strong basis for arguing that we need to pay more attention to *industry speak*, i.e. the influence of professional language that relates to the industry context which the company is part of (Piekkari et al., 2014; Welch et al., 2005). When informants were asked whether they could provide any examples of company-specific specific terminology (i.e. company-specific language, cf. section 2.4.1), many examples were not restricted to the company as such, but rather part of the industry sector. For example, one informant in ECCO describes in the following excerpt how she learned the professional terms that are used in shoe production:

(211) I didn't have any shoe experience before I started in ECCO, and I was sent to Asia for the first [trainee] rotation, so I learned everything in English, all the different parts of the shoe […] and I have no idea what it is called in Danish, if I had to translate it… for example, this part of the shoe [showing] is called a 'tongue' [codeswitching], but in Danish is it called a 'pløs', so when I came back to Denmark I was wondering for myself 'is it called a tongue [in Danish: 'tunge'] or what?' [laughter]
-ECCO_10, Trainee

The 'tongue' of a shoe is the strip of fabric on the top part of the foot and runs down the top-center of the shoe underneath the laces (Stimpert, 2015). 'Tongues' are used in all shoe production, not just in ECCO's shoe production, consequently, it is an example of industry-specific language or industry speak

(other examples are provided in sections 4.1.3.3; 4.2.3.3; 5.1.3.3; and 5.2.3.3). The presence of industry speak was found to be highly intertwined with company speak in both the financial services and the manufacturing companies, but with different outcomes owing to the different industries.

6.11 Summary

This cross-sector discussion has compared findings from Chapters 4 and 5 in an attempt to uncover sector-specific effects on the case companies' approach to language management. Indeed, this chapter has established that it is possible to infer a number of sector-specific factors when comparing and contrasting findings from the financial services and manufacturing companies, and that these clearly have an effect on language management across the four case companies.

The most interesting finding from the preceding discussion concerns the variances between the two industry sectors on language management. In particular, the following seven sector-specific factors were found to represent the biggest differences between the two financial service companies and the manufacturing companies: local responsiveness; work environment; communication mode; risk of organisational isolation; educational level; age structure; and regulatory compliance. These are factors that had a strong impact on language management in one sector but not in the other (cf. Figure 7). By contrast, the following three factors were found in both industry sectors (with outcomes that varied across the sectors): economic geography; global integration; and industry speak.

Compared with the overview of company-specific findings presented in Table 7 (Appendix 9a), Figures 5 and 6 show that three of these findings have not been discussed on the basis of sector characteristics in the present chapter. These are factors where the sector effects appear to be lower or more difficult to distil from other contextual factors, and they are: corporate culture and identity; corporate governance and control; and resource allocation (financing of language management activities).

Firstly, it is evident from Chapters 4 and 5 that the four case companies included in this study have developed four very different types of corporate culture. Nordea's corporate culture is described by informants as inclusive and consensus-oriented. Saxo Bank's corporate culture, on the other hand, is described as a performance culture characterised by a fast-paced environment. Consequently, with two such different corporate cultures, it is difficult to draw any conclusions as to whether the financial sector has had any influence on Nordea and Saxo Bank's culture, which in turn has affected the companies' language management approach. The same goes for the two manufacturing companies; informants in Grundfos report on a comfortable and low-hierarchy culture, while ECCO is portrayed as down-to-earth and somewhat reserved, bordering on introvert. There are several factors that appear to have explanatory power here, e.g. founding history, national culture, location of headquarters, which makes it difficult to extract sector-specific characteristics in particular.

Secondly, corporate governance and control are clearly a company-specific factor that has influenced the development of formal language policy documents in Nordea, and to a degree also Grundfos (more on this in Chapter 8). In the same way, the absence of corporate governance and control mechanisms has clearly had an impact on the unregulated language situation at Saxo Bank – a company with fast and uncomplicated decision-making processes – and ECCO – a company that favours the 'unwritten rules' (until the implementation of the new change management programme). As discussed above with regard to corporate culture, it is also difficult to point to any sector-specific characteristics on the topic of corporate governance, as there are significant differences between the two matched pairs of industry cases.

Finally, resource allocation is described by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 216) as a prerequisite for successful implementation of corporate language strategies. Also in the present study, the companies' willingness to finance language management activities has been described as an important part of their overall approach to language management. For example, Nordea's within-case analysis very effectively demonstrates that previous exposure to language and communication-related problems can have a direct effect on investment in language management initiatives. When compared to findings from Saxo Bank, however, it is not possible to draw conclusions as to whether there are any factors pertaining to the financial service sector that have influenced this allocation of resources. On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that both of the manufacturing companies have established language training programmes for their employees (to be discussed in section 8.4). Still, it is evident from ECCO's within-case analysis that there are very limited resources for other language management activities, and as in the case of the two financial service companies, funding appears to be a company-specific rather than sector-specific characteristic.

7 Language management tools in financial service companies

This chapter will present and discuss the various language management tools that managers, and to some extent also front-line employees, in the two financial service companies, Nordea and Saxo Bank, make use of in order to facilitate the internal communication flow of their organisation. In particular, research questions 2a aims to establish: Which language management tools are implemented and why in the two financial service companies? The chapter is organised along the same lines as the language management tools taxonomy (Table 1), and will discuss the following tools: corporate language policies (section 7.1); translation (section 7.2); technological solutions (section 7.3); language training (section 7.4); selective recruitment (section 7.5); language intermediates (section 7.6) and finally emergent solutions at the front-line level (section 7.7). Section 7.8 will offer a cross-case discussion of the use of language management tools in Nordea and Saxo Bank.

7.1 Language policy financial services

7.1.1 Language policy Nordea

Corporate language policies have previously been defined as the regulation of language use in corporations and business organisations. As Chapter 4 has demonstrated, the two financial service companies included in this study have chosen different ways to approach the formulation of a language policy for internal communication purposes. This section will examine and discuss the issue of language and communication policies in the two case companies, with focus on the language policy document of Nordea, being the 'high' language management company.

Nordea's current language policy is the result of a business case which was initiated shortly after Nordea was coined in 2000. As described in the previous within-case analysis, one of Nordea's predecessors MeritaNordbanken, a merger between a Swedish and a Finnish bank, originally operated under a Swedish language policy. When the group also included merging partners from Norway and Denmark, the company decided to implement English as their new company language. The actual policy text has been altered over the years, but the wording of the policy as it exists today was adopted by the executive board in 2004, and updated again in 2007.

The entire language policy text is available in five languages – English, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Finnish – and made available to Nordea's employees on the company's intranet pages, specifically on the translation department's language and translation sites. The actual language policy consists of three parts: one where the company's official language standards are established; one that contains guidelines for the use of the company's in-house translation department; and one that can be described as a language guide where employees may find help on how to improve their communication practices.

It is in the first part of the language policy document, which bears the title 'Nordea's language policy', that English is defined as the official corporate language of the company, while acknowledging the role of the different local languages for local, country-specific communication. This part of the language policy is a relatively short text, which in the English version (p. 5) reads as follows:

> -The language we use supports Nordea's vision to be a Great European bank, acknowledged for its people, creating superior value for customers and shareholders.
> -The way we communicate reflects our corporate values and culture:
>
> > -Great customer experiences: We communicate with the customer in mind.
> > -It's all about people: We use plain language so that our information is easily read and understood.
> > -One Nordea team: We use consistent terminology across national boundaries and fields of business to promote clear and consistent communication and aid cross-cultural understanding.
>
> -Our corporate language is English (British English). This is the language we use in cross-border communication. Local communication - external customer communication as well as internal communication - can be executed in the respective local language. Information is also communicated in relevant local languages in the following situations: if it is a legal requirement or is otherwise considered business vital or necessary for reputation reasons or to ensure that the intended message comes across.

It is evident from how the language policy is formulated that the policy is closely linked to Nordea's overall corporate values (see also Piekkari et al., 2013). These values may be understood as guiding principles of the company's corporate communication. With regard to language standards, it is interesting to note the explicit differentiation between language choice in the context of cross-border communication and local communication. One translator elaborates on how this variation is carried out in practice, which has implications for how the company's corporate language English is to be interpreted:

(212) It says in our language policy what we mean by corporate language, which is when it is cross-border communication. If you communicate within the country, then you use your own language. So corporate language, language-wise; when you communicate on behalf of the corporation, internally or externally, then English should be used.
-Nordea_1, Translator

When talking to Nordea employees about the different language choices they make in their everyday job function, (cf. section 4.1.3.2), it was clear that most employees had a degree of awareness of the content of the language policy. However, awareness of the language policy document in itself varies between respondents, as Quotes 213-215 may illustrate:

(213) We have a policy from 2004 actually, that we are using English as our language, company language, but […] it is when it's cross-border [communication], then it's of course mandatory to know English or have good English skills, but if it is a local job, and the requirement is that you have to be good at a local language, then that is more important than English so that is the overall, so… English is the company language, no doubt about it.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

(214) Interviewer: Are you familiar with the policy as such?
Interviewee: Not the policy as such, but of course English is our corporate language. […] But that is for of course internally in departments, if you are working in a retail branch office, of course you don't have to have English skills, but of course it could be because they will meet costumers that they have to speak English to, but I don't think it's in their job description as such, I'm not sure, but… I don't think so.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(215) You really haven't asked me, if the company actually has a language policy, but [only] on what the corporate language is and how the other languages have sort of come into the picture, I don't even know if there's such a policy, but ever since I started working [in Nordea], I have just accepted that English is the corporate language.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

In addition to outlining the different language standards for use in cross-border vs. local communication, the language policy also states that mass communication should be made available in the local languages when certain conditions are met. These conditions relate to both internal and external communication, as the previously cited language policy applies to communication that takes place both within and outside the company. As stated in the policy text, Nordea will provide information in the national language of the country if they are legally obliged to do so according to country-specific legislation, or if the information is of strategic importance to the target group, i.e. the employees with regard to internal communication. Informants are also aware that a lot of information is indeed communicated by means of the various local languages, and sometimes perhaps more than the language policy specifies:

(216) It is a little bit diffuse, we have chosen a corporate language but still we communicate very much in the local languages, and we also spend a lot of resources on it, so I personally lean more towards English. I use English as much as I can.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

(217) When we communicate about our values, we always do so in the local language and in English. And of course then we don't follow our corporate language policy, since we have said that that is English, but I think that is also related to the fact that we have a lot of people serving our customers in their local language, so in order [for them] to take it in [laughter], it's easier for all employees if they can read it in their own language.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

The use of various local languages in the Nordic countries implies that there is a need for translation of documents. This is where the second part of the language policy comes into play: a translation policy that determines what kind of information should be translated and for what purpose. As explained by one translator:

(218) In principle I think that the more that is available in the local languages, the better, but that is of course a resource question. We have some policy documents which are supposed to work as decision guidelines when somebody – preferably a customer [to the translation department] in some part of the bank needs to decide on whether this is something that needs to be translated or if an English version is enough.
-Nordea_2, Translator

In contrast to the first part of the language policy, the translation policy does distinguish between internal and external communication. With regard to internal communication, a further distinction is made between information targeting all Nordea employees and information within particular business areas and group functions. Communication that falls within the first category should always be translated into the four Nordic languages in addition to English. One key informant working in the Danish communication unit elaborates:

(219) All communication that affects the employees must be available in the local languages. For example, we have overarching strategic articles, they will always be published in a channel that reaches out to all employees in Nordea, and that is always translated into the four Nordic languages in addition to English. Always. As regards the local projects, for example something – it

might be a Nordic initiative, but if it in any way goes out to the employees, and especially in the branch area, then it has to be in Danish [in Denmark], and that is – of course we have English as our corporate language, but the level of English is very, very limited in the branch area, so if we are considering publishing an article in English to what we call [retail] banking in Denmark, it probably wouldn't be read at all.
-Nordea_4, Communication professional

The translation policy is more flexible when it comes to the type of communication that takes place within respective business areas and group functions. These functions are functions that were described as 'corporate functions' in section 4.1.3.2. Specifically, it is stated in the translation policy (p. 7) that English is the default language standard for this type of communication: 'All communication (for instance internal memos, presentations, minutes of meetings and reports to management) and instructions within business areas or group functions will be in English only.' However, there are two important exceptions to this rule:

-If the primary target group is not sufficiently proficient in English to understand and act upon important operational instructions, such need-to-know information may be communicated in local language as well.
-Communication within the branch regions will be in the relevant local language.

The second exception leaves little room for interpretation as to whether or not information should undergo translation. The importance of communicating through the local language of employees in the branch area must be regarded a well-established right for this particular staff group, which is also evident from Quote 219 above. However, interview data reveal that the first exception may cause some discussions internally between the translators and the party requesting the translation:

(220) We do sometimes discuss with them [who are requiring translation], and ask them whether it really is the right thing to do, how important it is to get this translated, 'should we translate these 200 pages? What are you going to use them for?', right, 'I would suggest that we start by doing this and this' [we tell them], we don't just accept everything.
-Nordea_1, Translator

In addition to the formal translation policy it is also interesting to observe that some informants have taken an active standpoint with regard to the translation of internal documentation within a certain business area. The following passage provides an example of such a decision:

(221) Interviewee: When I used to work in the communication department, we trained leaders how to communicate with other leaders, and we used some English material for that, and we always had somebody who commented that they thought the material should be in Danish, since this was something that happened in Denmark.

Interviewer: Ok? Who would say that for example?

Interviewee: They are leaders. […] But we had made an active decision not do that [translate into Danish]. So it was always in English.

-Nordea_5, Communication professional

The third part of Nordea's language policy is a company-specific style guide that 'helps you to write better and more reader-friendly texts in a Nordea way', as stated in the policy text (p. 8). This style guide can to a large extent be understood as a communication policy in the sense that it deals primarily with how employees should communicate in accordance with Nordea's values, as identified in the first part of the language policy (cf. Bergenholtz & Johnsen, 2006). The style guide consists of different language tools made available to employees on the group translation department's intranet pages. One sub-site, for example, offers a language tip library where employees can 'stay updated on grammar and spelling and get other useful hints on how to express yourself most effectively.' The language tips are written by translators in the group translation department, and include a combination of general English language tips as well as Nordea-specific language use.

One important component of Nordea's style guide is the company-specific dictionary, called 'Nordea terms'. One the group translation intranet pages, this dictionary is presented in the following way:

> Nordea terms is Group Translation's own five-language dictionary of Nordea terminology, expressions and abbreviations as well as bank-specific and other special terms. The languages covered are Danish, English, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish. Nordea terms also contains definitions and text
> examples showing contexts in which the terms appear as well as category according to the specific area of usage.

The occurrence of company-specific language, or company-speak (e.g. Welch et al., 2005) was pointed out in Nordea's within-case analysis (section 4.1.3.3). Nordea terms is an online database where all of Nordea's employees may look up terminology, expressions or abbreviations specific to the company. Since the dictionary must be considered a technological solution, it will be discussed in detail in section 7.3.1.

7.1.2 Language policy Saxo Bank

As mentioned in section 4.2.3.3, Saxo Bank has a style guideline outlining the preferred communication style of the company. This style guideline is part of the company's 'communications manual', developed by the public relations department in 2008. The communications manual is presented as a 34 page hard-copy folder covering topics such as 'Coordination of PR activities', 'Press releases and press conferences', 'Annual report' and 'Media monitoring' (examples of chapters in the communications manual). The manual also contains various appendices, specifically a selection of power-point slides ('Executive powerpoint presentation'), a list of spokespeople, media analyses for the year 2007 and 2008, and an example of what a press release should look like. The majority of the document deals with how Saxo Bank's spokes-persons should handle requests from the media and ensure timely and appropriate release of information.

Having said that, it is worth pointing out that the introduction of the communications manual in fact does not limit the scope of the manual to external communication only. Instead, it states in the introduction (p. 3):

> This manual is written as a means to provide guidance and support in creating a more coherent and consistent communication within the Saxo Bank Group both internally and externally.

This is noteworthy considering that the document actually has a section on 'Style guidelines' where the following language regulatory statement is made (p. 11):

> Language
>
> The official corporate language of Saxo Bank is British English.
>
> For matters of spelling, refer to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) in its latest edition and for grammar, please refer to the latest edition of the European Commission's Style Guide: http://ec.europa.eu/translation/writing/style_guides_english/style_guide_en.pdf

Interestingly, this excerpt is taken from a chapter in the communications manual titled 'Communications policy', where the part on language standard presented above is listed together with (listed in order of appearance) 'Currency' (how different currencies should be abbreviated), 'Numbers' (a standardised outline for how to write numbers), 'Date and time' (a standardised outline for how to write date and time), 'Non-English names and phrases' (some examples of how to write foreign names and phrases), 'Use of capitals' (rules regarding capitalisation), 'Web language' (rules regarding URLS, web addresses and emails), 'Key terms' (a standardised glossary of frequently used key terms), and 'Key terms with reference to Saxo Bank' (a standardised glossary of frequently used terms relating to the Saxo Bank group).

From the way the language statement is presented it appears that the use of British English as 'the official corporate language of Saxo Bank' is considered a matter of communication style rather than language choice. This impression is furthered supported by returning to the introduction of the communications manual, which states that the target groups of the manual are, in addition to the public relations department which has developed the manual (p. 4):

> Members of the CEO Function; Executive Management Group; Senior Management Group; Legal; Head of local offices; Head of regions; Spokespeople; Regional PR managers and coordinators.

Based on this list of target groups, and the appearance of the communication manual as a whole, one can conclude that the manual is not intended for the type of communication that takes place at the front-line level. Rather, it is developed with the purpose of improving the company's public image through the use of sophisticated, professional communication. Nevertheless, it contains some tips and recommendations for company-specific communication, e.g. the relatively detailed style guide on the topics listed above, which could also be useful for employees who do not communicate on behalf of the company. However, only two of the informants I interviewed in the Saxo Bank group knew of the communications manual; the communication professional behind the manual (Saxo Bank_1), and a vice president (Saxo Bank_2), who works closely with the public relations department at the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen. For example, when asked 'do you know whether you have a document that says 'our corporate language is English?', two respondents replied:

(222) I'm not sure whether it says anywhere that the corporate language is English, whether we have a policy that says that…
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

(223) Interviewee: We're not involved in that, we are employed to find new customers and look after them. We do not make high-level strategies about things that happen in this house [headquarters], then you need to speak to a director or somebody that knows the overall guidelines.
Interviewer: Yes, I'm aware of that. I just want to hear whether you know about it [the language policy]?
Interviewee: No, absolutely not […] I have no idea.
-Saxo Bank_9, Advisor

Interestingly, the latter respondent initially reacts by stating that he is not involved in policy development. This respondent appears to be under the impression that a language policy is the responsibility of the management. It is also noteworthy that the first informant, the HR manager, is

unaware of the company's written language policy statement, although she holds a central position in the company's HR department. This indicates that knowledge of the communication manual is scarce in the organisation.

7.2 Translation financial services

7.2.1 Translation Nordea

As described in section 4.1.2.2, Nordea has an in-house translation department with pooled translation resources in the four Nordic countries. When entering the Nordea group in 2000, the Danish organisation, previously called Unidanmark, was the only merging party with a well-established internal translation set-up. Most of the translation needs in the other countries – Sweden, Finland, and Norway – were outsourced to external translation agencies. However, the scale of translation requests following the merger implied that these country-based organisations would be unable to handle the increased work load of administrating five parallel language versions, as the need for translation would increase dramatically. Therefore, the Danish translation department developed a business case that evaluated the handling of translation in Nordea after the 2000 merger, and the current translation set-up is based on the recommendations provided in this business case.

The business case predicts that one of the advantages of having a centralised translation department is the possibility of ensuring optimal efficiency by having the group's language resources in one place. Although the translation units are geographically spread out, the organisational set-up facilitates a high degree of cooperation between the various units, as explained by two informants:

(224) We do of course work closely with colleagues in Copenhagen and in Helsinki, because a large number of the texts we are working on, need to be translated into all Nordic languages, and that means they turn into Nordic projects.
-Nordea_2, Translator

(225) We cooperate a lot, because we function as a unit […] and we have a lot of assignments that we solve in five languages, and then we cooperate on how to solve them.
-Nordea_1, Translator

It is also evident from interview data with Nordea's translators that the different translation units may help each other out in situations where the workloads differ between the countries.

One of the most important reasons for employing in-house translators in the first place is related to the type of knowledge they possess. An internal translation department represents a strong knowledge base in the sense that the translators work in close contact with the various business areas in the company, thereby developing a unique understanding of the organisation. For this reason, an in-house

translation department adds a value to the company which an external translation agency would not be able to offer, according to the translators themselves:

(226) I think the bank would have missed the continuity and the knowledge and the network that we have if they had used an external [translation] agency. […] What we can add is inside knowledge [of Nordea] and continuity.
-Nordea_2, Translator

(227) We create a framework for those employees who are in direct contact with the customers, because we as translators and communicators don't have that [customer contact] […] In a way, we create a foundation for those who have it [customer contact], so that they can realise Nordea's vision.
-Nordea_3, Translator

In the business case, having a group of internal translators with specific knowledge and understanding of Nordea is seen in direct relation to higher quality translation. One part of this relates to the internal translators' awareness of the company-specific vocabulary. This type of competence is something which is recognised by the users of the translation department, as illustrated by Quotes 228 and 229:

(228) I guess that the benefit of having internal translators and the support [from the group translation department] is that they ensure that we use some common words, terminology overall [in a] Nordea way.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

(229) If I write a text in English, for example – and we work under enormous time pressure as well, and the text needs to be translated into four languages, I send it for translation, and they [the translation department] then proofread the English version as well […] to make sure that the language is 'Nordean', or whatever we should call it.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

The latter informant expresses an interesting view of the role of the translation department later on in the conversation. She explains that she and her colleagues often find themselves overloaded with work, which may result in them producing lower quality texts. However, given that the texts are subjected to translation, this is considered to be less of a problem:

(230) We are very busy, we write our texts, make sure that the content and the message is there, and then there is somebody who – it's going to [the] translation [department] anyway, so they are the ones who have to correct the mistakes.
-Nordea_10, Consultant

Respondent Nordea_10 works in a corporate headquarters function in Stockholm, with a high degree of contact with other international offices, and consequently the working language of the department is English. Interestingly, in the previous excerpt the interviewee refers to the translation department almost as the guarantors of high quality communication in the company. Although the responsibility of communicating error-free messages is a responsibility this respondent acknowledges, she has no time to take in on herself, and feels it is an advantage that there are a group of translators who can proofread the English language version and translate it into the four Nordic languages. Another informant shares a similar view, stating that she no longer can be bothered to spend time on writing elegant texts:

(231) I never put in any effort in the articles at all, I just write the main messages down, this is what I would like to have published, because I know it will be rewritten, you know, a hundred times, so [laughter] I just write something down, this is what I would like to communicate […] and then [the translation department] they will also most certainly rewrite it several times.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

One of the anticipated benefits (cf. the translation business case) of having a centralised translation set-up was the possibility of developing a centre, or as it turned out regionally dispersed centres, of 'functional excellence' that could offer high-quality translations. Interview data suggest that the translation department to a large extent lives up to this role. At the same time it is interesting to observe how the existence of the translation department affects the way users of the translation department's services think about their own language and writing style. As the two previous quotes demonstrate, the translation department's role as the 'centre of excellence' may make employees transfer the responsibility of formulating the texts to the professional translators, thus they only have to focus on the basic message themselves.

Still, it is also important to emphasise that there often is a close collaboration between the translators and the party requesting translation. One translator in the Danish translation unit reflects on how the translation process in itself sometimes has a positive effect on the final result, both for the English version and the Nordic language versions, as it forces the writer to think about the very content of the message:

(232) Something happens in that translation process, the text is processed and clarified in a sense, because the English language, especially for non-native English speakers, it is… there are a lot of good words in English, and there are a lot of very nice words, and *excellence* and *superior* [code-switching] and things like that, but then, when you suddenly have to bring it down to your local language, in Danish and Norwegian and Swedish and Finnish, then you have to think about what we are talking about really, what exactly do we mean when we say something like *operational excellence* [code-switching], what do we mean by that? […] So in that translation process you sometimes clarify things, and it happens that when you [a translator] has translated something and you read it and the English version that someone else has written, then certain things may be changed in the English [version] based on the translation, because you [the customer] look at it and say 'oh, then it wasn't expressed clearly enough', or 'this wasn't quite what we meant' […] so you actually get a better English text out of it by going through the translation process.
-Nordea_3, Translator

The business case predicts that one potential challenge of having an organisationally centralised translation department in comparison to an organisationally decentralised translation department is a lower degree of local area language knowledge. This assumption is based on the fact that a smaller team of translators will have better possibilities to develop area-specific knowledge through physical closeness to the respective business area. Interview data reveal that this expected disadvantage may occur in certain situations, as illustrated by the next two quotes. Both of these statements are from respondents working in a corporate headquarters function, and in the following excerpts they talk about their experience with translating texts from English into the four Nordic languages:

(233) We are rolling out a new IT stystem [in the entire Nordea group], and then of course it is once again really important to have all the instructions and all the communication in local languages. […] At the beginning we sent all the instructions in English to Nordea's translation department, unfortunately sometimes it isn't good enough, because, they are of course very skilled, but they are translating it into a language that may not be suitable for a group IT function, so then we have to send it to our business partner in our department in the [Nordic] countries, just to double check, so there are a lot of steps before we can actually release it.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(234) I write the article in English, send it for proofreading in the translation department, who then take care of the translation, and when the entire article has been translated into the local language[s], the translation department passes it on to somebody in the communication department, where I work, and asks to have it checked, because one challenge we have is that the translation

department very often translates the text extremely loyally to the original, very literately, but since these are journalistic articles, the headline may sound very… it may sound very exciting in English, but when it is translated into Danish, it sounds very boring.
-Nordea_4, Communication professional

It is evident from Quotes 233 and 234 that the translation from English into the four Nordic languages may pose certain stylistic challenges. However, both informants also explain that the quality of the different language versions may be checked either by them or some of their colleagues in the other Nordic countries (cf. section 4.1.3.3). Another informant, who works with communication in one of Nordea's IT projects, believes that it is quite understandable that the translators sometimes need to contact their customers, given that some of the texts may be of highly technical nature:

(235) Sometimes they [the translators] may have difficulties with it, I mean, we do send technical things to them, so sometimes they need to get back to us and check what it really is we want [them to translate], and explain the context, but that is very understandable.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

When talking to key informants in the translation department, the constant contact and feedback from the different business areas is explicitly mentioned as one of the ways in which the translation team may continue to build up their professional competence:

(236) One part of our competence development is included in the job in a way, because we ask for feedback from those we are translating for, and certain things are always read by some of our journalists [in the communication department] for example or our internal communicators, they read through our translations and comment on them. It is primarily the language [they comment on], but also when we translate [texts] for other units in the bank, so if somebody reads through it in those units to make sure that things have been interpreted in the right way or we have captured the way that – so we always make sure we also get that material back [the proofread version] […] so we can see what they have corrected, and I would say, that's probably what I learn most from.
-Nordea_3, Translator

This informant believes that the low turnover in the translation department as well as the high seniority of translators is important for upholding a high internal competence level. It is also clear that these factors support a strong collective spirit between the different translation units, which is important for maintaining pan-Nordic collaboration and knowledge-sharing, as is evident from the following quote:

(237) You may have noticed if you have met several of us [translators] that many of us have worked in the bank for a very long time. […] So even if we don't see each other on a daily basis, we have met a lot – many times over the years, and we stay in touch by telephone and email, so we know each other.
-Nordea_2, Translator

As previously mentioned, the translation department is in regular contact with other business areas in Nordea, both for proofreading purposes, and also by inviting colleagues from different areas in the bank to give presentations on relevant topics. In addition to these forms of collaboration with other Nordea units and business areas, the translation department also takes part in more formalised systems of cooperation. For example, one translator in the Danish translation unit is a member of a team made up of people working in different areas within one of Nordea's business areas, Retail Banking. The purpose of this team is to:

(238) Tie the communication together, to make sure that the corporate functions which are responsible for the communication [i.e. the translation department] knows what is going on communication-wise in the business areas.
-Nordea_3, Translator

Specifically, the team consists of the heads of communication in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Finland as well as other key communication professionals in various positions in Retail Banking, and is led by the (Nordic) head of communication in Retail Banking. According to Nordea_3, these types of functional teams consisting of members from different parts of the Nordea group, both geographically and organisationally, exist in all of Nordea's three main business areas, Retail Banking, Wholesale Banking and Wealth Management. Interestingly, the functional team for Retail Banking is the only team out of these teams where a translator is present. Again, the translator points to the strong need for local language communication internally in this business area:

(239) Wealth Management and Wholesale Banking focus a lot more on English, because it is primarily headquarters employees [who work] in those functions, in those areas employees tend to come from academic backgrounds a lot more often [than in Retail Banking], and they use English as their language. They also do that in Retail Banking at the headquarters level, but as soon as you go to the branch area, in the different local offices, then there are a lot more of the local languages […] We also do a lot for a business area like Wholesale Banking, but that is primarily externally driven [i.e. for external communication purposes].
-Nordea_3, Translator

It is interesting to note that this informant brings up the internal need for translation as a stronger reason for maintaining contact with the Retail Banking area than for example the Wholesale Banking area, where translation needs primarily are motivated by external factors. This may be seen in relation to the purpose of the team, where the human resource aspect of the business area's communication activities is an important incentive for remaining cross-organisational contact:

(240) We focus on for example how the leaders communicate, leader communication in Nordea, and training, education, training, communication training. It may also be about a [communication] strategy we are working on.
-Nordea_3, Translator

One of the benefits of having an in-house translation department is exactly that the company has the resources internally to participate in forums like the functional team described above. At the same time, it is also evident from interview data that there have been some discussions as to whether Nordea should continue to attend to its language needs through the current translation set-up:

(241) There are those who believe that translation is hardly a core activity in the bank, but we are still here, and I'm not any more worried now than I was before, say, two years ago or five years ago. So we assume that we will continue to exist, and [we are] making plans for the future.
-Nordea_2, Translator

The present translation model is also dependent on regular support from external subcontractors, as mentioned in section 4.1.2.2. But because company-specific knowledge of Nordea's business activities and operations is considered an important part of the quality of communication, there are certain types of translation requests that are more difficult to outsource than others. The department also needs to consider the confidentiality of the material before forwarding translation requests to external parties:

(242) In our strategy we have a pyramid that we follow [which has the colours of a traffic light] […] the red area is what we never send out, and that is something which is super confidential, it is really… it could also be typical tasks like press releases or things that are constantly changed up until the last minute which are going externally, where we are very close to something very Nordea-specific, where you have to know the corporation […] but if it's something directly HR-related, not specific to Nordea, something about a training exercise for example, or something about leasing to our leasing company, a complex legal contract which not necessarily has anything to do with our banking activities, then it's fine [to outsource].

-Nordea_1, Translator

While it is clear from what this key informant says that the translation department frequently relies on external assistance for the translation of non-confidential documents, outsourcing comes with one important caveat:

(243) The more you send out the more you lose the connection with that area. For me there is a limit to how much we can send out [outsource].
-Nordea_1, Translator

This quote may be explained by the concept of language capital. Organisational language capital is of particular interest here, as it is defined by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 106) as 'the pool of language capability upon which the organisation can draw'. With regard to the handling of translation needs, the authors state that (p. 40); 'by externalizing part of the translation task, the firm creates an outside component of its language capital, that is, the ability to call on such service providers to deal with translation demands'. In line with what Piekkari et al. (2014) argue, Nordea_1 is imposing a limit on how much the translation department is allowed to outsource so that the needed internal language capital is not lost.

A lot of the discussion so far has focused on the business case from 2000 which laid the foundation for Nordea's translation department, in comparison to how the translation department is run today, some 15 years later. The business case anticipated a number of potential benefits and drawbacks of the current model – the in-house organisationally centralised translation set-up – some of which have turned into reality. One aspect, however, which is not considered in the business model, but which has become an issue relates to the approval processes of the translation department. One informant, who works as a business partner within the IT area, explains that having material proofread or translated by the translation department may be time-consuming and burdensome. In the following excerpt the informant explains the different steps she had to go through in order to have some IT instructions translated from English into the Nordic languages for employees in the company:

(244) So we are the ones that develop the instructions, and we always do that in, in English, sometimes if I'm doing it, I can also do it in Swedish, so it doesn't really matter if I send it in [to the translation department] in Swedish or in English. […] From the time you send it in, you have to count at least one week before you get it back, and of course it depends on how much text there is, but this time there were a lot […] so then it takes a while. And then after that [when I have received the translated versions] I send it to my colleagues in the different countries, to make sure that it is correct, and after that I send it to my Swedish colleague, and she will then put it on the

intranet, and after that we do a double check, so we release it [in a test version of the intranet], and send an email [to the IT colleagues in the other Nordic countries] and say 'could you please check?'. […] So we release it [in the test version], and then if they have any comments, we make the changes [that the proof readers request], so it's actually two double checks, because we send it out, and then if they have any questions or any remarks, we do one more change.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

It is not difficult to imagine that this lengthy approval process may create a bit of a barrier for employees to contact the translation department in the first place (cf. Piekkari et al., 2013).

Still, employees may not always be able to decide by themselves on how to translate a text. Interview data reveal that the translation department to some extent also acts as a type of gatekeeper when it comes to the information that is being published on the company's intranet portal. As mentioned earlier, Nordea's intranet is a vast online portal that contains a lot of information for employees. One of the things featured on the intranet is an IT disturbance board, where the IT department may post important information about the company's IT system, if for example something has broken down or there is a problem with an IT application. The business partner from the quote above shares her thoughts on cooperating with the translation department about messages on the IT disturbance board:

(245) I'm one of those who can send out messages on the disturbance board, and now I know that the translation department will like to be in there, and I said: 'Oh, no, over my dead body', because we have to send out messages there in like three seconds, so if something goes down, I just have to send it out, and if they are going to be the ones to approve, it's going to be a bottleneck, so *no*, I hope that will never happen. But when it comes to the intranet, I think it's good, of course sometimes it is a bit – when you're stressed and you want to have something out really quickly, you know that will probably not happen, because they [the translators] will say 'no, we have to go this process', but that is how they work, and I agree that we have to follow that [process], and it is good that we have a quality check, and sometimes you have to put yourself in their shoes and say 'ok, but maybe this isn't something that I should send out to everyone', because if everyone wants to have their stuff on the first page on the intranet, you know, they have to change it like this [snapping fingers], so we have to have a quality check. I think that's good.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

This quote illustrates that there are some challenges associated with having texts proofread and translated by the translation department. In the previous excerpt the informant clearly feels very strongly about not involving the translation department in checking the instant messages she and her colleagues publish on the IT disturbance board in order to inform Nordea employees about any disruption with the company's

IT systems. At the same time the informant notes that the type of quality checks performed by the translation department in relation to other less emergency-oriented information on the company's intranet portal is constructive and beneficial for ensuring a well-functioning channel for internal mass communication. In essence, the view that is being presented here is the need to balance the emergency of the message against the quality of the language. That dilemma, however, is not exclusive to Nordea's translation department, but a challenge lurking in the background of most translation activities (Piekkari et al., 2013; SanAntonio, 1987; Welch et al., 2001; Zander et al., 2011).

7.2.2 Translation Saxo Bank

As discussed in the within-case analysis in Chapter 4, Saxo Bank has no dedicated translation resources to handle translations internally in the company. Consequently, the management is constantly evaluating the need for translation against the costs of having documents professionally translated by an external translation agency. Interview data presented in Chapter 4 indicate that Saxo Bank rarely uses professional translation agencies for internal communication purposes, but if they do, it is almost exclusively for information concerning Saxo Privatbank employees. However, as mentioned in section 4.2.2.2, cost constraints often prevent the company from commissioning professional translation, and the management of Saxo Privatbank often resort to English-speaking employees for smaller translation tasks.

At the same time, interview data also demonstrate that professional translation agencies are used for external communication purposes, and in particular for communication about Saxo Bank's products, i.e. customer-directed communication. This type of translation activity falls under the responsibility of the marketing department. Yet, one informant in Saxo Privatbank explains that professional translation agencies also may be used for translating information that is 'semi-external', that is information that is intended for employees who are customers of Saxo Bank's own 'employee bank' – a bank for employees in the Saxo Bank group:

(246) Interviewer: Have you ever needed a professional translator?

Interviewee: We have translated a few brochures about our products. We had that translated in the city by a professional translation agency.

Interviewer: That is only for externals? I mean, products for the customers?

Interviewee: Yes, that's right.

Interviewer: So nothing internal?

Interviewee: No. We don't have that much internally in English in Saxo Privatbank. For example, our – well, we have an employee bank, and we have brochures and material in English. But that is kind of semi-external, right, because it's still for customers, but there are also product brochures that you can download in English, and we have translated that professionally [by translation agencies] in the city.

-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

The existence of Saxo Bank's employee bank challenges the division between internal and external communication in the sense that Saxo Bank employees are the customers of the bank. It is therefore interesting to observe that the company solves this translation need by commissioning professional translation services from an external agency, given that mere internal translation needs usually are solved by language-skilled employees in-house, as mentioned above (see also section 4.2.2.2).

7.3 Technological solutions financial services

7.3.1 Technological solutions Nordea

It is evident from the interview data that employees make use of different technological solutions in order to satisfy the language needs they encounter in their everyday work life. Yet, it may be worth recalling the distinction between different language management tools made in section 2.4, and specifically the distinction between language management tools implemented by a language manager at the corporate level and language management tools which employees make use of at the front-line level without the approval of a language manager. Technological tools that fall in the latter category will be addressed in the section discussing informal solutions (7.7) towards the end of this chapter. The present section will deal with the kind of technological solutions that the management of the company have made available to employees in a top-down fashion, i.e. technological solutions that are to be categorised as 'measures' in the language management taxonomy (Table 1).

One example of such a computer-based language management tool is Nordea's online company-specific dictionary Nordea Terms, as previously mentioned. The company-specific dictionary may be seen as complementary to company-specific language, and a way for employees to navigate:

(247) We have a Nordea dictionary, which you can use if you are a bit uncertain [of a term] in English […] so sometimes when you read something and you think 'ok, and what is that? I have no idea, I have to look it up', you can look it up.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

The Nordea term database is a database which originally was started up by one of Nordea's predecessors, the Danish company Unibank. As of May 2013 the database consists of approximately 6000 English terms, which are considered the original terms, or as one translator describes it (respondent Nordea_3): '[the] English [version] is the pivot, so all the terms in that database are in English'. In addition to the English terms, these terms have often, but not always, been supplied with an explanation in the four Nordic languages. The database is continuously updated by the translation department, and employees are also welcome to contribute to the database.

(248) Nordea terms is our own term database – well, it was also something which they started building up in Unibank many years ago, as a Danish-English-Danish dictionary or term database, which we have had since Nordea was coined. […] We are continuously working on that, when people contact us and say 'I have searched for this term, it's not there, could you add it?', and also as we read through material and news stories and include things we think are needed.
-Nordea_2, Translator

In addition to Nordea Terms, Nordea also offers generic dictionaries to their employees in the different Nordic languages, and from English into the different Nordic languages or vice versa. In fact, these dictionaries have been merged with Nordea Terms to form one online application, which is made available to employees on the company's intranet portal. This means that employees may use the same search function to look up either Nordea-specific terms or other generic terms in the same application, as explained by Nordea_1:

(249) When we started using English as our corporate language we quickly realised that we needed some general dictionaries as well, to all employees in the corporation, and we worked on finding – it wasn't easy to figure out what the set-up should be like, but we found a Swedish-based company which had a lot of Norwegian and Swedish and Finnish dictionaries, and they could provide a solution which included our Nordea Terms, so that when you as an employee opened a dictionary, you would find both a generic dictionary and our own Nordea-specific dictionary, and that's how we managed to link them together.
-Nordea_1, Translator

The result is an online, internal language tool that appears to be user-friendly and easily accessible to all Nordea employees.

In Nordea the translation department has, in addition to the company's internal dictionary, collected a long list of external online language tools, which is published on the translation department's language sites on the intranet. There are five separate lists, one which contains recommended glossaries and dictionaries related to the English language, and four similar lists for the Nordic languages Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish. The various links are a combination of both generic dictionaries, such as the 'Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary', as well as sector-specific dictionaries such as 'Barkley's Comprehensive Financial Glossary'. Both of these examples are taken from the English dictionary list, which contains a total of 20 different recommended language sites. The four Nordic lists contain similar types of language tools specific to these languages; the Danish list for example contains a link to the Danish Shareholders Association's Danish glossary with definitions.

The above-mentioned dictionaries, glossaries and term databases are technical language tools that all employees may make use of where they are made available. In addition to these types of tools, it is also common for translators today to rely on various computer-based systems for support in their translation work commonly referred to as translation memory systems or TM systems (Somers, 2003). This is also the case for translators in Nordea, as explained by the following informant:

(250) We work in the translation programme Studio […] There are different versions on the market, but the one we have chosen is called Trados Studio, and we have used that for several years, but in different versions, so we always work in that, that is our oxygen [laughter], and it is a type of programme where you upload your text in the programme and it then organises your text in segments, usually meanings, and then you translate the text meaning by meaning, and every meaning you translate is saved in a memory, a database, so if the same meaning recurs later on in the text or in another text, then the programme presents the translation you've already done. […] So you don't have to write the same meaning multiple times, but rather if you have translated 'it's beautiful weather today', and it says 'it's beautiful weather today' in another text or in the same text, you get that translation right away.
-Nordea_2, Translator

The informant explains that this memory included in the Trados Studio translation programme speeds up the translation process and helps maintain consistent use of terminology. At the same time, the translator also reflects upon the rapid development in the area of translation tools and other forms of machine translation over the last years, which could change the translation profession in the future:

(251) It is up to us of course to be forward-looking and be prepared for what is happening with regard to new technological tools and machine translation and other things that are up and coming in the translation industry, so maybe in the future, if machine translation… that technique has progressed rapidly in the past years, and it could be that we a couple of years down the line, that we are still here but maybe we don't translate as much and type as many letters, but maybe we translate by machine and then spend more time editing instead, that would not surprise me.
-Nordea_2, Translator

In line with what this informant is stating, post-editing of machine translation has gained significant attention within translation studies in recent years (O'Brien et al., 2014).

7.3.2 Technological solutions Saxo Bank

Interviews with informants in Saxo Bank indicate that the company hardly makes use of technical or online language management tools at the corporate level. On Saxo Bank's intranet site employees can finds a link to an online dictionary for which Saxo Bank has purchased licenses from an external (Danish) provider of online dictionaries called ordbogen.com ['the dictionary']. The dictionary is a generic dictionary offering translation from Danish into English and English into Danish, and therefore does not contain any company-specific terms pertinent to Saxo Bank or the financial sector (cf. section 2.4.1). Interview data reveal that the usefulness of the dictionary is perceived as somewhat limited. When the informant in the excerpt below is asked whether he or his colleagues make use of any language tools, he responds:

(252) No. Nothing. Google Translate is your friend. […] Well, I don't actually know if people use Google Translate or not. [...] I once had an employee who came from India to Denmark to work, I hired him as an IT supporter, and he received a lot in Danish, because everybody in the branch [Saxo Privatbank] wrote to him in Danish. He used Google Translate to understand what they wrote to him. That's why I say Google Translate is your friend, because it was for him. I don't think anybody in the branch area actually uses any form of translation tool. Of course, from a corporate perspective, there is a risk that a lot of information gets lost, because if it is difficult to read in English, people won't read it. That is definitely my experience.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

The informant points to two interesting observations in the above quote. Firstly, the fact that the company decided to hire an Indian IT consultant without offering him any form of language assistance suggests a reactive stand towards language and communication issues. As described above, the lack of corporate level language management tools led the non-Danish speaking consultant to resort to the use of an informal language management tool, i.e. Google Translate. According to the taxonomy of language management tools presented in section 2.4, the use of Google Translate will in most cases be defined as an emergent solution at the front-line level. Secondly, the informant also indicates that employees in Saxo Privatbank, who work in a predominantly Danish environment, tend to ignore English-medium information if they find it difficult to comprehend. Passive behaviour to language and communication has also been found in previous studies (Marschan et al., 1997; Martin & Davies, 2006; Monks, 1996), and as argued by Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 44) employees may resort to this option 'when faced with translation demands that they consider beyond their capabilities, or formal job description, or time available'. In the case of Saxo Privatbank, the online dictionary, which in reality is the only self-service language management tool employees can resort, appears to be considered inadequate by employees.

7.4 Language training financial services

7.4.1 Language training Nordea

As discussed in section 2.4.2.4, language training is a type of language management tool that companies can deploy in order to raise the language competence level of their employees (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Domke-Damonte, 2001). In Nordea, respondents have different opinions about the provision of language courses in the company. With regard to English language training, one informant in the HR department explains that the company offers various language training arrangements through external subcontractors:

(253) We don't have in-house training courses, but we work with vendors, so we provide English lessons in different set-ups. […] Either you can have group training or you can have individual training or you can have online training, and you can also go abroad to do training for a period, for example, go to London for one or two weeks, so it depends on the need.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

In this quote the informant points to several different course and training delivery structures which employees may make use of for improving their English language skills. In the same way, international staff members located at the company's headquarters may be offered language training in a Scandinavian language. In the next quote Nordea_6 talks about a new Non-Scandinavian colleague who has just moved to Sweden to enter her team in Stockholm.

(254) He is very keen on learning Swedish, so he's great fun to talk to. […] He works with IT and reporting, so he's working with development of our SAP [IT system].
-Nordea_6, HR manager

At the same time interview data also reveal that foreign employees may choose not to make use of their Scandinavian language skills in the work situation. One native speaker of Swedish working at Nordea's headquarters in Stockholm describes how she coincidentally discovered that one of her foreign colleagues, who she had always approached in English, was perfectly capable of conversing with her in Swedish:

(255) I know a lot of colleagues that have been here for several years, and they can actually speak a bit Swedish but they never do […] I was actually quite surprised, I had lunch with one of my colleagues a couple of weeks ago, and we have never ever spoken one Swedish word to each other, and I asked him 'you have been living here for three years now, can't you say anything in Swedish?', he replied 'jag kan prata svenska' ['I can speak Swedish'], 'What?! Why have you

never talked Swedish to me before?', [and he replied] 'Because you always speak English to me, so why should I?'
-Nordea_9, Business partner

This example illustrates that foreign employees may think differently about whether local language skills at headquarters may or may not be of value in a work setting. The value of undertaking language training may be perceived as limited if the work environment is highly international, where English is seen as the default language choice. In this type of linguistic-communicative area, as in the example above, undertaking Swedish language training in order to gain Swedish competence is to some extent presented as a redundant competence by the respondent's international interlocutor, which the respondent (Nordea_9) was surprised by. Also another informant makes a similar observation when stating that:

(256) This is a company that deals with numbers, so people don't come here – people don't start working in a bank because they have strong language skills, other skills are typically more important.
-Nordea_2, Translator

7.4.2 Language training Saxo Bank

As in Nordea, the provision of language courses in Saxo Bank is an issue taken care of by the respective departments. However, in Saxo Bank the HR department is not involved in English language training undertaken by employees at all, as explained by an informant in the Saxo Bank HR department below. Consequently, it is completely up to the individual employee or the employee's department to make the necessary arrangement with an external course provider:

(257) It may be that someone has taken English language training if they needed a brush-up or something, but it is not something we are involved in, because it's taken care of by the departments.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

As discussed in section 2.4.2.4 (see also section 2.3.4.7), the benefits of language courses are disputed in the literature. Some scholars, e.g. Reeves and Wright (1996), argue that general language courses are often ineffective because they are designed without any prior reference to the needs of the organisation or the capabilities of the staff. However, Hellekjær (2012) notes that if companies refrain from offering English and/or other foreign language training, employees will in many cases have to rely on their high school language skills, since language training is rarely included and often given low priority in most professional education programmes above high school level. Also, individual employees

who now work in highly English language dependent positions, e.g. a position that requires frequent interaction with international colleagues, may have had previous careers in, for example, domestic firms with limited exposure to the English language, which could mean that their English skills may have diminished significantly since their high school language training. This is the situation for one informant in Saxo Bank, who in the following excerpt says that she worked in two Danish companies before joining Saxo Bank about two years ago. Consequently, she had not used her English skills actively for several years and felt that her level of language proficiency was lower than what it used to be. When asked about whether she would have liked to take an English language course, she responds:

(258) I have thought about it sometimes because I worked in two Danish companies for several years before I came to Saxo Bank, and that means that I haven't used my English, so I started here with a kind of holiday-English [from only using English on foreign holidays] and that means that the vocabulary and professional terms might pose more of a challenge. It also means that it may be more difficult to express yourself just as accurately and convey finer shades of meaning in English. But it's been a couple of years now, so I hardly think about it anymore.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

In this excerpt, the informant explains how she felt that her professional English language skills were reduced after having worked in a predominantly Danish language environment for several years. She was not offered English language training on taking the position in Saxo Bank, nor did she ask for it, despite expressing a wish for language training in the excerpt above. However, the informant believes that regular exposure to English through her new job in Saxo Bank has reduced the need for English training.

Saxo Bank is an interesting case when it comes to the matter of language training. Following the relatively recent acquisition of Saxo Privatbank, where the use of Danish has been described as the default language standard, language training has been brought up as one possible means of handling the different language profiles of Saxo Bank and Saxo Privatbank employees:

(259) We have had a lot of discussions about this [language choice], of course, we have also had discussions about, let's just send all these people [Saxo Privatbank employees] on an English crash course, and then they have to survive in English, but we quickly agreed that is not the way forward, because if they do not use English in their daily work, then there's no point. […] In Jutland [where the Saxo Privatbank offices are located] nothing is in English, everything is in Danish, all documents that we receive, contact with STC [Danish bank service provider] are in Danish, all customer meetings are in Danish, everything is in Danish, so there is really no English in the everyday life. The barrier is simply too big.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Again, this excerpt demonstrates that language standards have been a widely debated topic with respect to the integration of Saxo Privatbank into the Saxo Bank group. As stated by the IT manager, language training, i.e. 'English crash course', has been discussed as one way of raising the English language competence level of Saxo Privatbank employees following the merger with Saxo Bank. However, the dominance of the Danish language in Saxo Privatbank's typical communication patterns is seen as a key factor reducing the probability of achieving a successful outcome with this type of intensive English courses. Another member of the Saxo Privatbank management team also considers how language training could have been applied as a decision support tool if English was to be fully implemented as a common corporate language in Saxo Privatbank. But as stated in the following excerpt, the use of language training as an effective language management tool was rejected due to the Saxo Privatbank employees not having the prerequisites for an English language course:

(260) This English course, if we had chosen to do it, we should have been a lot more proactive with it. It could have been a decision we made, to say 'we make English our corporate language', and we squeeze in an English course between everything else. But I think that if I were to make an honest evaluation of whether the staff [in Saxo Privatbank] would have the capacity and energy to deal with it, the answer would be no. They wouldn't.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

Both of the two previous quotes from Saxo Bank_4 and Saxo Bank_3 underline why language training is a less optimal type of language management tool in the case of Saxo Privatbank. Specifically, the dominance of Danish in the Saxo Privatbank employees' everyday work tasks (Quote 259), and their limited English language proficiency and potential to improve (Quote 260) are aspects that challenge the efficiency of English language training as the sole language management tool for this particular group of staff. The composition and age structure of employees in Saxo Privatbank (cf. section 6.7) is also relevant in this regard, as it is likely to affect employees' potential for language learning (Mackey & Sachs, 2012). For this reason, the use of other types of language management tools may be more appropriate, such as the use of translation services to translate key documents from English into Danish (cf. section 7.2). At the same time, language training is mentioned as an initiative which the management of Saxo Privatbank is considering to make greater use of in the future, together with other types of professional training:

(261) I can see that some people have a need for education on the language side, or a brush-up or… and we have started planning [how we can fill] the competence gap, with regard to professional

competence, [IT] system competence, and of course other areas where we are challenged, one of which is English.

-Saxo Bank_3, Director

The use of language training in this connection is primarily referred to as a useful tool for the Saxo Privatbank employees who are in frequent contact with colleagues in Saxo Bank either in Denmark or in foreign office locations.

As explained in section 4.2.2.2, the economic cost of having employees enrolled in language classes are met by the budget from the department where the employee is located. However, registered immigrants, i.e. permanent residents, in Denmark are offered language courses free of charge from the council they live in (Nyidanmark.dk, 2013). This means that the costs of having foreign employees undertake language training in the national language of the company's headquarters (Danish) is covered by the Danish state and not Saxo Bank, when foreign employees choose to make use of this offer. An HR manager in Saxo Bank explains that the HR department may assist foreign employees to enrol in this type of language training:

(262) Danish law stipulates that you [foreign employees] are offered free [Danish] language training, so we [HR department] can help set that up [enrol foreign employees]. Any education in addition to that is something that the particular department will have to cover.

-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

One role informant in Saxo Bank, who is a foreign employee who has moved to Denmark to work at the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen, quickly enrolled in the language classes organised by the Copenhagen Council when he first moved to Denmark.

(263) I knew that it was free for the first three years, and a couple of friends who had lived abroad told me 'don't postpone the language thing, get involved as soon as you can', so I started that just after Christmas, early in the new year. So it was something that I kind of took on myself, but something that I really like.

-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

For the past five months this informant has attended Danish language training five hours a week in his spare time after work. He explains that he enjoys participating in these language courses, and that he is motivated to learn the language, both for professional and personal reasons. In the following passage the informant describes how his colleagues encourage him to keep improving his Danish language skills, although he does not experience any pressure to acquire Danish skills in order to carry out his job tasks:

(264) Interviewee: I think they do kind of appreciate it, like even if I'd come in, they would say 'oh my God, I can't believe you've learned so much' and stuff like that, so I think that they do kind of appreciate the fact that I am doing Danish [language training], even if I do not necessarily speak to them in Danish.

Interviewer: Do you think the situation would have been different if you had not taken Danish classes?

Interviewee: No, but I think it's – I don't think it would have been regarded negatively if I hadn't taken Danish, but I think it is viewed positively that I do.

-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

It is interesting to note that the respondent in the previous excerpt describes how his effort to learn Danish often is enough to gain acknowledgments from his colleagues. The willingness to undertake Danish language training may in fact be more important than the actual Danish language skills, cf. the statement 'even if I do not necessarily speak to them in Danish'. This finding indicates that there is a value in the process of learning languages which foreign employees may benefit from by for example bonding with native-speaking colleagues in the office. Building these types of colloquial bonds may be useful in work situations where professional networks often play a central role, cf. Ghoshal and Bartlett's (1990) conceptualisation of the multinational corporation as an interorganisational network.

In addition to English language training for non-native speakers of English and language training in one of the Scandinavian languages, depending of the location of the company's headquarters, companies may also choose to invest in language training in other foreign languages. Still, as discussed in section 2.4.2.5, companies may find that selective recruitment of employees with the necessary foreign language skills is an easier and less time-consuming solution than raising the language competence level of the existing workforce through language education (Lester, 1994). This is also the view of one key informant in Saxo Privatbank, who in the following excerpt reflects on how this part of Saxo Bank faces several different types of language challenges in their current and future business operations. In this quote, the informant talks about making use of two different language management tools, language training vs. selective recruitment, to approach the French market:

(265) If we are going to do business with French employees and French customers, it would be an advantage if the person [dealing with the French market] speaks French, and there we simply can't say [to our employees] 'we have a position we would like to fill, we've got a business opportunity and we have to do it within three months from now, would anyone like to take a crash course in French?' I would really like to see them go for that, so we are facing a challenge in that we are becoming more globalised as we work more and more closely with Saxo, and utilise the things and

possibilities they have, which we can make use of; at the same time we are also challenged by the work we do in the Danish market, and that we are expanding in the Danish market – we had a really good year last year actually. This will of course not be affected by the same international requirements as if we were working with Saxo and its [international] regions, so what it boils down to is that we have to consider a lot of different aspects.
-Saxo Bank_3, Director

It is clear from Quote 265 that selective recruitment is seen as a more effective language management tool in the hypothetical French market example. At the same time the informant also emphasises that Saxo Privatbank operates in different markets, both domestically (in Denmark) and internationally through their cooperation with Saxo Bank, which means that they are facing different types of language needs. The nature of these language needs may be met with different types of language management tools. For this reason, the informant believes that language training and selective recruitment may be used as complementary tools, where the adoption of one language management tool does not necessarily exclude the use of the other. If the company is facing a specific language need, e.g. as in the example above, one could successfully recruit a new employee who possesses these language skills, while at the same time pursue a long-term strategy of improving the foreign language competence level of existing employees through language training. Thus, it is important to emphasise that language training and selective recruitment are language management tools that result in different outputs.

7.5 Selective recruitment financial services

7.5.1 Selective recruitment Nordea

Selective recruitment in the context of this study is to be understood as recruitment practices in which a certain type of language proficiency is used as a precondition for employment. In particular, selective recruitment, which also is referred to as language sensitive recruitment (Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014), takes place when a language-competent person is employed on the basis of his or her specific language skills. Employees who are recruited based on such basis are often attractive due to their combination of language skills and other professional or functional skills, as discussed in section 2.4.2.5.

Much of the interview data from Nordea on this topic relates to language requirement in headquarters functions vs. branch functions. While English language skills are described as a requirement for corporate headquarters positions, knowledge of the local language is described as a requirement for employment in the branch area when the position involves customer contact, which corresponds to findings presented in section 4.1.3.2. These language requirements often dictate the choice of language of the job advertisement. One informant in the headquarters HR department explains that:

(266) I would say that most of the ads are written in English, if it isn't the retail part, meaning the branches in each country, they could be written in local languages, because English is not used that much in the branches as in the rest of the bank, and that is of course natural, if you are a branch in the middle of Sweden in a small town, then you don't need to speak English in that way, so those ads are mostly in local languages.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

This quote indicates that English, being the company language of Nordea, is seen as the default language standard for the job advertisements which the company publishes. At the same time the informant also stresses that the use of the local language(s) is common when advertising positions in the companies' branch offices, which relates to the dominant use of the local language in this area.

Nordea has been described as a company with a high degree of corporate governance (section 4.1.2.1), which is reflected in numerous policies and procedures across various administrative and operative functions. In the light of this finding it is therefore not surprising that the company has developed a recruitment policy which outlines general principles that should guide recruitment practices group-wide. To support the recruitment policy, Nordea has also developed a 'General guide to Nordea's recruitment policy', which (p. 1) 'goes into detail about the meaning of the policy statements in the Recruitment Policy' and presents examples of how to apply the statements in practice. For example, it is stated in the recruitment policy guide (p. 1) that:

> Nordea focuses on internal recruitment in order to create career opportunities for all employees. Nordea offers an open and transparent labour market and open positions are announced on Nordea Intranet. […] Active considerations of all internal candidates must be made – even though the position might also be announced externally.

In effect, this principle requires that all job advertisements are announced internally in the company on Nordea's intranet portal before they are made available to the general public. Considering that Nordea is a big organisation consisting of 30,000 employees, Nordea has a large internal pool of candidates, which the company has an interest in retaining and developing within the group. This implies that internal candidates often are given priority over external candidates.

When interviewing a potential new employee, a representative from the HR department will typically be present during the interview. As is evident from the passage below, the choice of interview language is often deliberate:

(267) Interviewee: If it is a job that requires English […] if you have a cross-border relationship, for instance if this job requires that you have contact with a Dane or a Norwegian guy or a Finn, then

you need to speak English, and that also sets the standard for how the interviews are done as well. But if it is a local job, once again in the branches, then of course there's no need to speak English, if you're located somewhere in Sweden in a small town where the job itself does not require English in that sense.

Interviewer: So if you were to interview a Swede, being a Swede yourself, and the job was at headquarters requiring cross-border contact, would you do the interview in English?

Interviewee: Yes, at some stage it would be, I would say. Maybe not at the first time, maybe the second time [second job interview] – somewhere in the process we have to make sure that the level of English is there.

-Nordea_7, HR manager

In addition to outlining how this HR consultant reflect on the use of language in the interview situation, the previous quote also point to that language choice may be used as a way of testing the language skills of the candidates. The informant explains that the HR department may do the job interview or part of the job interview in English in order to obtain an impression of the English fluency level of the candidate. This way of testing the candidates' English language skills is often the only test the candidates are subjected to during the recruitment process. Although it is clear from the following quote that Nordea has the possibility to test their candidates by means of more formalised assessment tools, this is rarely used in practice.

(268) Interviewee: We have a provider called SHL […] and they provide all our different tests and we could use their test as well in English.

Interviewer: Do you use it frequently?

Interviewee: No, I don't think so. Not in ordinary recruitments, and I think it is because if you have a one and a half hour interview [where you are] speaking English, you would get some idea if this person is good enough or not in English.

-Nordea_7, HR manager

Nordea has the possibility of using similar language tests for the various local Scandinavian languages through the same test provider, but as in the case of the English language tests, these language tests are virtually never administered in practice. An international employee at Nordea's headquarters in Stockholm explains how prior to accepting the job he took the English language policy of the company almost for granted, despite the fact that the policy was never explicitly communicated to him. The international nature of the position, where frequent cross-border contact and international collaboration was seen by the informant as a natural part of the profession, led the informant to draw his own conclusion about language use in the company:

(269) The interviews took place in English, and English is a requirement, you have to work across national boundaries, with an international set-up, consisting of teams with, you know, people from so many different backgrounds, nationalities, different languages, so I knew that [when I was] coming in for the interviews, but we did not really, I mean… the guys who hired me did not say 'you know, you have to speak English on the job', 'we conduct our business in English', that's sort of – I assumed that's part of the package.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

Normally, any language requirements associated with the position will be stated in the job advertisement, in cases where the companies announce job postings and employment opportunities. However, in situations where the candidates do not actively apply on the basis of an advertisement, the language practices of the company may or may not become an issue in the interview situation, dependent on the background and beliefs of the candidate, as illustrated by the excerpt above.

Once a new candidate has been selected and he or she has accepted the job offer, the signing of the employment contract may be seen as the final part of the recruitment process. Language, or more precisely language choice, is also an issue the companies must take a stand on in this regard. In the following excerpt, an HR manager describes how the language of the employment contract is decided upon:

(270) Interviewee: [Most contracts are in the local languages], but if the candidate is not able to speak the local language, of course we have to do it in English instead […] It's quite common now that we hire people from India or Russia or wherever, who don't actually know the local [Scandinavian] language, and we have to accept this, and write the contracts in English instead, so they are able to understand the content of it.
Interviewer: Would you say it is standard to have the contract in the local language?
Interviewee: Yes, I would say so.
Interviewer: So not in English?
Interviewee: Not in English.
Interviewer: And why is that?
Interviewee: It's a good question, I think it is because we have standardised contracts, and since we have different rules and regulations in each country, I think it's also to make it easier to understand for most of the employees who actually know the local language. I mean, looking at the entire workforce, I would say that most of the employees know one of the local languages, so I think it is some kind of heritage from before and that maybe we haven't adjusted to that part, that we have English as a company language, in that sense [and make employee contracts in English].

But I will say that is also to minimise the risk of misunderstanding the details or actually to somehow know what it says in the contract for those that perhaps don't have English as their mother tongue.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

7.5.2 Selective recruitment Saxo Bank

With regard to recruitment practices in Saxo Bank, it was suggested in section 7.4.2 that selective recruitment in certain situations may be perceived as a more efficient language management tool than implementing language training programmes for the existing workforce. Likewise, informants also note that the selection process may be used actively to target potential employees for positions that require high-level foreign language skills. In the excerpt below, one informant in the company's HR department explains how they have recently attempted to hire a native English speaker:

(271) We have just been looking for somebody to work on our website and our communication to [international] customers, and things like that are all in English, and for that position we have tried to recruit in England, and it has been a requirement that the person should be a native speaker.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

At the same time the previous discussion also indicates that the recruitment of new language-competent employees does not necessarily threatens the use of other types of language management tools, such as language training, but rather that these different types of tools are seen a solutions one may make use of in different situations. The implications of this finding may be contrasted to what Feely and Harzing (2003, p. 46) argue with regard to the potentially negative consequences of employing language-skilled employees. Specifically, the authors suggest that selective recruitment could cause problems for the existing workforce as the new language-competent employee may take the position of an existing employee without the same language skill, thereby making the original post-holder redundant. However, if selective recruitment is seen as a complementary language management tool that is equal to other language management tools directed towards existing employees, or alternatively used as a supplement to existing in-house language competences when needed, the employment of new language-skilled personnel does not necessarily threaten the present workforce. This is exactly the view of one key informant in Saxo Bank, presented in the excerpt below. Earlier in the conversation the informant has shared his thoughts on how English language training often yields very limited benefits, and that in many cases they are a waste of time (in line with what Reeves & Wright, 1996, argue):

(272) Interviewee: […] They [Saxo Privatbank employees] won't use the [English] course for anything anyway, and then it's just a waste of time. So why should they take a course?

Interviewer: So what I hear you say is that you would prefer to employ a person with that [language] competence rather than training the existing workforce?

Interviewee: Yes. But I don't want to replace the ones [employees] we have because of it.

Interviewer: No?

Interviewee: Because, again, the need is not there. In the type of job they have, those who do not speak English, that is not a job function where they have to speak English, so it doesn't matter.

-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Quote 272 supports the argument that selective recruitment is to a large extent seen as a complementary language management tool that may be used to supplement the language skills of the existing workforce. It is interesting to note how the interviewee explicitly states that the recruitment of language-skilled persons does not imply the replacement of less language-skilled employees in the company (in contrast to Feely & Harzing, 2003, mentioned above). As expressed by the IT manager, this is because different positions in the company require different language skills. The earlier presentation of language use and communication practices in Saxo Bank has shown that employees in Saxo Privatbank, the retail part of the Saxo Bank group in Denmark, are more dependent on Danish than English language skills because of the strong local embeddedness and connection to the Danish market. In terms of recruitment, the various language requirements that are necessary in order to fill the different types of positions, for example in the retail area vs. corporate headquarters functions, cf. the discussion in Chapter 4, imply that the company needs employees with different language profiles.

It is evident from the interview data that the language requirement associated with the position often affects the language choices that are made during the recruitment process. In particular, the job advertisement may give a strong indication of such language requirements, as explained in the following excerpt:

(273) It [the job advertisement] is usually in English, either because the department speaks English internally or it is a department with foreign [non-Danish speaking] employees, or because the position requires great experience with English for example, and again a lot of the things we write, everything – the whole intranet is in English, so usually it is more the rule than the exception that it [the job advertisement] is in English, it is rarely in Danish. […] I would estimate that 90 % [of the job adverts] are in English. We have just had three announcements in Danish which is very unusual, but it is because it is very focused on Denmark, for example, we are looking for a new PR manager, who will communicate with the Danish media, where all contact is in Danish, and then the Danish language is a top priority, and we are looking for a person for our finance group, who has to report to the Financial Supervisory Authority in Denmark, so it requires knowledge of

Danish legislation and all kinds of procedures in Denmark, so it says something about the position if it is in Danish, whereas all other positions we advertise are written in English.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

As stated by Saxo Bank_6, English is the default language for job advertisements. The informant also notes that job announcements for positions in corporate headquarters functions may be written in the local language, Danish, if the position requires knowledge and understanding of matters specific to Denmark. In these situations the choice of the Danish language may be seen as a way of signalling that the position requires a particular professional competence, in addition to local language skills, in this case Danish. Consequently, the use of local language in job advertisements may denote both the need for local language skills for communication purposes and indicate that country-specific professional skills are necessary for performing the job effectively.

As mentioned above, the recruitment of new employees is typically the responsibility of the hiring department. Still, interview data indicate that HR consultants in Saxo Bank take part in later stages of the recruitment process. When it comes to interviewing potential candidates, for example, a member of the HR department will typically be present during these meetings. The choice of language in these job interviews may depend on the persons involved in the meeting as well as the potential language requirements associated with the position:

(274) If the candidate is Danish and the hiring manager is Danish, we will do the interview in Danish. I have actually just had an interview where everybody [interviewee and interviewers] were Danish, and we did half of the interview in English, because there is a lot of contact with foreign customers [in that position], just to make sure that the language wasn't an issue, but it [language choice] generally follows from the situation, we don't have to do an interview in English if the candidates are Danish and so on, but if for example the hiring manager or the candidate speak English or something like that, we will do it in English.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

Interviews with informants in Saxo Bank support the finding from Nordea that language tests are rarely used as a way of examining potential candidate's language skills. This may be illustrated by a statement from respondent Saxo Bank_4, IT manager, who believes that the language training Danes receive as part of their primary education is 'good enough', and consequently, testing the English skills of Danish candidates is seen as unnecessary. When asked how he makes sure that employees and especially new candidates have an adequate level of English language skills, he responds: 'If you have a normal, Danish primary education, that must be good enough, and in most cases it is'. This was also an attitude found by Millar et al. (2013) in their report of corporate language strategies in 12 Danish firms.

In their study, Danes English language skills was not seen as a problem either, and therefore none of the companies had established a formalised procedure for checking the English competence level of new recruits, although English language skills were often a requirement for employment. Respondent Saxo Bank_4, IT manager furthermore adds an interesting point when he talks about his experience with interviewing potential candidates prior to employment:

(275) When I have had job interviews with people, if they were foreign – some of them have actually been –then I've conducted it [the interview] in English, and if they were Danish, then I did it in Danish, and language, that has been something like 'do you speak English?' – yes, if you are working in IT, then you speak English, because if not you're not able to work in IT, so it gives itself.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Clearly, this informant advocates the view of English as a dominant working language for employees in the IT area, which evidently also reduces the need for testing the language potential of new aspiring employees.

For international employees who are recruited outside the Scandinavian countries, the job interview is often their first actual meeting with the company. For this reason, the interview may be an important opportunity for the candidate to create his or her own impression of the company, also with regard to the company's language and communication practices. For a non-native speaker of the headquarters language, the language policy of the company may be a decisive factor for how the candidate evaluates the attractiveness of the position (cf. section 2.3.3). This was the case for one international employee in Saxo Bank, a native English speaker, who was headhunted for his current position in Saxo Bank through a Danish recruitment agency. As the informant states in the following excerpt, the language issue was something he addressed early on in the recruitment process:

(276) It [language use in the company] was definitely something I asked about almost immediately at the interview, like on the phone interview – I didn't ask too much about it, but the person I did the phone interview with obviously spoke English and I kind of knew a little bit about Denmark, that a lot of these developed Western countries, most people can speak English better than some people in [home country] can speak English, so I had it in the back of my mind that it wouldn't be a problem. But I did ask, I said 'what's the story?', I said 'obviously my Danish is non-existent', and they said 'everything, [that has to do with] the business is done through English', and in general I knew from talking to them, the three people I interviewed with, all their English was perfect. So then when I got home, I did a little bit more research into Denmark and stuff like that, and I found out just how good people are generally speaking English.

-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

Finally, as described by an HR manager in the next excerpt, employment contracts may be written in English or in Danish. The choice of language standard appears to coincide with the dominant language of the headquarters (Saxo Bank AS), where the use of English is widespread, and the retail branch (Saxo Privatbank), which operates mainly by means of the Danish language.

(277) For Saxo Bank AS 95 % [of the employment contracts] are in English. For Saxo Privatbank they are almost always in Danish. But there are very few employees that do not speak Danish in Saxo Privatbank, because they work towards the Nordic market – Denmark, Norway, Sweden, whereas Saxo Bank AS basically only recruits employees who speak English.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

7.6 Language intermediates financial services

7.6.1 Language intermediates Nordea

In Chapter 2, language intermediates were defined as employees who perform a bridging function from one language to another based on their language competences, also commonly referred to as language nodes (Feely & Harzing, 2003, Harzing et al., 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b). These employees may take this role either as part of, or in addition to, their normal job descriptions, or in formal or informal language networks. In contrast to selective recruitment, which is often a way of recruiting new employees to the firm – although it is not a requirement that the candidates are external to the company (cf. Nordea's large internal job market as described in section 7.5.1) – companies that make use of language intermediates will primarily draw on the in-house language resources of the existing workforce. The discussion presented here in this section deals primarily with the use of language intermediates as a type of language management tool appointed top-down by the management. Informal ad-hoc language assistance from language-skilled colleagues at the front-line level will be discussed in the next section (7.7).

Only limited interview data is available with regard to the establishment of formal language intermediates in Nordea. This may be explained by the existence of Nordea's translation department (cf. section 7.2.1), which has been established by the management for the purpose of handling employees' language and translation requests. However, on the topic of language intermediation, a comment may be made about a particular phenomenon observed in the formal mass communication practices of Nordea. One informant who works as a business partner within the IT community explains that she often collaborates with a communication professional that supports her in the type of communication tasks she is responsible for. This colleague holds the title of 'communication partner', as explained by the informant:

(278) I use [name of colleague] a lot, so everything that I would like to communicate, I send to [name of colleague]. On his business card it still says 'Business partner', as I am, but you know, we have different types of business partners, so I'm a business partner with speciality in IT, and he is a business partner with a speciality in communication.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

The communication partner this informant is referring to is educated as a journalist and has a background in languages. It is evident from the previous quote that the IT business partner regularly consults the communication partner, and that he is an important support in the area of language and communication. The communication partner is also the one that contacts the translation department when documents need to be translated:

(279) It's not that often [that I am in contact with the translation department], because I go through my communication partner, so he will be in contact with them [the translation department]. It's much easier, if I want to have anything published on the first page [of the intranet], I send it to our communication partner, and he will […] write a first draft of the article and send it back to me, and I say 'it looks fine, great', and he sends it to the translation department.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

Based on the type of intermediate function this communication partner fulfils, there may be reasons for arguing that this person fits the description of a language node (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b). Yet, given the wide range of communication-related activities that the communication partner may perform, it may be necessary to introduce a new label: 'communication node'. This label builds on the concept of language nodes by linking the typical functions performed by a language node to a group of key communication professionals such as the communication partner in the previous example. It is worth pointing out that the type of language and communication assistance that the communication partner may provide is offered through a formalised set-up. Where the previous discussion has demonstrated that many language nodes, e.g. native speakers of a particular language, handle language and communication issues in addition to their normal job, this communication partner is actually hired to perform this type of service.

Finally, it may be worth recalling what was said in section 2.4.2.6 about how companies may keep a record of their employee's language competences. Firms that keep a register of in-house language skills, for example on their internal intranet site, may help front-line employees to satisfy emergent language needs, by allowing them to search for colleagues with particular language competences. Such a search function is available to Nordea's employees at Nordea's intranet. The company introduced a new,

comprehensive intranet portal in 2011 (see also section 4.1.3.1 on communication channels), which features an intranet phone book available to all of Nordea's 30,000 employees. In addition to the standard contact information, the phone book also contains background information about employees, including 'experience and competence', where employees may list their former jobs, previous work experience, and also language skills. In a review of Nordea's phone book, Van Leemput (2012) states that:

> [A] good people directory provides a lot more value to the organization than just allowing people to find telephone numbers. Companies are increasingly using tools like these to discover talent across the organization, to stimulate efficient collaboration and to win more business by allowing project teams to find answers quickly.

In the light of Van Leemput's observation, one could argue that the inclusion of language skills is one way to increase collaboration and connect employees across the organisation. When encountering an on-the-spot language need, this type of language register may help identifying a language-skilled colleague one could consult.

7.6.2 Language intermediates Saxo Bank

Previously presented interview data (sections 4.2.2.2 and 7.2.2) indicate that it is common practice for the management in Saxo Bank to rely on native speakers for smaller translation tasks. As described in the preceding discussion, the delegation of language and translation requests to language-skilled employees may be seen as one way of making use of language intermediation in practice. However, it is also suggested in the literature that relocation of employees through expatriation, repatriation and inpatriation from one part of the company to another may be used to 'assign' language intermediates in the new location (cf. section 2.4.2.6). These employees will hold positions where they maintain regular contact with both the international subsidiary and the corporate headquarters, irrespective of which of these locations they are physically located in (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011).

Data from Saxo Bank reveal that relocation of employees is used to some degree. However, the next excerpt suggests that the company may find other language management tools, in this case selective recruitment, more appropriate for satisfying immediate local language needs in a foreign branch office. In the following quote, the Saxo Bank office in Paris is used as an example of this:

(280) Interviewee: If they need an employee in Paris, they [the French office] usually advertise the position locally. If someone is posted from here [Denmark], it will be an employee that already works in the bank, who will be relocated for a period, for example, but it doesn't happen that often, they [candidates] are usually employed locally.

Interviewer: But if you are considering relocation [of an existing Saxo Bank employee], would it be a requirement that the employee speaks the local language?

Interviewee: That must be assessed on an individual basis, but I cannot imagine that an employee from [Saxo Bank] AS would be relocated to France and handle French customers if he didn't speak French to begin with, I mean, we arrange to relocate staff if there is somebody who is already employed in the bank [and we do so] if it makes sense work-wise.

-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

Quote 280 suggests that relocating employees from the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen to the company's international subsidiaries is not a commonly used practice in general, and consequently not a common language management measure.

Interview data from Saxo Bank furthermore reveal that language nodes may be appointed by members of the management team to provide language assistance in a particular situation or for a specific functional purpose. In particular, the offshoring of the company's IT helpdesk may be used to illustrate this point. Saxo Bank's IT helpdesk is located in India, where locally employed staff provides technical assistance in English over the phone. This has caused some problems for employees in Saxo Bank's branch area, Saxo Privatbank. Respondent Saxo Bank_4 explains that after the merger with Saxo Bank in 2010, the IT department offered Saxo Privatbank employees Danish language support through a local 'post-office' set-up, i.e. by appointing Danish colleagues in Denmark to act as language nodes to the helpdesk in India for some time. However, once this service stopped, the English language quickly became an issue:

(281) We did actually start by making a Danish helpdesk to them [Saxo Privatbank employees], which was my group of people [in the IT department] who sit up here [in the Saxo Bank headquarters in Copenhagen], so we acted as a post office for them, and sent the things to India […] We did that for a month, then we said 'well, that's it, now they have to go directly to India every time they have a problem, and they have to raise their voice if it becomes an issue', and that has caused some big problems actually, and it still does, and we don't know – we haven't found the solution to it, and it might well be that the solution is to make it Danish again, but we are discussing that right now. Every time one of them has a problem that they need to call India about, five of them group together around the telephone trying to understand what the Indian is saying, and it is not really… it is also difficult for the rest of us […] when an Indian guy talks really fast, it is difficult to understand, if you're not used to English in your everyday life, then it is almost impossible, so it takes up a lot of time for them.

-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

It is evident from Quote 281 that the language barrier was the primary reason behind the establishment of this intermediate IT support. Now that the Danish 'post-office' solution is no longer available, the informant explains how Saxo Privatbank employees have started approaching other colleagues working with IT, although not in IT support as such, in Denmark, as a way of avoiding having to contact the company's IT helpdesk in India:

(282) They have started doing some things now, because they have started sending the questions they have for India to my two IT people in Brørup, which is a small branch office over there, and ask them if they could talk to India for them, so they wouldn't have to do it, and they did actually succeed in that.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

Evidently, when the management of Saxo Bank removed the 'formally' assigned language nodes ('the post-office'), Saxo Privatbank employees started seeking help from 'informal' language nodes, by asking their colleagues for help, even though this lies outside the scope of their colleagues' responsibilities. The front-line employees' resistance to contacting the company's Indian IT helpdesk has in effect resulted in a redistribution of work from the company's actual IT helpdesk to normal IT employees in Denmark. The IT manager also reflects upon this when he states that: 'the way we do it now kind of defeats the purpose of having a helpdesk in India'.

7.7 Emergent solutions financial services

7.7.1 Emergent solutions Nordea

As discussed in section 2.4.3, several previous studies have pointed to the importance of emergent language solutions at the front-line level (Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Lønsmann, 2011; Marschan et al., 1997). These emergent language management tools are to be understood as the tools which employees make use of in order to manage language in their everyday work life, without the presence of a language manager (Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Interview data indicate that these solutions may play a central role for successful language use in the typical everyday communication situations between and among employees.

One of the most widely used emergent language management tools is perhaps the ad hoc language help employees may seek from their colleagues, as pointed out by e.g. Lønsmann (2011). Also in Nordea, colleagues appear to be a common source of language help. The following quote may serve as an example of how one's colleagues can be used to satisfy emergent language needs at the front-line level:

(283) Well, in many cases it's sufficient to rely on our colleagues [to translate documentation written in foreign languages], but if it is something… you know, that really requires some official translation as such, sure, we can always order an official translator, but in my experience so far, that really hasn't been necessary.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

This informant, who works as a project manager in Nordea's headquarters in Stockholm, maintains regular contact with colleagues located in Nordea's various international offices. The informant explains that he often comes across documents written in a foreign language when he collaborates with his colleagues abroad on different projects. For this reason it is interesting to see how the informant views the use of collegial language help vs. the use of the professional translation department in Nordea. As stated by the informant in the quote above, having the documents translated by his colleagues usually provides a satisfactory result, and hence there is no need to go through the translation department, which may be a cumbersome and time-consuming process, as mentioned in the previous discussion. This corresponds with the previously mentioned study by Piekkari et al. (2013) which investigated how translation needs were handled by individuals in Nordea. The authors found that the use of informal language management tools, such as asking a colleague for help, was reported to be more common than having documents professionally translated by Nordea's translation department. Informants in Piekkari et al.'s study would even resort to their own personal social networks, such as friends and relatives, to the company's translation department due to the lengthy and time-consuming translation process.

Another informant, who works in an IT department explains that she is often responsible for communicating IT information to Nordea employees in all four Nordic languages. The informant is a native Swedish speaker, which means that she is able to read Norwegian and Danish, as stated in the excerpt below. However, for the Finnish language version she is dependent on language assistance from one of her colleagues in Finland:

(284) Of course I can see whether it is a correct text for Denmark, Norway and Sweden, but for Finland for example, it's quite a challenge. I have very good colleagues that can help me, but it is a lot of – today I think I have sent ten emails to the same girl in Finland, because we are sending emails back and forth, back and forth.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

Proofreading is also a form of informal language management tool that professional translators working in Nordea's translation department regularly make use of (also mentioned in section 7.2.1). In these situations, proofreading may be used for factual checks by having the customer who ordered the translation look through the final language version. This is an effective way of making sure that the

translated text contains correct and up-to-date information. In the following excerpt one informant in Nordea's HR department for example explains that she has recently contacted the translation department about an English text concerning tax issues which needs to be translated into the four Nordic languages. In the passage below the informant describes how she and her HR colleagues in the other Nordic countries proofread the various local language versions produced by the translation department:

(285) Interviewee: When I get it [the requested translation] back today, I will make sure that a specialist within HR is validating the content in the local versions.
Interviewer: Ok, so you will proofread it?
Interviewee: Yes, when we get it back. And we do that to get all the facts right, especially tax issues can be – if we have interpreted it in the wrong way as compared with the English version, it may be costly or bad for the employees, so it's important that it's correct in the local versions as well.
Interviewer: And is that only in Swedish, or is it also in Norwegian, Finnish…?
Interviewee: It was in all four languages.
Interviewer: Yes? And who proofreads it in the other countries then? Do you also have HR people…?
Interviewee: Yes, I cooperate with my Nordic colleagues.
-Nordea_6, HR manager

Interview data also reveal another type of proofreading that occurs in relation to the professional translation of texts conducted by translators in Nordea's translation department. As explained by the informant below, it is common practice that translators consistently check each other's work internally in the department before sending it out to their customers for the factual review. This means that the final language version will have been proofread by at least one other translator in addition to being proofread/factually verified by the department who issued the translation request:

(286) Interviewee: When we receive requests for translation work, there is always one [translator] that translates and one that quality checks, so in that sense we are always two people assigned to the task. But still, we do work alone a lot of the time, unless there are some very big tasks with very short deadlines, then we may cooperate, right, that we are two translators who work on something, and then we will also read each other's translation, to quality check it.
Interviewer: So this is something you do consistently?
Interviewee: Yes, we do.
-Nordea_3, Translator

As described in section 7.3.1 Nordea has made a range of technical, online language tools available to employees at the intranet portal. In addition to these pre-approved tools, employees also tend to rely on Google, including Google Translate, and other online tools when encountering emergent language needs. It is clear from interview data that the use of Google Translate is disputed. Some informants find these tools to be useful in the sense that they provide them with a quick translation or language guidance right there and then:

(287) Sometimes we use Google Translate, but maybe you should not write that [laughter]. Usually it is not that good, but it's only in emergencies, sometimes I can't reach the Finnish girl [a colleague in Finland], and you have to get something out really quickly, then you use that [Google Translate], but then she [the Finnish colleague] has to quality check it later.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

(288) I use Google a lot also, to check different things or how I should write things. [I] also [use] Wikipedia or something like that, just to check if there is anything I am uncertain of, how it should be understood, or how I can explain it in an easy way.
-Nordea_5, Communication professional

The informants in these two quotes refer to online tools such as Google Translate as an easy and convenient way of satisfying immediate needs for language or translation assistance, especially under time constraints. At the same time it is evident from what the first informant states that translating information through Google Translate is far from an optimal solution, as the quality of the target text may be somewhat questionable. There is also the risk that the use of Google Translate may compromise confidential information as information run through Google's system may be used by Google later on (Google, 2012[7]). This is something which the following informant is very aware of:

(289) I do not use Google Translate for any company related material, because we work with a lot of confidential information, and that is definitely a no-no, but of course, I mean, if necessary – if I come across documents in Swedish, I will use a Swedish dictionary.
-Nordea_8, Project manager

[7] Google's Terms of use state that: 'When you upload, submit, store, send or receive content to or through our Services, you give Google (and those we work with) a worldwide license to use, host, store, reproduce, modify, create derivative works (such as those resulting from translations, adaptations or other changes we make so that your content works better with our Services), communicate, publish, publicly perform, publicly display and distribute such content.'

This informant is a non-native speaker of Swedish who has acquired a conversational level of the language after living a number of years in Sweden. He explains that he prefers to consult a standard Swedish dictionary rather than Google Translate, as he often works with highly confidential documents.

In addition to the emergent language management tools described so far, Nordea's communication department has developed some communication planning tools that employees may make use of for communication planning, e.g. for project management purposes. Employees may find these tools online on the company's intranet portal.

7.7.2 Emergent solutions Saxo Bank

Consulting ones colleagues appears to be a common source of language assistance also for front-line employees in Saxo Bank. Quotes 290 and 291 illustrate how employees draw on their colleagues for help. The first informant is a native English speaker, whereas the second informant is a native Dane:

(290) A guy might just get me to check an email before he sends it, if it was an important email or something like that, check the English grammar and things like that, but… in general most people are pretty good in English, I don't have to correct them too much.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

(291) Interviewee: If I write to customers, I write in Danish only. […] If I make some marketing material in English, I would ask someone else to check it.
Interviewer: Yes? And who would that be?
Interviewee: Then I would typically ask some of my native English-speaking colleagues.
-Saxo Bank_8, Consultant

Both of these quotes are examples of situations where native English speakers are consulted and asked to check the accuracy of texts written in the company's common language, English. In the same way, foreign employees, i.e. non-native speakers of the Scandinavian home-country language of the headquarters, may consult their native-speaking colleagues in language matters, as illustrated by the following quote. In this excerpt, a native English speaker working at Saxo Banks headquarters in Copenhagen describes how he supplements his formal Danish language training which he attends in his spare time after work (cf. section 7.4.2) by conversing informally with one of his colleagues in the office during the day:

(292) I could come back from a Danish class, and the next day I'd say 'oh, we were talking about this in class' to the guy beside me, and he'd say 'ah no, we would never say it like that. […] so I guess

it's good, getting the colloquial explanation of it from the guy beside me, and again the kind of by the book explanation in class.
-Saxo Bank_10, Consultant

It is evident from this quote and the previous quotes presented in this section that employees often turn to their colleagues for proofreading and for checking the accuracy and fluency of their language. Asking a colleague to look through a text one has written in a foreign language for example is a low threshold type of language assistance which employees frequently make use of.

Finally, a comment may also be made about another type of front-line solution in response to emergent language needs. As described in section 7.6.2, employees in Saxo Privatbank have occasionally found it difficult to communicate with Saxo Bank helpdesk located in India. Previous studies (Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002; Śliwa & Johansson, 2014) have found that accents may cause a problem in cross-national communication, and indeed Ehrenreich (2010, p. 421) observed how respondents in her study of an English lingua franca policy in a German MNC identified the Indian accent as one of the most difficult ones. Respondent Saxo Bank_4, who works in an IT department, suggests one way of overcoming this problem:

(293) One of those who have been responsible for our India set-up has travelled to India to tell them about the experiences we have had with our branches, to try to make a different set-up. Things like communicate in writing – if things are in writing, it is possible to understand it, or you have time to read it. Stay away from the phone as much as possible, if there are passwords and things like that, send it as a text message, because if you have a password with 12 characters with lower and upper case letters, there is a 99 % chance that you won't be able to communicate it over the phone to somebody who doesn't speak English very well, so send it as a text message and as much as possible in writing.
-Saxo Bank_4, IT manager

The IT manager's suggestion to encourage written rather than oral communication is in line with Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002), Harzing et al. (2011), and Shachaf (2008) who argue that the choice of communication mode may reduce the risk of miscommunication. In particular, written information is often found to be easier to understand than oral messages, especially when people speak with different accents.

7.8 Cross-case analysis Nordea – Saxo Bank

This chapter has focused on the use of language management tools in the two financial service companies, Nordea and Saxo Bank. By following the outline of the language management tool taxonomy

presented in the literature review (Table 1), this discussion has presented and discussed the two companies' approach to the various tools, as they were identified in the qualitative data material.

First of all, the discussion of corporate language polices revealed that Nordea and Saxo Bank have chosen different routes when it comes to formulating language policies for internal communication purposes. Their different language policy statements may be related to the different types of policies presented in the language management tool taxonomy: a common corporate language; multiple corporate languages, and company-specific language. Both companies have chosen to operate under a lingua franca mandate for internal communicative purposes by using English as the common corporate language. In the case of Nordea, this language policy decision is expressed and publicized in the first part of the company's language policy document, which is available to employees on the company's intranet. Consequently, Nordea's language policy may be categorised as a formalised language policy, cf. section 2.4.1. Saxo Bank's language policy statement, on the other hand, is neither completely formalised nor non-formalised. The company's decision to use English as a common corporate language is formalised in the sense that it is explicitly written in the Saxo Bank communication manual. However, the manual does not bear any resemblance to a traditional language policy document, as it focuses primarily on the company's external communication profile, while paying little attention to the type of communication that takes place internally in the company's horizontal and vertical communication patterns. Even if the language policy decision has been formulated, it is not made available to the wider community of employees – it has not been *implemented* as a language policy. To the extent that we may talk about formalisation of language policies as a continuum (i.e. degrees of formalisation; Baum & Wally, 2003, pp. 1112-1114), Saxo Bank's language policy will from now on be referred to as 'semi-formalised'. This term acknowledges that the formalisation of a language policy is dependent on firstly, formulation; and secondly; implementation (cf. Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 204; see also section 2.3.1 for a discussion of language policy vs. language planning).

Both case companies furthermore share the practice of parallel language use for internal communication purposes. In Nordea, the importance of local language communication is widely recognised and formalised in the company's language policy document. It is debatable whether Nordea actually follows a common corporate language policy or a language policy consisting of multiple corporate languages. Although the formal language policy text states that British English is the corporate language of Nordea, the company also communicates a vast amount of information in several languages, which challenges the notion of English as a common corporate language. Whereas the formal language policy of Nordea may be read as a single-language language policy (English) accompanied by the use of local languages in certain pre-defined situations, interview data reveal that the use of local language communication is too important to be seen merely as supplementary. In other words, where the *de jure* language policy suggests that the company's language policy design should be categorised as a common

corporate language, the *de facto* language practice suggests that the category of multiple corporate languages is more appropriate.

Also in the case of Saxo Bank the use of the local language Danish must be considered relatively common, as is evident from several statements presented in the Saxo Bank within-case analysis, especially from Saxo Privatbank employees. However, in contrast to Nordea, the use of multiple languages is primarily a result of bottom-up language practices rather than a top-down language policy decision, and the use of local language(s) is therefore not enough to 'qualify' as a multiple corporate language policy according to the language management tool taxonomy.

The third category of policies in the language management tool taxonomy is the category called company-specific language. Both Nordea and Saxo Bank have developed documents, published either online or in hard-copy format, that may be placed under this heading. Company-specific language is defined as ways in which the company may control or influence internal language use through different types of measures. Both of the financial service companies have chosen relatively soft approaches by offering company-specific style guidelines as a way of ensuring consistency in communication style. However, Nordea's style guide may be described as the more user-friendly approach, as their language managenent tools, such as the comprehensive company-specific dictionary, Nordea Terms, are made easily available to all employees on the company's intranet portal. In Saxo Bank, the document outlining the company's style guidelines is included in the communication manual folder, which is reserved for key communication professionals such as official spokespersons. Consequently, the guidelines become less accessible to front-line employees.

The discussion has furthermore revealed that Nordea and Saxo Bank have chosen very different approaches to solving translation tasks, and in relation to that, also different technological solutions. Indeed, the two companies represent two extreme ends of the scale; from a highly bureaucratic in-house translation department (Nordea) to the absence of a formal scheme for handling translation needs (Saxo Bank). The previous within-case analyses of the two financial service companies (Chapter 4) revealed that the strategic use of language nodes for language management purposes from a managerial perspective is more common in Saxo Bank than in Nordea. This is an interesting observation which may be explained by the typical tasks that these language-skilled employees are assigned in Saxo Bank. Where Nordea has an in-house translation unit that handles most of the company's internal and external need for translation, Saxo Bank often relies on language nodes for satisfying their translation needs. This practice can largely be explained by unwillingness to pay for professional translation services provided by external translation agencies. Drawing on the company's internal language resources, e.g. a native English speaker, is clearly seen as a more cost-effective solution than a formalised translation set-up like the one in Nordea. Relying on the company's own bi/multilingual employees for translation purposes is somewhat debated in the literature. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Feely and Harzing (2003) question

whether this practice may increase the risk of miscommunication, for example due to the lack of specific subject matter skills (Feely & Harzing, 2003, pp. 43-44).

Interview data from Nordea and Saxo Bank indicate that it may be possible for individual employees to receive language training organised by their employer in certain situations. Language training is outsourced to external contractors in both cases, but there is an important difference between the models adopted by the two companies. In Nordea, the centralised HR department has made an agreement with an external language course provider, and the cost is covered by the local department's budget once an employee makes use of the training. In Saxo Bank, the HR department is not involved in English language training undertaken by employees at all. Neither of the two companies has developed a centralised language training policy, which means that practice varies from department to department in both case companies. This may be seen in relation to the internal financing of different language management activities, as described in sections 4.1.2.2 and 4.2.2.2.

None of the front-line employees in Nordea or Saxo Bank interviewed in this study had undertaken English language training themselves or made a request for it. However, several of the respondents in Nordea knew about colleagues who had taken English language courses covered by their respective departments. The fact that individual employees are dependent on the approval of their managers before being able to sign up for language training could be a potential hindrance, as stated by one informant in Nordea's IT department:

(294) Of course it depends on who you ask, if you have a manager that doesn't think that education is something that they want to spend money on, they will say no, but I have never heard anybody who was denied anything that they would like to do.
-Nordea_9, Business partner

This finding largely corresponds with what Millar, Cifuentes, and Jensen (2013) found in their report on language management strategies in 12 Danish companies. The authors observe that although almost all companies (11) provided in-service language training to the employees, the training was rarely based on strategic considerations. Rather, the employees were the ones who had to take the initiative and request language courses from their managers.

Language training in one of the Scandinavian languages is offered according to the same decentralised model as the English language training described above. Language training in the national language of the headquarters' location may be used to provide foreign employees who are working in a Scandinavian country with language skills which may be necessary for them to fully integrate and take part in all aspects of the company's activities. This is often the case in social settings, where the national language is often the default language choice. Findings from the previous financial service within-case analyses (Chapter 4) and other studies have demonstrated that competence in the national language may

be an important integrative enabler as it allows employees to socialise and make small talk with colleagues in a communicative area they may not have access to without the right language skills (e.g. Bellak, 2014; Lønsmann, 2011). According to Tange and Lauring (2009) socialising, small talk and gossiping are important mechanisms for information transfer in the work place. Various types of social behaviour in the office, which are often facilitated through having appropriate language skills, contribute to the maintenance of social norms and roles, and this ultimately leads to the development of new relationships.

Another type of language management tool identified in Chapter 2 is the selective recruitment of language-skilled new employees. Interview data presented in section 7.5 demonstrate that this is common practice in both case companies. It may be worth commenting on the role of the companies' central HR departments in the recruitment processes. The two case companies have chosen slightly different models in this regard, in the sense that the HR department in Nordea appears to be more involved in this process than the HR department in Saxo Bank:

(295) Before we start recruiting, it must be approved because there must be a need, we can't just start hiring people for fun, it has to be a need for it, and it has to be approved by the manager's manager […] When it is approved, the managers start to write the ad with support from HR, it could be an HR partner like me or a person from HR operations, which is more an administrative unit, in Nordea, within HR […], and we have guidelines on how an ad should be written, the set-up and what kind of language, and what it should contain and what it should not contain, and that the responsibility of HR is to make sure that the guidelines are followed.
-Nordea_7, HR manager

(296) Interviewee: They [the departments] usually have a draft of the job advertisement where they have an idea about what the candidate will be employed to do, and then we may hold a meeting with the hiring manager [the manager of the department that is hiring], where we talk about the job advertisement, what we should focus on, we proofread the text and talk about what kind of channels we should use to reach the target group we think could be interesting […]
Interviewer: Who decides on the job advertisements, or the language in the advertisements, is it you or the ones [departments] locally?
Interviewer: That will be the department that advertises the position.
-Saxo Bank_6, HR manager

Quotes 295 and 296 indicate that HR consultants are more involved in the development of job advertisements in Nordea than in Saxo Bank. Nordea's HR department has also developed a detailed recruitment policy which outlines nine different policy statements that should be followed in the

recruitment process. The existence of this policy as well as the role of the Nordea's HR department in the recruitment process may be seen in relation to the high degree of corporate governance and widespread use of corporate policies and procedures in Nordea, as described in the Nordea within-case analysis (Chapter 4).

It is furthermore interesting to observe how the two companies have chosen different default standards in terms of language choice for employment contracts. As explained by informants in Saxo Bank, almost all employment contracts in Saxo Bank AS, the parent company, are drawn up in English. The retail branch of the Saxo Bank group, Saxo Privatbank, serves as an exception to this practice, as most employment contracts in this part of the company are written in Danish, for employees located in Denmark. Informants in Nordea, on the other hand, explain that employment contracts are usually written in one of the local Scandinavian languages, which is seen as the default language standard. What is particularly noteworthy about this finding is that local language contracts are described as the standard also for corporate headquarters positions, where English is formally stated as the company's common corporate language. Respondent Nordea_7, who works in Nordea's HR department, relates this practice to Nordea's history prior to the adoption of the English lingua franca mandate, i.e. the statement 'I think it is some kind of heritage from before' (Quote 270). This is a reference that once again points to the intricate relationship between language and the company where it is in use (cf. Bartlett & Ghoshal 1989; 'administrative heritage', see section 2.3.4.5).

Finally, interview data presented in section 7.7 suggest that front-line employees commonly make use of emergent solutions in response to the language and communication needs they experience in their everyday work life. The importance of such solutions corresponds with what previous studies (e.g. Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Lønsmann, 2011) have found. One noteworthy observation relates to the widespread use of emergent solutions also in Nordea, where other formalised language management tools are offered through more established set-ups than in Saxo Bank, such as the company's translation department. Regardless of these corporate language management tools, the informal language help from one's colleagues or the use of online language tools (other than the company's own technological solutions) in many cases appear to be the tools employees prefer to make use of when encountering an on-the-spot need for language assistance. The quick and easy nature of these tools is clearly seen as beneficial by employees, which also corresponds to previous empirical research findings (e.g. Piekkari et al., 2013).

8 Language management tools in manufacturing companies

Like the previous chapter this chapter will focus on the use of language management tools, this time in the context of the two manufacturing companies included in this study, Grundfos and ECCO. The following discussion will in other words seek to provide an answer to research question 2b: Which language management tools are implemented and why in the two manufacturing companies? This chapter is organised according to the same subsections as Chapter 7, and follows the language management taxonomy (Table 1). The structure of this chapter is as follows: section 8.1 discusses corporate language policies; section 8.2 the use of translation and interpretation services; section 8.3 technological solutions; section 8.4 language training; section 8.5 selective recruitment; section 8.6 language intermediates; and section 8.7, emergent language management solutions at the front-line level. This chapter also contains a cross-case analysis between language management tools in Grundfos and ECCO in section 8.8.

8.1 Language policy manufacturing

8.1.1 Language policy Grundfos

The within-case analyses of Grundfos and ECCO presented in Chapter 5 have demonstrated how the development of corporate language policies was initiated in these two companies respectively. The focus of this section will be on the content of the language policies and how these policies relate to the linguistic reality of the companies' typical language and communication practices. As in the previous chapter, the language policy document of Grundfos, being the 'higher' language management company, will be the starting point for this discussion.

Before delving into Grundfos' actual language policy text, it is worth recalling that the policy documents are the result of the collaborative efforts of a small group of employees who shared a particular interest in language and communication issues. This team worked together over a period of 4 ½ years in total, producing first a Danish language policy document, which was published in 2002, and subsequently an English language policy document, which was published in 2004. One of the group members behind the language policy initiative describes the relationship between the Danish and the English language policy versions as follows:

(297) It is almost a copy of the Danish book […] They are almost identical, except that we have chosen not to include parts that are only relevant to [the] Danish [language].
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

A comparison of the two language policy handbooks confirms that the two language versions indeed contain virtually the same information. Both versions are written in the same style and format; the

handbooks come in a B5 format and although both booklets are relatively lengthy, they contain lots of illustrations and several title pages without text. The English version is slightly longer than the Danish, with a total of 80 pages compared to the Danish language which is 72 pages long. The English version is divided into 10 chapters, whereas the Danish has 9 chapters, in addition to a separate index at the end of both volumes. However, the extra chapter in the English version is primarily a structural matter as the material has been organised slightly differently in this version.

The most interesting chapters of the language policy documents are those entitled 'What is special about language in Grundfos?' (in the Danish version: 'Hvad er specielt for sprog på Grundfos?') This is the chapter where English is explicitly described as the corporate language of Grundfos. A few lines of this language policy text were presented in section 5.1.3.2. In the next excerpt, taken from page 46 of the English language policy, the full policy text is provided as presented in the actual English version:

> GRUNDFOS' CORPORATE LANGUAGE IS BRITISH ENGLISH
>
> Being an international group of companies Grundfos needs a shared corporate language, and this shared language is British English.
>
> What is understood by corporate language?
>
> Corporate language does not mean that everybody employed by Grundfos all over the world must speak and write English in all communication. It simply means that English is the language we have chosen as our shared language. In practical terms this means that we always write in English at Group level. When communicating among the companies in the Group or among colleagues in the different companies, we write in English in situations where other companies or colleagues from other companies may need to understand or may benefit from being able to understand the written material. It follows from this that communication within a local Grundfos company will – and should – be in the local language.
>
> Why British English?
>
> In many countries throughout the world British English is taught in the educational systems. The reason is that Britain is closely related to these countries geographically, culturally and historically. This makes British English the obvious choice.
>
> It means that – when we write on behalf of Grundfos – we must
>
> -use the British English way of spelling
>
> -choose British English words.
>
> Please keep in mind that British English varies from American English.

> Of course colleagues in Grundfos companies who have English as their first language (the USA, Canada, Australia, etc.) are not expected to switch from 'their' English to British English when writing texts to other Grundfos companies.

A somewhat shorter version of this text – about 100 characters shorter – is found in the Danish language policy document as well. It is interesting to note that this version also declares English as the corporate language of Grundfos, although the text is entirely written in Danish, and there was no English version at the time of publication, as the English language version was published two years after the Danish version. The following excerpt is a translation (my translation) of the Danish language policy text, taken from page 37 of the Danish version:

> GRUNDFOS' CORPORATE LANGUAGE IS BRITISH ENGLISH
> Since Grundfos is an international company, it is not possible to use Danish as a common corporate language. It has therefore been decided that the corporate language is English – British English to be precise.
>
> It is important to be aware of this since English is not the same in Britain, USA, Australia and other countries where it is spoken as a native language. In this section you will find examples of how spelling, inflections and the meaning of words may differ in the above-mentioned countries.
>
> There are many reasons that British English is the corporate language of Grundfos, e.g. because British English is taught in the educational system in Denmark, and because Britain is close to Denmark both geographically, culturally and historically.
>
> This means that – when we write in English on behalf of Grundfos – we must…
> -use the British English way of spelling
> -use the British English words

When comparing the Danish text to the English text, some interesting observations can be made. First, it is clear from the fact that the Danish version is written in Danish that it is targeted towards a Danish audience only. However, also the content of the text reveals a very strong Danish worldview (i.e. ethnocentrism, cf. Perlmutter, 1969). The very first sentence for example 'Since Grundfos is an international company, it is not possible to use Danish as a common corporate language' may be read almost as an excuse for choosing English as a common corporate language over Danish. Although the text is written with the purpose of announcing English as the corporate language of the company, it also

contains another message in the sense that it signals a strong Danish identity, which may be seen together with what was discussed in Chapter 5, and in particular in section 5.1.1.3 Corporate culture and identity.

The Danish version is also less explicit than the English version in terms of defining and outlining the practical implications of the language policy. Specifically, the English version appears to be more concerned with how the policy is to be interpreted by employees, as it makes an explicit distinction between 'Group level' communication and 'local Grundfos' communication. It is clear from how these two categories of communicative areas are described that English as a corporate language is to be understood only in the context of 'Group level' communication, i.e. the type of communication that takes place between companies in the Grundfos group. In contrast, there is no guidance in the Danish version what-so-ever of what English as a corporate language entails or how employees are expected to respond to the language policy document. Instead, the Danish language policy text is primarily concerned with providing reasons for the choice of language standard, i.e. British English. Specifically, the Danish language policy text mentions two particular reasons for why British English is the preferred language standard; firstly, because British English is the English standard taught in the Danish educational system, and secondly, because Britain is 'geographically, culturally and historically' close to Denmark. It is interesting to note that both reasons are rooted in external societal factors rather than factors specific to Grundfos' operations or other characteristics pertinent to Grundfos as a linguistic eco-system of its own (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 311).

The concept of English as a corporate language in Grundfos may need some clarification. As mentioned above, the English language policy document defines the corporate language as 'the language we have chosen as our shared language'. However, the policy text also provides a negative definition by stating what the corporate language is not to be interpreted as: 'Corporate language does not mean that everybody employed by Grundfos all over the world must speak and write English in all communication.' These two sentences may be seen as a bit of a contradiction, and given the distinction between group level communication and local country-specific Grundfos communication, where the use of local languages is encouraged, one may ask: what does English as a corporate language actually mean in this company? In the following excerpts three employees share their thoughts on the role of English as a corporate language in Grundfos:

(298) I would say it [English] is the language we use across the companies [in the Grundfos group], but that doesn't mean that Grundfos is only English-speaking or that we speak English normally, because we don't. It [English] is the language we use across companies.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

(299) Interviewer: What do you think about this term corporate language, if you relate it to the actual language situation, like you say, that you use the local language in the respective countries […] how would you describe that situation?

Interviewee: I think that it is a pragmatic solution, because it would be artificial if a company that employs Danes only, for example, if they [Danish employees] had to speak English to each other, because it has been decided by somebody higher up in the organisation, that would be artificial and wrong, and it would also prevent us from achieving the best results. But of course, when people from other countries are involved in projects, we have to find a common language that everybody speaks, and then we speak English.

-Grundfos_5, Translator

(300) Interviewer: So how would you define a corporate language?

Interviewee: Well… [laughter], well, it's partly English, but still not entirely so. That's a good question... English with a local twist?

-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

Quotes 298-300 have one thing in common: they all suggest that the use of English as the company's corporate language does not exclude the use of local languages in internal communication practices. Note particularly the choice of words in Quote 299, made by Grundfos_5, who is one of the key persons behind Grundfos' language policy text. The informant states that he believes it would be 'artificial and wrong' to impose an English-only language policy, which indicates that he feels very strongly about the importance of allowing employees to communicate in their native language, even though English has officially been designated the corporate language of the Grundfos group. The use of multiple languages, i.e. English in addition to various local languages, is referred to as a 'pragmatic solution' by this informant. The third informant provides another interpretation of the company's language policy when suggesting the label 'English with a local twist', which also points to the importance of acknowledging local language varieties across Grundfos' many host locations.

It is clear from what these informants are stating that they believe there should be room for local language use in addition to the corporate language English. Then again, interview data indicate that in certain situations local language communication is more than just an alternative to English – it may be the only alternative. In the next excerpt, one informant describes some important limitations associated with the use of English:

(301) I don't think we will ever have a corporate language that covers the entire group, because there are these 18,000 employees, where – I can't even remember how many […] that belong to the production segment […] but they typically don't speak English – a few of them are able to, but the

majority of them can't. In addition to that we have a large group of administrative staff, normal sales people, out in the sales companies, they don't speak English either, so I would guess out of those 18,000 employees, there are maybe – say roughly 3000 [employees] who can communicate professionally in English, and maybe a couple of thousand more who can make themselves understood in English […] so I don't think we will ever reach the point where the entire group has a shared language.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

This informant argues that the composition of employees in Grundfos, and in particular the large number of production workers and locally employed administrative staff, challenges the concept of English as a shared corporate language in the Grundfos group. Interestingly, the informant uses the expression 'shared language' in the previous quote, which is exactly the formulation found in the company's official language policy statement, cf. 'English is the language we have chosen as our shared language'. It is, however, clear from the previous and the following quotes that *deciding* to have a shared language does not necessarily coincide with *having* a shared language:

(302) I think there is a restriction in that – at least it is important to remember that there are people who are not very good at it [English], we have to remember that when we use English. […] A lot of them [production workers] have not been at school for many years where they have been trained in English, that is also the case for some of those in our own production [in Denmark], even if they have been through the Danish education system, if you then for example have been through the Hungarian or German [education system], where there is less focus on it [English] – German is actually a good example, they're not that good at English… so I think we have to be aware that it is still a challenge. At least you have to – my attitude is that we shouldn't do everything in English and think that is the Holy Grail of solutions, because I don't think it is.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

(303) The policy was adopted when I started at Grundfos, and in principle it is correct that we want to use corporate English for all employees, but those who work in the factories don't speak English. They may understand English but they can't speak English and they can't write English, so if we want to reach all employees, both in the production and in the administration, we have to use the language of the target group. That's the thing with our corporate English – our mass communication to the entire organisation is in English but if we want to reach segmented target groups, for example blue-collar workers or blacksmiths in the production, we have to approach them in the language they speak. That means that we have to speak Danish to production workers here in Denmark, Spanish to production workers in Mexico, or Chinese to the production workers

in China. The result is that there will always be different subcultures, we have to acknowledge that, the production is also a subculture, and we must acknowledge that it is a subculture with its own language. We can't make a [English] corporate language policy and think that they [production workers] will follow that, because they won't. Then we have to have language officers walking around in the production, checking up on their language practices, and that will never happen.

-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

Again, Quotes 302 and 303 contribute to challenge the notion of English as a common corporate language for the Grundfos group. It is evident from the interview data that the use of local languages is in many situations the only way the corporate level is able to reach out to production workers. Grundfos_1 introduces an interesting term in the latter quote when he refers to the production segment of Grundfos as a 'subculture'. The existence of organisational subcultures is also discussed in the literature; Schein (2010, p. 2) for example states that 'various occupational groups that make up organizations […] can best be thought of as *subcultures'* (see also Hofstede, 1998; Jones, 1983; and Trice, 1993 for more on organisational subcultures). Indeed, Schein (p. 58) identifies the 'operator subculture' as 'those employees who produce and sell the organization's product and services'. In Grundfos, respondent Grundfos_1 ellaborates in the next quote on how he experiences different subcultures in the company, and in particular a strong division between white- and blue-collar employees. As a clarifying comment it can be mentioned that the Grundfos headquarters in Bjerringbro has a factory where they produce pumps located in the same building as their administrative offices.

(304) Have you noticed – you have been here now and walked around in the office, how many production workers have you seen walk through the office? You can see them in the canteens, but you can't see them here. […] So it's like this is a prohibited area [for the production workers]. It's like this [the office] is South Korea [laughter] and that [the production] is North Korea. We [white-collar workers] are allowed to walk into the production as we see fit and we think it is very natural to walk out there, because we do it a lot. Those out in the production are the ones who create the values that we manage in here. Without the production there wouldn't be any offices, but we sometimes get the impression that white-collar workers think that office jobs create more office jobs, and that's not right. It is the production that creates more jobs, also in the offices, and that cultural divide between white and blue collar workers, that is very difficult to solve by means of communications.

-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

This key informant makes an important point in Quote 304. Grundfos is a manufacturing company where values are created in the company's production segment, i.e. by the production workers. Without the values produced by these workers, Grundfos wouldn't exist as a company. Consequently, it is vital to accommodate this very important group of employees, also with respect to language and communicate messages in a language they are able to understand. This is the reason that Grundfos has adopted eight Grundfos languages which they use consistently, for example when publishing their employee magazine, as explained in Chapter 5. In some cases, other language versions may be published if necessary, as previously mentioned.

The concept of English as a common corporate language is not the only central term that is challenged by the linguistic reality in Grundfos. It may be worth to recall what was said about the extensive use of corporate policies and procedures in section 5.1.2.1. This part of Grundfos' within-case analysis revealed that Grundfos is a company which is characterised by a high degree of corporate governance and control mechanisms such as policies and other regulatory documents. At the same time, interview data also indicated that the term 'policy' is often used as a broad label, sometimes synonymous with guidelines or work standards. This is a feature of Grundfos' company-specific characteristics that can be related to the language policy document. The language policy of Grundfos pushes the boundaries for what the term 'language policy' can be said to encompass.

First of all it is necessary to point out that there is one key difference between the Danish and the English language policy version. Whereas the Danish language version is entitled 'In other words… Grundfos' language policy' (In Danish: 'Med andre ord… Grundfos sprogpolitik'), the English version is entitled 'In other words… Grundfos language guide'. When examining both language policy texts in detail, the English title appears to be a more appropriate description of the content of the documents, which is largely identical (cf. Quote 297). Overall, the texts almost exclusively focus on providing language guidance and recommendations for good writing habits. The Danish version provides recommendations for appropriate use of the Danish language, and the English version provides the same type of recommendations for British English. In the English version, Chapter 1 for example looks into 'what to consider before you start writing', and Chapter 2; 'how do you make structure and layout support your text?'. The following chapter, Chapter 3 is called 'how do you write?', and deals with different types of writing techniques and best practice examples of good communication.

One noteworthy observation relates to how general these language tips are. Bergenholtz et al. (2003) review Grundfos' language policy (the Danish version) together with five other examples of language policies in companies and public institutions in Denmark. They observe that Grundfos' language policy is to a large extent based on the official Danish language recommendations developed by the Danish Language Council (Dansk Sprognævn) such as the recommendations featured in Jacobsen and Skyum-Nielsen (1996). As a result, Bergenholtz et al. (2003) argue that Grundfos' language recommendations lack in-depth guidelines for professional, thematic language related to, for example,

technical or economic jargon that may be of great importance for a company like Grundfos (cf. 'industry speak', section 6.10). Bergenholtz et al. (2003) make a valid point in that Grundfos' language policy/language guide could have focused more on the particular language situation at Grundfos. Out of the 10 chapters in the English version of the policy document only two chapters relate specifically to language use in Grundfos; Chapter 5, 'what is special about language in Grundfos?', which is where British English is defined as the corporate language of the company, and Chapter 10, called 'where can you find help?', which lists a number of online dictionaries and other tools employees may consult for language assistance, which will be discussed later. The remaining chapters look into principles of good language (Ch. 4) proofreading (Ch. 6), electronic communication (Ch. 7), branding of texts (Ch. 8), and finally how cultural differences may affect written communication (Ch. 9).

Based on the previous discussion, one central question remains: is Grundfos' language policy a language policy? When confronted with this question, two key informants who contributed to the development of the document give the following reply:

(305) No, it says so on the title page [language policy], but I would rather call it a language guide, because it gives advice and guidance […] But at the same time, behind those attitudes [to good language use] there is also a type of policy, which is that we would like our language to be of the highest possible quality.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

(306) Interviewee: In this regard language policy is really to be understood as language guidelines.
Interviewer: Ok. So is that a conscious decision that you use the term 'policy' in the Danish version, and the term 'language guide' in the English version?
Interviewee: Yes, it is exactly the same reason, because we wanted it to be interpreted as guidelines.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

These quotes point to two interesting observations. Firstly, we know from the within-case analysis presented in Chapter 5 that the term 'policy' is often used to denote guidelines and recommendations developed with the purpose of improving various aspects of Grundfos' internal work processes. It is evident from the previous quotes that the content of Grundfos' language policy can be explained by this practice, and that the policy document in itself may be seen as an example of this practice. In this way Grundfos' language policy document reflects the corporate culture of Grundfos and should be seen in relation to this corporate culture, as it explains the type of information that is included in the document. A natural extension of this argument relates to the type of information that the language policy document does not contain. As explained by one of the informants:

(307) We agreed early in the process that we did not want to make a rule book, that this is the way you have to write in Grundfos, and if you don't follow it someone will come and check. Instead, we wanted to give advice and a set of guidelines to influence attitudes to language in Grundfos.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

It follows from Quotes 305-307 that strict language regulation was not the primary intention of the document. Rather, the team behind the language policy development (see section 5.1.2.1 for details) wanted to influence language attitudes, cf. Quote 307. However, having said that, it is important to recall that although the language policy document overall looks and reads very much like a collection of general language tips and recommendations, it nevertheless does include aspects of language regulation by stating that (p. 46) 'Being an international group of companies Grundfos needs a shared corporate language, and this shared language is British English' and '[…] we write in English in situations where other companies or colleagues from other companies may need to understand or may benefit from being able to understand the written material.' These statements are clearly language policy statements.

A second observation worth noting relates to the 'high quality policy' behind the language policy, as the translator mentions in one of the previous quotes. The high quality criteria refer to what is stated in Grundfos' communication policy (cf. section 5.1.2.1). In a reply to the previously mentioned review of Grundfos' language policy written by Bergenholtz et al. (2003), a team from Grundfos (da Silva et al., 2003) describes the background and purpose of the language policy. In this reply, the authors provide a useful terminological clarification. In particular, the following is said about the term 'language policy' (da Silva et al., 2003, p. 168, my translation):

> We agree that the word language policy is a bit misused. We spent a lot of time finding the right title to our book, and we ended up calling it 'In other words…' with the subtitle 'Grundfos' language policy'. We know that 'In other words…' is not a policy, it is a handbook. The policy is cited in the preface: 'High quality is the only acceptable level of language and communication.'

As already mentioned, the subtitle of the language policy document was later changed from 'language policy' into 'language guide' when the English version was published in 2004.

A few things should also be said about the implementation of the language policy. When the Danish and the English versions were launched in 2002 and 2004 respectively, the team behind the language policy initiative arranged an afternoon seminar where the handbook was formally introduced to Grundfos employees at the Danish headquarters in Bjerringbro. Shortly after the handbook had been published, the team behind the policy also established a group of language ambassadors across the entire Grundfos organisation. These language ambassadors were employees who had 'offered to act as local

promoters of the Grundfos language guide' ('In other words…', p. 76). The wording of this description in the English version suggests that the language ambassadors volunteered to act as promoters of the language policy; yet, it is also evident from talking to key informants behind the language policy initiative that this group took an active role in the process:

(308) We formalised our team of ambassadors, and made sure that every department had an ambassador for the language policy. That person would make sure to spread the message and ensure that employees in that area received a copy of the book [the language policy], so that they would be able to familiarise themselves with the descriptions and guidelines included in the book. […] There were quite a few [language ambassadors], and we made sure that they received a diploma so that they could show that they had been selected as ambassadors.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

(309) When the English language policy was launched we informed all [Grundfos] companies around the world that it was here, and we sent copies of the book to all companies and asked them to appoint a language coordinator or language ambassador.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

These quotes indicate that quite a few language ambassadors were engaged in the task of spreading the language policy to the employees. One of the informants explains that there were as many as 40 language ambassadors only at the headquarters in Bjerringbro at the most:

(310) I think we were around 40 at one point, and we met three to four times a year. We met to discuss common things about language and some of the challenges we faced and what we could do to help each other with these things.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

It is evident from the previous presentation that the implementation of the language policy (2002-2004) was a big event in the company, particularly at the headquarters. However, after a couple of years, around 2006, one of the key informants explains that the interest around the policy slowly started to diminish. When asked about the role of the language policy today, one of the informants states that:

(311) Interviewee: I don't think it plays a very big role, but I hope that people have it at the back of their minds. I don't think it plays a big role as a concept, but maybe as an attitude.
Interviewer: Yes? In what way?
Interviewee: That people know how we would like to write and talk internally [in the company].

-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

Interviews with other key and role informants in Grundfos confirm Grundfos_6's assumption that the language policy plays only a limited role – if any role – in Grundfos today. Two communication professionals in the communication department, neither of whom were involved in the development of the language policy, give the following statements:

(312) I know some countries [international Grundfos companies] still use it, but it is outdated, it is from 2004. It's not the year itself that makes it outdated, but a lot of the things in it are outdated, and I also think it is difficult to read for normal people. It looks too much like a textbook and it's too abstract. […] Another thing that makes it outdated is that it doesn't take into account that today we communicate in different ways than just written text, in that sense it is quite old school, because a lot of people in Grundfos have started making videos, and the way we present things in PowerPoint for example, that is also a way of using language.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

(313) We have a language policy […] but it is some years old and it needs to be updated – if that is the way we want to communicate it today. I'm not sure it is actually.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

A few years ago when Grundfos appointed a new head of corporate communication, members of the original team behind the language policy initiative decided to try to revive some of the previous interest in language in the company. In the following passage, one team member describes what happened when they approached the head of corporate communication with the idea:

(314) Interviewee: At one point three or four years ago we got a new head of corporate communication, and we did actually try to resuscitate the process. We presented the idea to him, but he wasn't interested in continuing to work with it, so we didn't get anywhere. […] We held a meeting with him and explained to him how the language policy had been implemented and that things had stagnated. We wanted to encourage him as the head of corporate communication and the person responsible for the company's external communication, that he could take the lead in resuscitating the process, and we would of course contribute with everything we knew, but he clearly didn't want that.
Interviewer: What was the feedback he gave you?
Interviewee: Silence.

Interviewer: Did he not express any desire to follow-up [on the meeting], or how did you experience it?

Interviewee: I don't think that he could see the idea or the purpose of it, so he just left it.

Interviewer: What do you think about that kind of feedback from the head of corporate communication?

Interviewee: We were very disappointed. […] I could not understand that lack of concern for how important it really was, and what we could use it for, image-wise for Grundfos… I could not understand that the management didn't see that.

-Grundfos_5, Translator

It is evident from Quotes 312-314 that there are some divergent opinions internally in Grundfos in terms of what type of document the language policy should be and what kind of purpose it should serve. The previous passage is particularly interesting because it reveals conflicting attitudes between the group of employees who developed the language policy and the management, where the head of corporate communication passively refuses to support the follow-up initiative.

In addition to the language policy document, Grundfos has established a company-specific dictionary, which contains terms and expressions peculiar to Grundfos. A short description of the dictionary is included in the language policy, in the chapter 'where can you find help?' (Chapter 10) where it says (p. 78):

> MultiTerm Dictionary is Grundfos' own electronic dictionary of Grundfos terms. In MultiTerm you will find terms, phrases, names, titles, abbreviations, units, etc. in the form we have chosen in Grundfos. […] The fact that MultiTerm contains Grundfos terms means that words that can be looked up in an ordinary or technical dictionary are normally not included.

The dictionary contains a vast number of terms and is available in several languages, as described by the respondent in the following quote. This informant is employed as a translator in a department that produces technical documentation such as installation and operation instructions for Grundfos' products.

(315) We have our Grundfos dictionary as we call it, which is available on our intranet, and everybody in the entire group can use it, all around the world. It is in 30 languages and it contains more than 7000 terms in English. It's not that extensive for all languages though, but it's there. It contains mainly technical terms, because it is a dictionary for which I am the driving force. We started it many years ago, and it's still me that keeps it going.

-Grundfos_5, Translator

As stated by the informant in the above quote the dictionary comes in the form of a technical tool that employees may access online through Grundfos' intranet site. The use of the dictionary will be discussed in section 7.3.1.

8.1.2 Language policy ECCO

ECCO serves as an interesting case of the development of corporate language regulation. As described in Chapter 5, a great deal has happened in ECCO since the data collection phase commenced in August 2012. From initially being categorised as a 'low' language management company without a formalised language policy document, the centralised communication department has in fact initiated the development of an internal language policy as part of a more general communication policy. The task of writing the language policy was given to one of the communication professionals, who in the following excerpt explains how she approached this task:

(316) We have not had any kind of internal policy up to this point […] So I now have to start from scratch to make these two policies [internal/external communication policy and press policy, cf. section 5.2.2.1], which is a big job because there's nothing to build on. […]. What I'm thinking is just to get started on something, and we can always build on that in the future.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The discussion in Chapter 5 revealed that the development of the language policy was prompted by a corporate transformation programme called GOHIO ('Getting Our House In Order'), which was initiated by the COO in 2012. As mentioned in section 5.2.2.1, the announcement of governance as a work stream of the GOHIO initiative led to increased focus on policy development in general. The management of ECCO quickly appointed a policy officer at the corporate headquarters who was responsible for administrating and monitoring the process. As explained by one informant in the communication department, the initiative to develop a corporate communication policy arose from the work this policy officer was set out to do:

(317) At the time when the strategy [GOHIO] was initiated on policies and governance, that was part of [name of policy officer] job actually, to make a master list of the policies that were lacking, […] and on this list was a communication policy.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Together with the management team and the legal department, the policy officer was also in charge of developing various templates that the different ECCO departments could use in the development of policies:

(318) We had a policy development document that we could follow when we wrote a policy, and this development document very closely outlined each section of the template. It described each point in the template, what was expected, and it specifically stated that this statement should be only one or two sentences, a very brief description of what this is.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The policy development document which the informant refers to in the previous excerpt is a six-page template that specifies in detail some generic areas that all policies should cover.

English has been described as a non-formalised language policy in ECCO, thus, the development of the new communication policy would in principle have changed this situation. An explicit policy document would have formalised the implicit language policy practice in line with the aim of the GOHIO programme and the governance work stream, as previously mentioned. While working on the policy text, the person responsible for the communication policy makes an important observation:

(319) It will maybe formally on paper state that English is our company language, which we've never had before. We don't have a statement anywhere stipulating that English is actually our corporate language, so in a sense that will document for the employees, ok, that is the language.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

It is evident from what this informant is saying that the language policy initiative was not intended to *introduce* English as the company language, but rather to *establish* it as the company language. In this sense the policy could have be seen as a confirmation of previous non-formalised practice (cf. section 5.2.3.2). In line with what Bergenholtz and Johnsen (2006; see section 2.3.1.1) argue in their discussion of the relationship between a company's communication policy and language policy, ECCO chose to include the language policy as part of the overall communication policy.

When English was about to be officially recognised as the company language, a natural question arose: what type of English? In the following excerpt, ECCO_3 describes how the communication department tried to deal with the issue of choosing an English standard:

(320) What we've proposed is that British English be used for all externally published documents, for example our annual report and ecco.com. And then we're proposing internally that the employees are free to choose any standard of English that they wish, for example Australian, Irish, Canadian, American. […]I think implementation is going to be difficult, because those are very broad statements, and of course when this is published, people like our secretaries and personal assistants […] I think they are going to have a lot of questions as to, ok, is this an external document, you

know, what do you mean by this, if for example you have a brochure that you send to a market, is that external communication? […] It's going to be interesting if the policy goes through what the response will be, and how easy it will be to implement it.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

In this excerpt the communication professional mentions personal assistants and secretaries as a group of employees that is frequently in charge of and conducts communication activities. Indeed, several previous studies find that secretaries are often in key communication positions by virtue of their job description, e.g. Feely and Reeves (2001, p. 3); Peltokorpi (2007, p. 75) and Tange (2008, p. 163). When interviewing a personal assistant who has served in different positions over a period of 15 years, including a position as personal assistant to the COO, she confirms that the use of different English standards is common in the company. Not surprisingly, native English speakers tend to follow the standard of their home country:

(321) I think there are a lot of different types [English standards], it depends where people come from. We have a lot of foreigners high up in the [management] system, a lot of Brits and they have their own way [of communicating]. Then there are the Americans and a guy from Australia… I think it [use of English standards] depends.
-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

Returning to respondent ECCO_3 again, this communication professional provides a highly interesting rationale for the decision not to specify any particular variety as the standard for internal communication – namely efficiency of communication:

(322) Another consideration was how do you train all those employees in British English? I think part of my guiding principles for the communication policy was to foster a culture of communication and sharing, and I don't think you can foster an open communication-sharing organisation when people sit there concerned about 'how do I say that in British English?' and 'how do I spell that in British English?', when they are going to write an email. I think they'll spend more time worrying about that then they will about just sending the email. So I saw that policy, implementing that, as an obstacle to efficient communication.[…] In the end it's all about communicating, that is the point of it all. Not the point of how it looks, or how things are spelled, and who's [English] standard, and I felt when I was writing it, that as a communication department – that is our job, to foster communication, so that was a great consideration when I made the proposal, that in the end this isn't about personal preferences, it's about communicating.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

As mentioned in section 5.2.2.1, I contacted this key informant again in February 2015, more than two years after she had first started working on the language policy. In our final interview, the informant described how she had handed the communication policy over to her manager (head of corporate communication) in the autumn of 2013, and that the policy subsequently had been sent to the management board for approval. However, as of February 2015 the policy had not yet been approved and implemented in the organisation. In comparison, the GOHIO programme, which initially prompted the development of the language policy, had been completed, and several group-wide policies were implemented based on the outcome of this programme (cf. section 5.2.2.1). For example, new policies were adopted by important departments such as group HR, group finance, and group IT. In the light of this, I asked the informant why she though the formalisation of the language policy initiative did not succeed:

(323) I think part of the problem is enforcing this […] The debate would be financial, because if you make a formal policy and write this down on paper, then who is going to enforce these policies? […] The only way you can enforce them is by spending money [laughter], to make sure that the standard is enforced, if you're going to choose a standard.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

It may be fruitful to return to the discussion in section 2.3.4.10 which focused on unresponsiveness (Feely & Winslow, 2006) as a 'language policy challenge'. The informant above indicates that financial concerns, i.e. unwillingness to invest in language-related initiatives, may have been one important factor preventing the implementation of a formal language policy (see also section 5.2.2.2). As mentioned in section 2.3.4.10, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 139) identify cost considerations as the biggest challenge for language planners – indeed, the 'real problem that language planners face'. Evidently, this also pertains to corporate language planners, as illustrated by the previous quote.

In addition to what has been said about ECCO's language and communication policy, a final point should also be made with regard to ECCO's company dictionary. While the language policy document started as a new initiative, ECCO had in fact developed a dictionary of company and industry-specific terms that goes back 20 years. The informant in the communication department elaborates:

(324) I heard from one of the secretaries who's been there for over 20 years, that way back 20 years ago, they established an ECCO dictionary with all the professional terms that they use, also technical terms, because when you produce shoes, there are a lot materials that you use, […] there are a lot of technical terms that go into the process. They tried to make an ECCO dictionary […] naturally, it started in Danish, then [they included] English, French, German [terms], so those four

languages, and then in the end they had started to include Chinese. […] This dictionary was made in Lotus Notes at the time, but the company today doesn't have access to Lotus Notes, because that was phased out. The dictionary still exists, and some secretaries still have access to it through Lotus Notes but no-one else in the company does, and the dictionary hasn't been updated for so many years that it doesn't have all the current terms and probably some of the terms are outdated as well. So I decided to take an initiative to try and save this dictionary because I felt wow, what a resource, you know, if we had to start over, this would be a huge task.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The informant then explains how she tried to convert the dictionary into a format that could be made available to all employees on the company's intranet site. This process will be further discussed in section 7.3.1.

8.2 Translation manufacturing

8.2.1 Translation Grundfos

As mentioned in section 5.1.1.2, Grundfos has established an in-house translation department located at the company's headquarters in Bjerringbro, Denmark. This department does, however, only translate material for external use, such as product information and installation procedures. It was indicated in section 5.1.2.2, that the overhead costs associated with having translators employed full-time is one of the reasons that informants in the communication department found the use of external translation agencies more suitable for satisfying internal translation needs. However, previously presented interview data (Quote 125) indicated that translation was not seen as a relevant competence in the company's communication department. Another communication professional argues along the same line when asked what he thinks about the prospect of hiring professional translators:

(325) No, we will not do that. We don't see that [translation] as our primary task. Our primary task is to tell stories, and actually that [translation] is one of the things we would like to be relieved from in order to have time to tell the stories and spend our resources on telling the stories.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

On the basis of what these respondents state, one question that might need some elaboration is the following: Why is the translation of internal documents seen as a task that should be handled by external language agencies when the translation of external documents has been conducted by the company's internal translation department for decades? One informant who has worked as a translator in the in-house translation department for almost 25 years shed some light on the situation:

(326) I work in a department where we write technical documentation. My responsibility is to make sure that the technical documentation is clear and correct from a linguistic point of view. Before we send that documentation to the translators in 30 different languages, the main task is to make sure that the English master text is completely clear and consistent in terminology and so on. […] Installation and operating instructions come with the products, with every product there is a book in x number of languages. It can be up to 30 different languages in that book.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

The previous quote emphasises the highly technical nature of the documentation that is handled by Grundfos in-house translators. Grundfos' pumps are complex instruments, equipped with highly advanced electrical systems. Consequently, product documentation needs to be 100 % accurate and reliable in all languages the information is translated into. The importance of reliable information in the manufacturing of technical machinery has previously been observed by Malkamäki and Herberts (2014, p. 46), who studied language practices in the Finnish MNC Wärtsila, a manufacturer of engines and other power sources to the marine market. In particular, engineers in Wärtsila emphasised the importance of correct and accurate communication, for example when explaining how to move an engine in the right way. Noguer and Siscart (2004) also observe that complex, technical products require reliable translations, which increases the language barrier in cross-border communication. The authors hypothesise that (p. 47): 'we expect language barriers to be more important for machinery and equipment. Why? Because these goods require (1) some learning in order to use them and (2) some service support structure to service them after purchase. Therefore, exporters need to, among other things, translate the instructions manual'. This proposition found support in Noguer and Siscart's data set investigating the effects of language differences in bilateral trade among 137 countries.

In Grundfos, the fact that the documentation may be translated into as many as 30 languages means that administrating the translation process is quite demanding in itself. It should, however, be mentioned that Grundfos' translation department also outsources parts of their translation load to external translation agencies, under the administration and supervision of in-house translators or proofreaders. This practice corresponds with Piekkari et al.'s (2014, p. 39) observation that 'it is not feasible for globally dispersed firms to handle internally all translation demands. As a result, outsourcing of part of the translation task is inevitable'. As explained by the informant in Grundfos' translation department:

(327) Our installation and operation instructions are translated by external agencies, but we have proofreaders in every company who collaborate with the translator in the [translation] agency about the final text. It is the responsibility of the local companies to translate our product catalogues. Some of them [companies] have employed translators themselves, or they may use a local agency to translate it for them.

-Grundfos_5, Translator

Returning to internal communication, the issue of translating material intended for company-internal use has primarily been brought up in relation to Grundfos employee magazine Gmagazine. In the following quote, one informant in the communication department explains the different steps in the translation process. It is evident that two of the language versions are made on relay translation, i.e. a chain of translation involving three texts: the original text (Danish), the intermediate text (English) and the end text(s) (Hungarian and Chinese) (Ringmar, 2012):

(328) We have an external translation agency [in Denmark] that translates from the Danish version. When we have finished the layout, when the Danish magazine is ready to be printed, then we start with the English [version], and at the same time with most of the other languages. Two languages are produced based on the English [version]. As far as I can remember, those are Hungarian and Chinese. […] We changed agencies about ten years ago… the agency we used before that went bankrupt. It is important to us to have an agency that masters all languages, so that we don't have to deal with a lot of administration. It is the external agency that is in direct contact with the printing company.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

As mentioned in section 5.1.3.1, Grundfos' centralised communication department sends the seven international language versions of the Gmagazine to the respective Grundfos companies for proofreading before the magazine is published. The quality of the proofreading is mentioned as the main reason for this set-up:

(329) Those who are closest to the market, the Chinese for example, are better at Chinese than a correspondent in Denmark. It's like that for all correspondents, or foreigners, that those who live in Denmark quickly start to think and write Danish – [use] Danish terms and phrases, so very often the quality decreases over the years, compared to a person that has it [the foreign language] as the mother tongue, so it is better to have it checked and edited in the country [where it will be published].
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

A final point to be handled in this section relates to the use of interpreters – or more precisely the non-use of interpreters. Examples of situations where informants have relied on interpreters in order to facilitate oral communication with external parties, and in particular customers, have emerged from interviews with role informants at Grundfos. For instance, one informant described a situation where he

met with a Brazilian delegation that represented a potential future client. Prior to this meeting, Grundfos had offered to provide a professional interpreter to take part in the meeting. The delegation had declined the offer, and the meeting was conducted in English. However, the informant states in the following quote that the meeting would have been more efficient if a Portuguese interpreter had taken part.

(330) Grundfos had asked them [prior to the meeting] 'do you need somebody to translate', and they said 'no, it's not necessary'. But believe me, it was necessary.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

Another informant, a senior manager, also mentions that interpreters may be used when meetings are held in foreign locations where English language skills tend to be scarce. Still, as the next passage demonstrates, the informant has not experienced any need for the use of interpreters in internal communication situations:

(331) Interviewer: Do you ever use interpreters, translators, or anything like that?
Interviewee: Yes, we do, not so much here [in Denmark], but sometimes when we travel, like to Russia, and when we visit or have customer events where we participate, then we also use interpreters. I have also seen a few other cases where we have [used interpreters], but that's together with customers.
Interviewer: Ok, so only for external communication?
Interviewee: Yes.
Interviewer: Right, and how do you do it? Do you use an external interpreter? […]
Interviewee: We use local, external interpreters in these cases.
Interviewer: And how come you only use interpreters for external communication, have you ever considered using them for internal purposes as well?
Interviewee: So far I haven't seen the need for it.
Interviewer: Ok, how come?
Interviewee: Because the English level is, is so high, with the people we communicate with, so there is no need.
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

It is clear from what this informant says that the use of interpreters is common practice when meeting with customers and other external parties. Yet, the informant dismisses the need for interpreters in internal communication as the level of English language skills is described as adequate. This may be explained by the fact that the informant holds a senior management position where his typical interlocutors tend to be other managers located in the upper levels of the organisational hierarchy. 'Due

to higher education and previous international exposure, top managers are likely to have better language skills than the average employee', Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011, p. 289) argue.

8.2.2 Translation ECCO

ECCO's within-case analysis in Chapter 5 revealed the need for translation of mass communication published by ECCO's centralised communication department. In particular, key informants in the communication department emphasised the importance of producing local language information to factory workers in ECCO's various international production units. The need for translating this type of information became particularly evident with the establishment of a new employee magazine that ultimately introduced a new direct communication channel from the company's headquarters in Bredebro, Denmark to the various shoe factories and tanneries (cf. section 5.2.3.1).

As mentioned in the previous within-case discussion, the magazine is published in seven language versions, corresponding to the national languages of the location of ECCO's international production facilities, including as well a global version of the magazine published in English. In an internal work document outlining the purpose and rationale of the magazine, the magazine is introduced with the following catchphrase: 'Not ONE company magazine, but ONE voice and ONE expression'. As most of the content of the magazines is produced centrally in the communication department, primarily by Danish communication professionals, translation is unavoidable.

The translation of the employee magazine is conducted by an external translation agency. Over the years, the communication department has used different translation agencies to handle its demand for translation, for example the translation of the company's annual report, which up until 2012 was written in Danish and then translated into English. However, the quality of the translation was not always satisfactory, as explained by another key informant in the communication department:

(332) The agency they were using at the time was bad, like I said the text for the annual report, clearly translated, clearly written by Danish native speakers.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The annual report has since 2013 been published in English only. The report has also been written in English originally, instead of being written in Danish and then translated into English, as in the case provided by the informant in the previous quote.

As ECCO had experienced problems with its previous translation agencies, it was decided to look for a new agency that could deliver higher quality products. In the next excerpt the communication professional describes how she approached two different agencies that were recommended to her, with the purpose of selecting a new translation bureau:

(333) We had some recommendations. My boss had worked in other companies and [the boss] also had a cousin who worked with communication, so he consulted [his cousin] and came up with […] a couple of agencies […] So I tested them both, and with different pieces, both for plain translation and proofreading.

-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The informant then selected one of these translation agencies based on the result of the tests she had asked them to solve.

One interesting finding that emerged from an interview with a personal assistant in the HR department was the regular use of professional interpreters for internal communication purposes. The informant has been with ECCO for almost 20 years, and has held several different positions in the company, including a position as secretary to members of the managing board. In the following passage the interviewee describes how simultaneous interpretation is offered as an integral part of ECCO's employee assemblies, which are held three to four times a year at ECCO's own conference centre, located close to the company headquarters. All employees working at headquarters – approximately 600 in total – are invited to these events. Participation is voluntary, and the informant estimates that the assemblies are typically attended by 200 to 300 employees. With regard to language and interpretation, the informant states the following:

(334) Interviewee: We had some discussions about [what language to use at] employee events, whether they should be conducted in English or Danish, and how they should be conducted, and whether the presenters should speak in Danish or English. We have started using simultaneous interpreters [at these meetings]. […] They have a booth at the back [of the auditorium] with a clear view over the stage so they are able to see what happens, and I think they go through the presentation with the person who is giving it before [the meeting], so they know what is being talked about. […] It is a big auditorium where the chairs are lined up in cinema seating, and when you enter, there is a person handing out headphones at the entrance. People have learned that they have to go there to get them [headphones] and what channel to tune into. So they have their headphones on [during the presentation], and listen to the presentation in another language, while they can follow the slides on the screen.

Interviewer: Are they [the slides] in English, if it's [the presentation] is in Danish?

Interviewee: Yes, or in Danish if it is translated into English.

Interviewer: Ok, so those who do not speak Danish receive the slides in English?

Interviewee: Yes, they typically do. […]

Interviewer: Do you know approximately how many [employees] make use of the simultaneous interpretation provided?

Interviewee: I think it is at least one third [of the employees attending the meeting], if not half.

Interviewer: Is it [simultaneous interpretation] only offered in English?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Have you ever considered offering it in other languages too?

Interviewee: No, I don't think so. Based on the fact that the corporate language is English [laughter].

-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

What is interesting about the use of simultaneous interpretation during these employee meetings is that a significant number of employees appear to be benefiting from the service. In Quote 334 the informant estimates that as many as 1/3 of all staff members who attend the meetings, maybe even as many as 1/2, make use of the interpretation, which strongly indicates that there is a need for this type of language management tool. It is also evident from talking to other informants outside the HR department, that employees are aware of the service, and find it to be a useful initiative, as illustrated by the following two statements:

(335) We use it [interpretation] in our staff meetings here at headquarters. We have a lot of foreigners here, so we have started using interpreters so they can get it [in English] […] We use interpreters so that all employees get something out of participating in the staff meetings, and apparently it's a very good solution.

-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

(336) Three or four times a year we organise employee meetings, where the management presents [results], and several of those [members of the management board] speak English – some of the employees do that as well – but in order to accommodate those who do not understand English, for example some small blue-collar groups that do not understand English […] Say for example one in the audience, a blue-collar [worker], asks something in Danish to a member of the management board, the member of the management board will reply in Danish, then the foreigners won't be able to understand it. That's why we have interpreters who can interpret simultaneously, so if you feel like you need to have something interpreted, you can get a headset and get the interpretation you want.

-ECCO_8, Project manager

The interpreters who conduct the simultaneous interpretation during these employee assemblies are external to ECCO. It is also these interpreters who bring the necessary technical equipment to the conference venue prior to each arrangement.

In addition to the general employee meetings that are open to all employees working at the ECCO headquarters, interview data also indicate that simultaneous interpretation is utilised in smaller meeting forums. In particular, ECCO has established a European works council, which is an annual event where representatives from ECCO's three European production sites – Denmark, Portugal, and Slovakia – meet and discuss various emergent issues between them. This type of meeting is mandatory for all companies in the EU that fall under the scope of the European Works Council (EWC) Directive. This Directive (Council Directive 94/45/EC of 22 September 1994) states that:

> The Directive imposes a works council or an information and consultation procedure in Community-scale undertakings and Community-scale groups of undertakings on the basis of an agreement negotiated between employees' representatives forming a special negotiating body and the central management of the undertaking.

The European works councils in ECCO are always conducted with simultaneous interpretation between the languages of the three meeting participants; Danish, Portuguese and Slovakian. As explained by the following informant, who has participated as a minute taker in these meetings:

(337) Once a year the three parties meet and talk about how things are going, basically a presentation of the previous year and what we are going to focus on in the future […]. The interpreter is physically in the same room, and the presenter stands next to the screen, and the interpreter sits next to those she is interpreting for, so the Slovakian interpreter is sitting between the two Slovakians and interprets what is being said in Danish into Slovakian, and it's the same for the Portuguese. Every time somebody replies to something – for example if one of the Slovakians replies to something that has been presented in Danish, they will say it in Slovakian, and it will be translated into Danish [by the Slovakian interpreter].
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

Participants in these European works councils include both members of the management and front-line employees. The vice president of HR from Denmark is typically the host of the meeting, and other top and middle managers may attend depending on what is discussed at the meetings. Front-line employees are represented by shop stewards from the different production sites, i.e. Denmark, Portugal, and Slovakia. The composition of participants makes it especially important to offer interpretation during the meeting:

(338) Our corporate language is English, but if you work in the production, your English skills may not be that good, and that's typically what they do, the shop stewards from Portugal and Slovakia.

-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

In line with previously presented interview data (cf. section 5.2.3.2) also this statement emphasises the need for local language communication at the operative level (see also section 6.7).

The interpreters offering the simultaneous interpretation during the European work councils are external to ECCO, as in the case of the previously mentioned employee assemblies. Still, the personal assistant explains that ECCO has cooperated with the same interpreters for more than ten years, which means that:

(339) They know the company, they know the people that participate from the [business] units, they know the technical terms. We also make sure to send them the presentation in advance, so they can prepare.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

Through this long-term cooperation with external interpreters, ECCO serves as an interesting example of a company that deliberately has built up an external stock of language capital over time. Again, it may be interesting to recall what Piekkari et al.'s (2014) state with regard to outsourcing of translation requests – which in Piekkari et al.'s model also include interpretation of oral communication (cf. Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 28). Outsourcing of translation tasks means that the company constructs an 'outside component of its language capital' Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 40) argue, which in effect implies that the company becomes dependent on the external service provider to satisfy its need for translation. However, it is important to be aware that the company may not have the resources or be in a position to justify the development of this type of language capital in-house. As in the case of ECCO, the need for interpretation occurs regularly, but not often enough to justify the employment of interpreters on full time-contracts. Consequently, it makes more sense to purchase these services on a needs basis, and rather invest in building a strong relationship with the external service provider.

8.3 Technological solutions manufacturing

8.3.1 Technological solutions Grundfos

Both interview data and other documentation from Grundfos (in particular Grundfos' language policy, 2004) suggest that employees frequently make use of technological solutions when in need of language assistance. This section will – like section 7.3 on technological solution in the two financial service companies – focus on the technological language management tools implemented by a language manager at the corporate level in an attempt to satisfy the language needs encountered by employees at the front-line level. Technological solutions employees utilise on their own initiative without the approval of a language manager, e.g. Google Translate, will be discussed in section 8.7.

As described in section 8.1.1, Grundfos has established a company-specific dictionary that contains terms, expressions and abbreviations peculiar to Grundfos. The dictionary is supervised by a team of editors in Grundfos' translation department, who manage the process of adding new terms to the database. Still, it is also evident from what one of the editors states below, that the dictionary is a type of language management tool that also 'normal' employees, i.e. employees not holding designated language and communication positions, may contribute to:

(340) We are a small group of editors that work closely together, trying to update it as best we can. We can make ongoing corrections in our editor [version of the programme] when we find new things and gain new information that we may add, and that is then included in a database. [..] In that program which the entire group can access, we have a viewer [version where it is only possible to view terms] and that is dynamically updated, so it gathers information from the same database.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

Grundfos' dictionary is intricately linked with Grundfos' translation memory system called WebTranslate, which is a program used by translators in Grundfos' translation department for external translation tasks. The translation department has made use of this program for eight years. Grundfos_5 explains that WebTranslate has 'a function that looks into the term database […], so you receive translation suggestions for single terms or entire sentences or single terms in the program.'

When asking informants in Grundfos about the Grundfos dictionary, the range of replies suggests that certain groups of employees use it more than others. The following quotes are taken from both role informants, who are employees that were interviewed about their language practices (cf. section 3.3.3), and key informants in the company's communication department:

(341) I would say that we don't really have any specific dictionaries or something which is Grundfos-relevant. No, I don't think we have any specific tools on that.
-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

(342) I know we have something on Insite [intranet portal], a type of tool where we can look things up, but I don't use it myself. […] I have not worked a lot with subject-specific communication.
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

(343) We look at it from time to time. I think it's about four or five A4-pages, where there are a few terms, it's not bigger than that. It's not rocket science, it's just some terms, some typical Grundfos terms, how some of our products are written, how our companies are written, 'a Grundfos employee', is that written with or without a hyphen, those types of things.

-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

While Quotes 341-343 indicate that some employees have a limited knowledge of the Grundfos dictionary, it is also evident that the dictionary serves an important purpose for those who use it regularly. As stated in the following quotes, these are often employees who work with technical and product-specific terminology:

(344) That is something our translation department uses a lot. […] I think that is integrated among those who produce a lot of written work.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

(345) Our external translation agency has a term database, so every time we get something translated some of the terms go into that, so they can consult that the next time. […] [It contains] words that are so Grundfos-specific or specific to what we do that we don't want them translated from English into other languages for example. If they [the translation agency] ask us if this is something that should be kept [in English] in all languages, and we say yes, it goes into a term database which they can draw on the next time they translate.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

As stated in Quote 345 (and section 8.2.1) Grundfos has outsourced all their internal translation requests to an external translation agency. In terms of internal communication and translation of company-internal material, the external agency may in fact be the part that benefits the most from Grundfos dictionary, in addition to the in-house translation. For this reason, one of the most important functions of the Grundfos dictionary is to ensure consistent internal terminology through an external quality check. Grundfos_2 elaborates on this in the following excerpt:

(346) They [the external translation agency] have a Grundfos dictionary […] and that is actually a type of quality check if we [in the communication department] are a bit off-beat – which can happen when different people write together, there will always be different ways of writing terms – they may actually ensure that there is consistency in terminology.
-Grundfos_2, Communication professional

In addition to the company-specific dictionary, Grundfos has also made general dictionaries available to employees on the company's intranet site, Insite:

(347) We have Gyldendal's electronic dictionaries, Danish-English, English-Danish and German-Danish, Danish-German, and French, and Spanish and so on. They are available on our intranet, you just download the programme and that's it.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

When talking to informants who make use of these general dictionaries in their everyday communication, interview data indicate that there have been some discussion about the choice of these particular dictionaries, in Danish called 'Gyldendals røde ordbøger', i.e. 'Gyldendal's Red Dictionaries' because of the red cover on the hard-copy version:

(348) Interviewee: We use 'Gyldendal's Red Dictionaries' online. It's not the best tool, and we are really tired of it [laugher]. We used to have a dictionary called ordbogen.com ['the dictionary.com'] which was better, but they [Grundfos] closed it down [one the intranet], so we are using Gyldendal's now, and it's not as good [as ordbogen.com]. You can only look up one word at a time, you cannot look up compound words, which are often written as two words in English. That's not good.
Interviewer: So what do you do then?
Interviewee: Well, we use each other and Google, and try to figure it out… [laughter] We don't actually have an alternative, we have tried to ask if we could get the other one [ordbogen.com] back, but we can't because it has to be the same for everybody. It is one of those corporate things, that everything must be the same.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

Also another informant expresses her dissatisfaction with the dictionary in the following passage:

(349) Interviewee: Yes, we have dictionaries on our computers. […] In fact, that is a point well worth elaborating on. We are very unhappy with the dictionaries we have actually, we have something called 'Gyldendal's Red Dictionaries'. We need to use dictionaries in our department, because all the material we are making needs to be written in both Danish and English, so it is important that it is correct. But we experience that the dictionary does not satisfy our needs, whereas for example ordbogen.com would have been a lot better. We have examined all possibilities to get it [back], but we haven't been allowed to. We have been told that this ['Gyldendal's Red Dictionary'] is the one we should use.
Interviewer: And why is that?
Interviewee: They think it does the same, that it satisfies the same needs, but we can't figure out how to use it. It is heavier and more complex, and not as easy to use as for example ordbogen.com,

which is what we know from our studies and other places, too. So it's a shame that we haven't been allowed to buy licenses for that, even if we are willing to pay for it ourselves, for the department. […] I think it is some kind of department, those who are responsible for purchasing licenses that have made the decision – and of course, it is to make sure that we don't use 20 different dictionaries in Grundfos. But the problem is that we don't think it works optimally […] so it's kind of a sore point [laughter].
-Grundfos_11, Student assistant

These two informants are clearly unhappy with the choice of dictionary, and find the inadequacy of the dictionary to be a frustrating element in the communication tasks they perform. It is interesting to note that these two interviewees have actively pursued the opportunity of regaining access to the dictionary they previously made use of, but these requests have been denied. The student assistant indicates that the decision to use Gyldendal's dictionaries has been made by the department in charge of purchasing licenses for Grundfos. One can draw the conclusion that this department's motivation for denying use of ordbogen.com is primarily based on consideration of standardisation in the sense that this dictionary has been chosen over other dictionaries to ensure consistent use across Grundfos' departments company-wide, cf. the statements 'to make sure that we don't use 20 different dictionaries in Grundfos' (Quote 348) and 'It is one of those corporate things, that everything has to be the same' (Quote 349). As is evident from Quote 348, one of the consequences of being rejected access to ordbogen.com, is that the informant has to rely on other solutions at the front-line level (see section 7.7.1).

8.3.2 Technological solutions ECCO

As described in section 8.1.2, ECCO's communication department has discussed the setting up of a company-specific dictionary on their intranet portal. However, converting the dictionary into an online tool for employees turned out to be a more technically demanding task than originally anticipated. Without being able to say precisely how many terms the dictionary contains, informant ECCO_3, Communication professional vaguely indicates that 'it's larger than you think […] it's in the thousands'. When I spoke to this informant eight months after our first interview, the status of the ECCO dictionary was still on hold. Although the dictionary is described as a type of resource the communication department would like to utilise internally in the company, the usefulness of investing in such a database is questioned:

(350) It would just require enormous resources and time, and I'm not sure what we would get out of it, I know other companies have also had the same debate: Is it really worth it? Who's going to use this? Are the employees going to use it? Because it would really take a lot of time and effort.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The ECCO dictionary was not taken up again as a project during the time I was in touch with the company. However, something that was made available to all employees is an overview of abbreviations frequently used in the company. The list of abbreviations is presented as a ten-page document of abbreviations and their definitions, which employees may download from the company's intranet site. The list contains 119 abbreviations in total, and includes both generic abbreviations, such as WIP – Work In Progress: 'Something that is being developed or suggested but that is not yet complete' – and abbreviations specific to ECCO, such as ESSE – ECCO Store Establishment Evaluation: 'A document used in ECCO to evaluate every new store opening and refit.' In a previously mentioned article, de Vecchi (2014) observes that the use of acronyms is a common part of a firm's company speak. The overview of abbreviations used in ECCO confirms this; in fact one can even find the acronym ELA included in the list – referring to 'ECCO List of Abbreviations: A list of abbreviations commonly used in ECCO.'

Unlike Grundfos, ECCO has not standardised or selected any particular dictionary for use at the front-line level. One communication professional explains that she would have liked to agree on the use of a single dictionary in the company in order to avoid the situation of having employees consult several different dictionaries. As is evident from the statement below, the choice of dictionary also relates to the choice of language standard:

(351) [I would like] to establish a preferred dictionary, because the secretaries were asking 'what dictionary should we use? Should we use Oxford? Should we use an American? Shouldn't we all be using the same one?'
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

A standard company-wide dictionary had not yet been selected when the data collection was completed (as of February 2015).

8.4 Language training manufacturing

8.4.1 Language training Grundfos

Interview data strongly indicate that language training is commonly used as a language management tool in Grundfos, both in Denmark and in Grundfos companies abroad. The practice of offering English language training to employees is described by informants as 'a rule' (Quote 352), which suggests its widespread use. Interestingly, it is also clear from talking to role informants (Quote 353), that language training may be offered to all employees, also blue-collar workers:

(352) It is a rule almost in all companies [internationally], that the company offer English courses to those employees that need English.
-Grundfos_6, Personal assistant

(353) I don't know in the other companies, but in [Grundfos' company in] Hungary they provided English courses [for employees], so employees had the chance to have English courses after working hours, or before working hours […] [It was offered] to everyone. I had some colleagues [in Hungary], they don't need to [speak English] in their job, because they are just assembling pumps, [and] it doesn't require them to speak English. It [English skills] was not listed as a requirement when they applied for the job, but it's also offered to them, just because they may want to improve.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

It is furthermore interesting to observe that Grundfos' language policy, which has been described as a comprehensive language guide that contains recommendations and language tips for use of the English language (2004 version), cf. section 7.1, has been used actively in Grundfos' English language training. One informant who participated in developing and implementing the language policy in the organisation states the following:

(354) Some of our companies, in Italy for example and in Portugal, also some of our Asian countries, they received entire class sets of the [language policy] book, and used that in their English training of employees.
-Grundfos_5, Translator

As described above, the language policy document comes in the form of a handbook that contains general language guidelines and recommendations for how to communicate efficiently. By including the language policy handbook in Grundfos' English language training programmes, Grundfos' 'implementation strategy' conforms to common practice of language policy implementation in the national context. The educational system has always had a very prominent position with regard to language policy implementation, as argued by for instance Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 36) and Spolsky (2009, p. 90). Indeed, language courses provide an ideal setting for spreading the preferred language standard, i.e. British English, given that English training is at the very core of what these educational schemes are intended for.

Employees who would like to undertake English language training may sign up on an individual basis, if their manager agrees to cover the course fee (cf. section 5.1.2.2). It is also evident from interview data that language training may be organised for entire departments, as in the case of the

communication department. In the following excerpt, the head of corporate communication explains that language training is seen as a necessary tool in order to raise the English language competence level of employees:

(355) Interviewee: We have attended language courses, and I think other departments have also done that, in order to improve the ability to write in English. I mean, all employees in the offices, in the administration, can understand and speak English very well, but not write it. We have a challenge there, the entire organisation here in Denmark.
Interviewer: So is this something you are going to prioritise in the future as well?
Interviewee: Yes.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

Employees in the communication department express positive attitudes towards the English language training they have been through. Two informants give the following testimonials:

(356) We had a teacher who came here [in the office], and then we were taught [English] two hours a week, for about eight weeks I think. We sat and talked and did some exercises [the exercises were about], grammar and language in general, and pronunciation. I thought it was really good.
-Grundfos_4, Communication professional

(357) I think it improves the quality of our product. For example, when we communicate [talking about writing articles for Grundfos' employee magazine] we put a lot of emphasis on the headline for example, what the headline has to express, and a language competent translator [who is translating the magazine] is thinking more about the language and perhaps not so much about the content and the kind of ideas you give the receiver, so it is actually very helpful if you know enough English to be able to discuss it with the translators and provide arguments that are qualified enough so that they [the translators] don't just override things with their language skills.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

It is worth pointing out that the language courses usually take place within working hours. In this way the company is paying for the employees to undertake training. Although most informants seemed happy with this arrangement, interview data also revealed less satisfied employees, as is evident from Quote 358, derived from a native Spanish speaker. As stated below, the informant chose to leave the English language training after one month owing to time constraints:

(358) I refused to continue because it was twice a week, two hours, and, you know, at the beginning everything was really great, because we were not that overloaded [with other job tasks] and I had some spare time, but right now it's completely impossible. I cannot waste two hours of my time on learning something that… – even though I can do it, I don't want to do it. […]I lasted for one month, and even if they [the English teachers] told me what they thought about it 'it's better for you to keep coming to the courses', I refused to, because doing all those courses in two hours of my time means – or meant – just two hours more at my job, and I don't want to.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

In addition to having Danish and international employees undertake English language training at the corporate headquarters, language training may also be offered to employees that are going abroad on foreign postings. For longer term assignments where the employee decides to take his or her spouse and family along, language training may be provided for the entire family, as one informant in the HR department, who works with global mobility in the company, explains (below). Language training may be offered both in English or in the local language of the host country, dependent on the qualifications and needs of the persons undertaking the training:

(359) With regard to long-term postings, we do offer language training for families in the local language where it makes sense. Those who are going to China, for example, we will evaluate whether they need help with English or Chinese – if a family is going abroad and they do not speak English, I would say 'it's more important that they learn English than Chinese' because they need English to make it in the international society. Strictly speaking it's not necessary to speak Chinese to work in China, of course it is an advantage and it make things a lot easier, so we do encourage people to learn the local language as much as they can, but if we have to choose, if they don't speak English or the local language and they are going abroad, we would go for English.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

Finally, a comment should also be made regarding language training in the local language of the company's headquarters; Danish. International employees coming to Denmark are automatically offered free Danish language training by the council they live in (Nyidanmark.dk, 2013). Grundfos also runs Danish classes for international employees in their headquarters in Bjerringbro. The following two quotes are taken from interviews with international employees who are currently enrolled in Danish language training; the first informant (Quote 360) is undertaking Danish language training at Grundfos, and the second informant (Quote 361) has chosen to enrol in the Danish language classes offered by the local council where he lives:

(360) Now I'm working here in Denmark, and we also got the chance to learn Danish, so we also have the possibility to improve our Danish [laughter], or try to learn Danish [laughter]. […]I think it's also offered to everyone, all internationals here in Denmark, just to be able to learn Danish.[…] I'm taking it [the Danish course]. I wouldn't say that I'm so successful [laughter], because Danish is quite hard, not an easy language, and the department where I'm working is an international department, even my manager is from abroad, he's not Danish, so we are speaking English together. I also have some international colleagues as well, so we are not really forced to use Danish. It's not really motivating me to learn it […]. I'm not forced to learn Danish, but I'm trying [laughter].
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

(361) Sooner or later I'm going to get it. But it's very difficult for me. Every time they start the intermediate classes – you know the Danish education, it's divided into levels one to five, and each level is divided into one point one, one point two for example, so every time they start, I have to stop because of my [busy] job. I have started and finished one point one twice and I started and finished twice one point two and they kicked me [back] to the first module again, so I don't know – but sooner or later I'm going to get it. I'm becoming an expert in the first module [laughter]. […] It's not mandatory for my day-to-day job, but I really need and I really want to learn Danish.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

It is evident from these excerpts that both Grundfos_10 and Grundfos_12 find it rather challenging to learn Danish. Both informants work in international environments where they are not required or expected to learn Danish in order to fulfil their work tasks, but they still express the willingness to learn the language.

8.4.2 Language training ECCO

As described in section 5.2.2.2, ECCO cooperates with an adult education centre located close to the company's headquarters in Bredebro. Through this cooperation ECCO offers different types of language courses for their employees, primarily in English and Danish. Language training can be undertaken in-house in ECCO's office facilities, if the number of participants from ECCO is large enough to make a decent size group, or in the facilities of the education centre situated close by.

The interview data indicate that employees are aware of the opportunity to sign up for English language courses through ECCO's course provider. As previously mentioned, the annual or mid-year dialogue between the individual employee and his/her manager is a way to review how well the employee is performing and whether there is a need to undertake training or implement other competence developing measures (section 5.2.2.2). The following two quotes demonstrate that language

competences, and English in particular, are issues employees discuss with their manager at these occasions. When asked whether they have been offered English language training, two role respondents reply as follows:

(362) Yes. It's not offered, but we have something called APA [Annual Performance Appraisal], the appraisal [where] the employee talks with the boss every year, they set a goal, they make a plan for this year, and then they [the employee] can take courses to improve. We have been talking [at my APA], and the last year I was offered English courses, but it hasn't been implemented, it's just that I'm busy, and they are busy maybe, so it's just… and now then, at the last [APA], we agreed that I should see more [English language] films and movies [laughter] to improve [my English skills].
-ECCO_6, Consultant

(363) I haven't taken courses in English. I have taken other courses, but not language courses, although I would quite like to get a brush-up. It wouldn't hurt, [because] a lot of things have happened over the years, also with regard to language. […] We have had it up for discussion in the APA, the dialogue you have [with your manager], personal development dialogue. It's up to me really, I have had some other courses this autumn, which have been quite demanding…. But the opportunity is definitely there.
-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

English language training is also offered to ECCO employees in international locations, as is evident from the following quote:

(364) The company has provided English lessons for the employees in Thailand, for example […], and they receive English lessons every week, but I just think the level is so low, there's a long way to go to bring it up to corporate level. But we do make an effort to help the situation.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

However, given the size of some of ECCO's factories, it would require an enormous educational system to offer English language training to all production workers. For this reason, English language training is normally not provided to larger groups of blue-collar employees. One informant who has worked at two of ECCO's production sites while being employed as a trainee in ECCO explains just how much time and effort this would require:

(365) Interviewee: I think there are 5500 employees in Indonesia.
Interviewer: Right, so offering English language training to all of those…?

Interviewee: Exactly [laughter]. […] Indonesia is one of our largest factories. So if all of them were to undertake English language training, we could make a whole school out of it [laughter].
-ECCO_10, Trainee

ECCO's international trainee programme is an interesting example of employees undertaking language training prior to international assignments. The trainee programme is a talent programme where a group of newly graduates are hired as trainees to learn about the company and the company's activities through a combination of theoretical training and practical experience (ECCO, 2015). As part of the international trainee programme, trainees are sent abroad to work at ECCO's foreign production units. One informant who now works as a personal assistant but previously has been in charge of the international trainee programme explains that all trainees are required to undertake language training in the local language of the host country as part of their foreign posting. As stated by the informant in the passage below, foreign language training has been mandatory for trainees since the year 2000. In the following passage, the interviewee explains the reason behind this 'deliberate strategy', as she calls it:

(366) Interviewee: They [the trainees] have received it [language training] for as long as we have had that type of [international] trainee programmes […] Back in 2000 they used to stay abroad for 11 months in one of the [international] production units, where they lived out there and worked in the factory. Today, they are only away for six months, but it [the reason we give them language training] is to give them basic language skills. When you arrive in China, the road signs are in Chinese, if you are going anywhere and you need to take a taxi, you have to have basic language skills in order to get around, in order to integrate. It is a deliberate strategy from our side, because they [the trainees] integrate a lot better and can get a lot closer to the local citizens when they learn the language.
Interviewer: So is it [language training] primarily for the sake of the trainees, or is it also for the sake of the company and the type of needs the company has?
Interviewee: Well, the more we can give them – the more knowledge and language skills and cultural intelligence – the better, and that's also better for the company, because that means we get more out of them. We have discovered that the language barrier may be rather big.
Interviewer: In what way?
Interviewee: In Shanghai for example, where we have a big sales office – China is a big market, and that means it is a local market. The regional headquarters for the entire Asia Pacific is in Singapore, where they also speak Chinese. We would really like to send our trainees to Shanghai, but we have discovered that unless they have been in the production unit in China first, where they receive basic language training, they can't go to Shanghai, because in Shanghai… meetings are held in Chinese, unless there is a foreigner present, they may switch to English. Plus in those

markets, the customers they are dealing with are Chinese, and they may not be able to speak English. […] So the feedback we receive from the trainees when they have been abroad is that they greatly benefited from having some basic language skills in Chinese.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

The trainees themselves confirm that language training in the local language was indeed beneficial for their foreign stay. In the following two passages, one former trainee (now product manager) and one current trainee talk about their experiences with the foreign language training. Both informants have been stationed in Indonesia as part of their trainee programme (not simultaneously), and the second informant has also had a foreign posting in China.

(367) Interviewee: When I was in Indonesia I received language training in Indonesian twice a week. […]
Interviewer: How was it conducted?
Interviewee: […] It was during work hours, so twice a week I spent one hour of my working hours together with an Indonesian who taught me the language. […] In the beginning it was just me, because I was the only one there, but when another one [trainee] came [to Indonesia] there were two of us. […] It wasn't forced on us, it was an offer, but it is something I'm really glad I did.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

(368) It [language] is a very important part of coping with another culture, and it is very important for me also, I like to use it, and especially if you have to take care of yourself down there, on the streets and in the production as well, there are people that don't speak English, they only speak Indonesian, and if you show them that you are able to speak just a little bit of their language they are really willing to work with you. It was a kind of 'survival Indonesian' I learnt, [that allowed me to] find my own way around to different things, the supermarket and so on, and at work, that I was able to introduce myself to the operators and tell them what I would like to do.
Interviewer: How was the language teaching conducted? […]
Interviewee: It was something ECCO gave us. We had a teacher who came in to the ECCO factory and taught us. It was supposed to be once or twice a week, but we had it three times a week at the beginning because we thought it was so important, to catch up on it quickly, and then we could reduce it [number of training sessions] later on. We had it [language training] once a week in China. I think that was a lot harder language [to learn] than Indonesian, so it took a lot longer. I never learnt to cope the same way in China [as I did in Indonesia], and that meant I did not have the same relationship with the people in the factory as I did in Indonesia, for example.
Interviewer: So it was important for socialising?

Interviewee: I think so. I personally think that it is nice to show an interest, that I have tried to learn the language.

-ECCO_10, Trainee

It is particularly interesting to note what the second informant says about language as an integrative mechanism and relationship-builder with colleagues in the foreign production unit. It is evident that her 'survival Indonesian' language skills were an important part of her interacting and collaborating with native Indonesians, and also a skill that made her feel included and involved in life at the Indonesian factory.

Respondent ECCO_10 also points to another interesting phenomenon. As explained in the previous excerpt, her skills in the Indonesian language were somewhat limited, yet, the fact that she was willing to learn and showed an interest in the language was often enough to gain sympathy and attention from her Indonesian colleagues. This phenomenon has been observed in previous empirical studies, e.g. Malkamäki and Herberts (2014); Millar and Jensen (2009), who note how basic language skills, even very limited skills, may send a strong positive signal to the foreign interlocutor, which creates goodwill (see also section 7.4.2). Indeed, another informant in ECCO, a non-Dane, also explains that he has encountered this type of goodwill when taking an interest in learning Danish. In fact, this informant explains that 'networking opportunities' is the main reason why he is motivated to undertake Danish language training. When asked what he sees as the main advantages of learning Danish, he responds:

(369) Interviewee: In terms of just work, I don't expect that it will be like a huge advantage. In terms of the overall position, not only work, but more kind of networking at work, I think it is an advantage, to have a knowledge of the Danish language. […]

Interviewer: Have you come across any situation where you have experienced that, or could you give any examples?

Interviewee: Well, at least I have had feedback from the top management, appreciating [my] efforts to learn Danish language.

Interviewer: Ok, in what way?

Interviewee: Just, 'wow, that's good', 'good work' [laughter].

Interviewer: So would you say that is encouraging?

Interviewee: Yes, of course.

Interviewer: And you will pursue your Danish competence and try to improve even more?

Interviewee: Yes, at least I am planning to finish what I have started, this Dansk uddannelse 2 [name of Danish educational programme], to pass an exam.

-ECCO_7, Consultant

The informant explains that he is attending Danish courses once a week through ECCO's arrangement with the educational centre, as described in the passage above. The course follows the official language training modules offered by the Danish local councils (see section 7.4.1), which the informant finds advantageous. As stated in Quote 370, the fact that the course follows the official guidelines for Danish language training is seen by this informant as a sign of quality:

(370) Interviewee: [The course is] like a standard language course with homework, with exercises during the course […] and with all the exams.
Interviewer: Do they also incorporate ECCO-specific terminology?
Interviewee: No. It's based on the Dansk uddannelse 2 system.
Interviewer: Would you have preferred if they did?
Interviewee: No. […] Because that would mean that the course wasn't organised by professionals, [but] rather by the company. Dansk uddannelse is organised by professionals, the whole programme is organised by professionals, and it is a historically-based programme, which is also accepted by the government, so it is kind of official stuff. […] I assume that if it was organised by ECCO only, especially the programme base, it's likely that the standard would be lower.
-ECCO_7, Consultant

8.5 Selective recruitment manufacturing

8.5.1 Selective recruitment Grundfos

As described in sections 2.4.2.5 and 7.5, selective recruitment refers to recruitment practices where language proficiency in a specific language is a prerequisite for employment (Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014). Interview data from Grundfos confirm that language skills are an important factor when recruiting new employees. Particularly English language skills stand out as a precondition for employment in corporate headquarters functions. Indeed, two informants (below) working at the company's headquarters in Bjerringbro explain that English language skills will be a requirement for new employees in their respective departments. The first informant (Grundfos_9) works in a department that covers CSR issues group-wide, and the second informant (Grundfos_7) is also working in an international function, as part of a global HR team responsible for the expatriation and inpatriation of Grundfos employees. In the following excerpts, the two informants explain why English language skills will be a conditional criterion for new recruits in their departments:

(371) In our department it is [a requirement to speak English], because we work with sustainability. We need to develop the sustainability report – we have written it, [and] it is in English, not in Danish. When we are going to disseminate the strategy, we will hold workshops around the world in order to make the regions and the [international] companies adopt it [the strategy], and act in agreement

with it, [therefore] it has to be in English. When we report on sustainability, what we have achieved in this area, it must be in English. So sustainability is something that is going out to the entire group, therefore it must be in English. Almost everything we receive from others [in the group] is also in English.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

(372) In my team I would say that people have to master it [English] when they are hired. […] We will not offer them anything extra [language training], because we will actually require that those who work within my area are at least bilingual when we hire them.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

Quotes 371 and 372 illustrate the importance of English language skills in these particular departments, where collaboration with international Grundfos companies is vital. Grundfos_7 even states that English proficiency is seen as such an important skill that the HR department, where she works, is unwilling to provide English language training to new recruits. In fact, the same informant explains that in her department English language skills may be more important than the professional skills of a potential new employee:

(373) English language skills will be very high up on the list [of criteria] for the people that we are going to hire [in this department]. It will be an essential requirement, and if we have to choose between professional skills and whether they speak English, that [English skills] will be given precedence, because we can always teach them something about tax regulations or immigration laws or things like that, but if we have to improve a person's language skills, that takes a long time and it may be difficult.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

Also outside the global HR department foreign language skills may be decisive in the selection of new employees, and in particular in situations where the person is a candidate for expatriate assignments. With regard to the recruitment of Grundfos' employees in general, the informant from the HR department states that:

(374) If we have two candidates that are equally talented, we will definitely choose the one with the better language skills. […] It has definitely been a fundamental factor in some of the employments we have had, that they have been competent in languages.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

It seems reasonable to conclude that the importance of language skills in relation to professional skills varies according to the communication requirements associated with that particular position. The statement by the HR manager that English language skills will be considered more important than the candidate's professional skills must be seen in the light of the job tasks this employee is expected to perform. Where these professional tasks cannot be fulfilled adequately without a high proficiency in English, English language skills are a precondition for the employee's ability to function in this position.

Language skills other than English may also play a role in the recruitment of new employees, and especially for international employees. The next quote is taken from an interview with a native Spanish speaker. The informant describes his professional skills and background in engineering as his most important qualification, but his knowledge of Spanish was also taken into consideration:

(375) Interviewer: Did your Spanish language skills come up as part of the recruitment process? Was your Spanish language [proficiency] important for you to get this job?
Interviewee: Yes, of course. But my background experience was more important. They hired me because of my background, not my language background. Perhaps 20 % because of my Spanish skills and 80 % because of my [professional] knowledge.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

Language choice may also be an important part of the recruitment process itself. Informant Grundfos_7, HR manager explains that job advertisements are usually written in English. However, as mentioned in section 5.1.3.1 about language choice on the company's intranet portal, there have been previous cases where job advertisements have been written in the local language, Danish.

One way to ensure that candidates possess the necessary language skills is to test them as part of the recruitment process (Millar et al., 2013; Vandermeeren, 2005). On the topic of language testing, two informants – one key informant (HR manager) and one role informant (project manager) – state the following:

(376) They [job candidates] are tested in the job interview. Either the interview will be conducted in English, that may very well be the case – or one of them, there is more than one interview – or we test them in relation to the job interview, we ask them to prepare a presentation in English, and we have a conversation [in English], for example about the company's values, which is an obvious topic to talk about in English. They get [a brochure about] our values, and are asked to choose one and talk about what that means to them and how they interpret this value. A 10-15 minute conversation is usually enough to determine if the person is able to communicate easily and effortlessly in English.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

(377) Interviewer: So when you were employed, was it a requirement that you were able to speak English?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Were you tested in any ways, or did they ask you about your background?

Interviewee: Yes, in the interview, I think half of the interview was in English.[…] It [the interview] was in Hungary […] we started in Hungarian and then we turned to English, just to test it […] but it was not a specific test I had to fill out, we just practiced it during the interview.

-Grundfos_10, Project manager

Once the candidate has been selected, the job contract may be written in the local language, e.g. Danish, or in English, depending on the language skills of the new recruit. Non-Danish employees are not required to acquire Danish language skills, but may choose to undertake Danish language training, as described in section 8.4.1.

8.5.2 Selective recruitment ECCO

As in the case of Grundfos, interview data from informants in ECCO also indicate that English language skills are valued in the recruitment of new employees. One informant in ECCO's HR department, who was previously in charge of ECCO's trainee programme (see also section 7.4.2), gives the following account when asked whether ECCO look at the language skills of potential candidates to the programme:

(378) Yes. English is our corporate language. When we evaluate their [the candidates] language skills, we pay particular attention to whether they will be able to undertake educational training [in English], because they have to sign up for e-learning, a [online] long distance study, which is usually in English, and they have to master that at a certain level. And of course, we are over 20 different nationalities here at the headquarters, so a lot of communication takes place in English.

-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

As stated in Quote 378, ECCO's trainee programme consists of a combination of theoretical training and practical experience. Consequently, it is important that the candidates have a level of English language skills that allows them to undertake the training programme, which is partly conducted online at a foreign University in English.

The personal assistant also mentions the high number of international employees in the corporate headquarters as a reason for the need for English language proficiency. Indeed, English language skills are described as a prerequisite for almost all corporate headquarters positions. In contrast, the local language, Danish, is not a necessary skill for non-Danish employees. One international employee at the

corporate headquarters in Bredebro explains in the passage below how he chose to approach the language situation up-front as part of the recruitment process:

(379) Interviewer: Did you apply in Danish or English?
Interviewee: In English.
Interviewer: And did you ask any questions about for example corporate language, did you ask how is my work supposed to be in terms of language use?
Interviewee: Actually no, I was not so worried about that, because I think in general, the situation with the English language in Denmark is pretty easy […]
Interviewer: So did you more or less take the language situation for granted, that you would be ok with English?
Interviewee: Yes. […] In my CV and introductory letter I stated that I'm an English-speaking person, a Danish 1 [referring to the Danish educational module 1], so my assumption was, if I was invited [to the interview] or recruited, that would be considered.
-ECCO_7, Consultant

A comment must also be made with regard to other languages than English and Danish. Although ECCO has implemented mandatory language training for trainees that go abroad for foreign assignments in one of ECCO's production units (see section 7.4.2), selective recruitment of trainees on the basis of existing language competences is not something the company is actively pursuing. With the exception of Chinese, foreign language skills (in languages other than English) are not necessarily going to make a difference when applying for a position in the trainee programme:

(380) Interviewee: This year we looked at China in particular, and we have had some really strong candidates in [for interview], that were really good at Chinese because they had been employed in China previously and had lived there for a couple of years. Chinese is a really difficult language to learn, so we have looked at that, but that's really the only [foreign] language we have taken an interest in. […]
Interviewer: Do you know any candidates that have been employed based on their [foreign] language skills?
Interviewee: No, actually not. […] We wouldn't look at language skills only, we would look at the combination of good language skills and finance, economics, business administration.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

This informant appears to be in agreement with Inman's (1980, p. 73) statement presented in section 2.4.2.5 that language skills are of relevance primarily when coupled with other professional skills.

Given that English is described as the corporate language of ECCO, job advertisements are usually written in English and applicants are expected to respond to these advertisements in English, also when the positions are advertised in Denmark. The choice of English may be puzzling to some candidates, as stated by the informant in HR:

(381) Sometimes Danish applicants may call us and ask 'would you like to have the application in Danish or in English?', and then we ask them to write it in English.
-ECCO_4, Personal assistant

Candidates may well be asked to write their application in English and to prepare for a job interview in English, as is evident from Quotes 381 and 382. Yet, the experience of the trainee below demonstrates that the language choice of the interview may depend on the nationality and language skills of the participants:

(382) We were told prior to the [job] interview that we had to prepare for a group interview and that we were going to take part in a conversation that would be conducted in English. So I had prepared in English, you know, the way you prepare for an interview, you have your lines and stuff prepared in English, and then they ask us to do it in Danish all of a sudden, it felt like 'ahh' [sigh]. It was probably because there weren't any internationals there, so we could do it in Danish, but if you have prepared it English, you may not want to switch to Danish. I know one of the other girls asked whether she could do it in English, because that's what she had [planned]…. and that was ok.
-ECCO_10, Trainee

Another employee who now works at ECCO's corporate headquarters experienced a similar shift from English to Danish during his job interview. The informant is originally of Asian origin, but has studied in Denmark for a number of years prior to taking the job at ECCO, and is therefore fluent in both English and Danish.

(383) The interview started with three English sentences, and then we talked in Danish [laughter] […] When they saw my name [prior to the interview] they probably thought 'we need to speak English', then we speak English, after three sentences about my basic information, they know that I can speak Danish, so let's do it in Danish. […] It doesn't matter, also right now, most people when they see me for the first time, they talk to me in English, and then if they know I can speak Danish… [they speak Danish to me]. I use a combination of the two languages all the time.
-ECCO_6, Consultant

Finally, interview data also indicate that potential new employees may be asked to undertake a written language test as part of the recruitment process. One informant explains that her English language skills were tested before she was offered the job as a personal assistant. This is a type of position where the employee must be able to communicate fluently in both in Danish and English:

(384) I was shown to a small office or meeting room where I was given a text I had to translate, Danish-English, English-Danish. It wasn't a very long text, but it was a business text. […] This was […] a part of the [recruitment] process, when I did the interview.
-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

Quote 384 is interesting considering that both the previously presented interview data from the two financial service companies (cf. section 7.5.1 and 7.5.2) and previous empirical studies (Millar et al., 2013) suggest that testing of written language skills is less common than oral language testing during the recruitment process.

8.6 Language intermediates manufacturing

8.6.1 Language intermediates Grundfos

Language intermediates were described in section 2.4.2.6 (see also section 7.6) as employees who act as language brokers on the basis of their specific language competences, either as part of or in addition to their normal job tasks (Feely & Harzing, 2003, Harzing et al., 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b). In addition to the use of external translation agencies (section 7.2.1), it is also evident from the interview data that Grundfos employees may be used strategically to carry out translation and proofreading tasks. This observation was made with regard to the translation of information material in one of Grundfos' truly international CSR projects that includes Grundfos companies in over 50 countries. The project is administered from the company's headquarters in Bjerringbro, and supported by local project representatives, commonly referred to as ambassadors, in the different international locations. In the next excerpt, one of the project consultants explains how she became aware of the need for local language information in mass communication towards Grundfos' employees group-wide:

(385) We asked the representatives, the ambassadors, 'is it ok in English?' [and they said] 'No, it's not, because very few people speak English here'. And then I discovered that if we insert it into a table where every sentence has its own cell, then we will know what that gibberish [the foreign language translations] means, and that goes onto a poster [i.e. the foreign translations are inserted into a standardised template]. So that's how we do it, and it [the reason we do it] is because the ambassadors asked for something in their own language.

-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

Within this particular project, information is commonly translated to multiple languages. When asked whether she has considered using external translation agencies to take care of the translation, the informant responds that this is not the case, explaining that:

(386) It is very easy things [that need to be translated, for example:] 'Win a trip to Kenya', and it is the ambassadors' mother tongue, it's on that level.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

However, in situations where the translation task is of a more complex nature, external translation agencies may be used, as explained by the same informant:

(387) Our sustainability strategy is handled by externals [translators]. When it comes to larger and more serious texts – or whatever we should call them – we use externals for that.
-Grundfos_9, Project consultant

As previously discussed, expatriation and other forms of international assignments are common ways to establish language-intermediate functions, by relocating employees from one location to another. The expatriates, inpatriates, or repatriates often bring with them language skills that enable them to act as language intermediates in their new location (Piekkari, 2008; Thomas, 2008). The interview data demonstrate that expatriation of employees to international subsidiaries and production facilities is common practice in Grundfos. As explained by the following two informants, expatriation often involves the posting of a Danish manager at foreign production sites:

(388) Interviewee: The manager of the big factories is usually a Dane.
Interviewer: And why do you think that is?
Interviewee: Maybe this is a policy in Grundfos, I don't know.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

(389) Interviewee: We still have a strong Danish management team, if you look at the sales region and the people responsible for the regions in Grundfos, you basically have almost only Danes. There's one exception, again on the regional level, but apart from this person we have a Dane in China, we have a Dane in Asia Pacific, we have Danes in Europe… we have a Dane in charge of STAR region [Middle East, India, Turkey, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Egypt and Chile], which is the

rest […] So we keep a Danish structure to a large extent. We also have a lot of Danish expats around the world.

Interviewer: And why is that?

Interviewee: It's a very good question. I don't know… but we do.

-Grundfos_8, Senior vice president

Although it is interesting that Grundfos has many Danish expatriate managers, it is of course not possible to evaluate the impact of Danish language skills in the selection of these managers based on this data alone. One informant in the HR department who works specifically with mobility in Grundfos does, however, suggest another explanation:

(390) We have about 120 assignees [total number of expatriates], and that is actually [a] very nice [number] for a company of our size. […] Compared with other companies of our size, I think that's quite normal. With regard to the mobility of employees… our employees have traditionally not been very mobile, but in the past they weren't really encouraged, so we have had a lot of companies with their own people, but there hasn't been that much interaction between the companies, so the international assignments we have had have primarily been with Danish employees that have been expatriated. We can see that picture has started to change […] that it's becoming easier to move people, more people are interested [in going abroad], and we have started up various programmes, especially shorter programmes […] trainee programmes for example, [such as] 'global graduates', [i.e.] young talents.

-Grundfos_7, HR manager

In particular, this informant mentions that limited contact between international companies in the past has led to little horizontal movement of employees from subsidiaries to subsidiaries. Given that Grundfos is a Danish company and that the corporate headquarters is located in Denmark, vertical expatriation of Danish employees has been the most obvious form of expatriation. Yet, as stated by the HR manager above, this tendency has started to change, possibly because of the introduction of shorter expatriate programmes, which seem to appear more attractive to Grundfos' employees.

The fact that English language skills are important in order to function in an international position with close and frequent English-medium communication has been emphasized several times already. It may be emphasised once more with the following statement:

(391) With regard to language we have to say that 'if people don't speak English, they can't go abroad' – after all, English is the corporate language. It is of course not an absolute truth, because if the person speaks German and he is going to Germany, that's fine. It just rarely happens.

-Grundfos_7, HR manager

Although the informant stresses English language proficiency as a prerequisite for international assignments, she also indicates that local language skills, e.g. German, may be useful in specific situations. When the informant is asked whether she has seen examples of employees that have been unable to take on foreign postings dues to inadequate language skills, she responds that the majority of employees she has supported prior to expatriation (primary Danes) have had good English skills, and in situations where employees may need to improve their language competence, they will be offered training – in English or in the host country language – prior to departure (cf. section 8.4.1). However, the informant does provide an example of how employees in foreign Grundfos' companies have been removed from positions that required international contact due to limited English language skills:

(392) I have seen examples of people out in the regions that have been moved to do other tasks, because their English hasn't been good enough to assume an international role. Or they have been sent to an intensive course [in English], because that is another method, to make sure they learn English.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

One may draw a parallel to the concept of language nodes (Feely & Harzing, 2003, Harzing et al., 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b), as the employee in the example above was removed from the position due to his or hers inability to function as a language node, i.e. act as a communicative link between the company where he/she was employed and the corporate headquarters as well as other international Grundfos companies.

It was shown in section 7.2.1 on the translation of Grundfos' employee magazine, Gmagazine, that the proofreaders which Grundfos' centralised communication department relies on in the international Grundfos companies can also be seen as a group of language intermediates. The use of these proofreaders may be described as a semi-formalised network of local language assistance (see also section 5.1.1.2). The proofreaders are not dedicated communication professionals per se and may therefore be seen as organisationally external to the communication department. Yet, the communication department has made it common practice to have the translated version of the Gmagazine checked by the proofreaders located in the seven international Grundfos companies in order to control the quality of the translation. Based on this practice, these proofreaders may be identified as language nodes, and also to some extent communication nodes, as described in section 7.6.1.

However, interview data reveal that local proofreaders may take the opportunity to filter or distort the information presented in these employee magazines. This is particularly problematic on the basis of what was discussed in section 6.6 (risk of organisational isolation) given that the employee magazine is the only direct communication channel between the company's headquarters, where the magazine is

produced, and operative staff in the various international subsidiaries. Hence, altering the content of the magazine may have significant communicative consequences since most production workers are unable to acquire corporate information through other communication channels. In the following excerpt, one of the key communication informants at Grundfos describes how the use of local proofreaders has led to a problematic situation in one of Grundfos' Russian companies:

(393) In Russia, there is another culture out there, and it depends a lot on the people as well, but in Russia, they felt the need to correct the sentences, perspectives of the stories, because they didn't feel the Russian was good enough, and we couldn't see what they had corrected, but then we actually discovered that Russia had requested that they wrote something completely different in the article than we had written. So they spent a lot of time on the proofreading, but what they actually did was to rewrite the entire magazine, and that's not right, I mean, that's not good.
-Grundfos_1, Communication professional

In Quote 393 Grundfos_1 describes how one of the middle managers in the Russian company had ordered one of his Russian employees to rewrite the company magazine to be distributed to the Russian Grundfos employees. As the company's communication department is run as a headquarters' function with all-Danish employees and the company outsources their internal translation needs, there are in reality very few control mechanisms to prevent these kinds of gatekeeping activities. This finding resonates with findings in previous studies that have examined the relationship between language and power in multilingual organisations: language is indeed a power-yielding instrument that may be used in potentially counter-productive ways (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Fredriksson et al., 2006; Janssens et al., 2004; Marschan et al., 1997; Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005).

A final point worth mentioning in this section on language intermediates relates to the group of language ambassadors that was established in relation to the implementation of Grundfos' language policy (cf. section 8.1.1). In addition to promoting the language policy in a bottom-up fashion in the company, the language ambassadors were also expected to assist their colleagues in language and communication-related tasks. Consequently, these ambassadors may also be seen as a type of formalised language nodes – a colleague that has been given the task to assist other employees in language-related questions (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011). The role of the language ambassadors is explicitly defined in the language policy handbook ('In other words…', 2004, p. 76):

-They may offer assistance on their own initiative if they see a report or a document that needs proofreading or a finishing linguistic touch.
-They may act as language consultants for colleagues in their department or company.
-They may refer to other resources if they do not have the time themselves.

-They must know their own limitations and refrain from giving advice on language matters outside their competence; in this situation the language ambassador may refer to the language group or language ambassador colleagues.

-They are supposed to offer their assistance in a positive spirit adapted to the situation and the person; the language ambassadors must not be pedantic, but should seek to create win-win situations.

Out of these five points, the last two stand out by stating the boundaries of the language ambassador's role: the language ambassador should not consult in matters 'outside their competence' (point four), and the ambassadors must not exercise his/her right to offer assistance (cf. point number one) in a 'pedantic' way (point five). The fifth point may also suggest that the role of the language ambassador might constrain and burden personal relationships with other colleagues, if the assistance is offered injudiciously.

8.6.2 Language intermediates ECCO

Also in ECCO, the importance of English language skills is emphasised with regard to international assignments. As stated by one informant, ECCO_8, Project manager: 'If you don't have the language competences, you won't get sent out. You just won't'. When looking at language skills other than English, it may be worth recalling the trainee and former trainee – informant ECCO_10, Trainee and ECCO_9, Product manager – in the discussion on language training (section 7.4.2) who had acquired language skills in Indonesian (and some Chinese, in the case of informant ECCO_10) during their trainee posting in the Indonesian production unit. Clearly, these two informants have the potential to act as language nodes (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b), if they wish to return to the Indonesian factory. When asked whether they think they would be able to benefit from their Indonesian language skills in their future careers, the two respondents reply:

(394) Interviewee: I haven't used my Indonesian since I was down there.

Interviewer: No? Do you think it is something you may benefit from in the future?

Interviewee: I hope so, but I think it will primarily be for personal use, not professional use. In the factories I will always be able to approach somebody who speaks English and get them to explain, so it's not a necessity for me [to speak Indonesian], but it's something ECCO wants us to take [local language training], to show that we are interested in their culture.

-ECCO_10, Trainee

(395) No, I don't think so, but that is probably due to my own choice, [that I am] not going back to Indonesia. I suppose if I wanted to take that career path, then of course it would be [an advantage

to speak Indonesian]. But I don't think… well, maybe I could use it if I move to Singapore, where they also speak a bit of Malay, I could maybe use it there.

-ECCO_9, Product manager

Neither of the two respondents believes they will be able to benefit significantly from their Indonesian skills in the future. Where ECCO_10 explains this on the basis of the fact that if necessary she could always address an English speaker, ECCO_9 explains that the use of Indonesian is outside his planned career path. This may need a clarifying comment: ECCO's presence in Indonesia is limited to its tannery and shoe factory. Consequently, a career in Indonesia would be limited to the production of leather or the manufacturing of shoes, which is a career the informant does not wish to embark on. Instead, he says he might be interested in going to Singapore, which is the location of the regional headquarters of ECCO's Asia Pacific region. As Indonesian has some resemblance to the Malay language, the informant speculates that he may be able to use his Indonesian language skills in Singapore. Still, based on the two previous quotes, it does not seem as if the informants' Indonesian language skills and the potential to utilise these skills in the future is given significant considerations in the informant's career planning.

Moving from ECCO employees who have the potential to act as language nodes to ECCO employees that are currently acting as language nodes, interview data demonstrates that the phenomenon does indeed take place in practice. One key informant in the communication department explains in the following quote how she encountered the problem when searching for information to enclose in the company's annual report:

(396) For the annual report I was responsible for writing the corporate responsibility section last year, […] and the goal was to get some events from all over, all the units, so they were all represented. I had to contact 28 people, I had 28 people on my contact list that I corresponded with, and not very many of them were working in that area about which I needed to find information. If, for example, we won an award on no accidents in production [in Thailand], 'zero accident award' it's called, which it's a very big honour, I can't speak to any of those people involved with that, I have to go through the HR manager, and that – the language barrier is a very big problem for us in group communication. There are just not many people that speak English in these companies, and if they do, it's so little.

-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Based on what this informant is stating, one may draw the conclusion that the lack of English language skills in ECCO's international subsidiaries is creating language nodes out of the few employees that master the language to some degree (cf. Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a, 1999b; Vaara et al., 2005).

Although the existence of language nodes is often described as a negative phenomenon, due to the potential power associated with such positions (cf. section 2.3.4.4), it is also evident that informants may greatly benefit from having linguistically skilled connections in regions where English language skills are scarce. One informant who works as a product manager cooperates with a team in a Chinese factory which he is responsible for. Not being able to speak Chinese himself, the informant finds the assistance of his on-site team manager in China and his assistant to be a great advantage. As stated in the next quote, the informant's contact in China speaks multiple languages, and thus acts as a language intermediate between the product manager in Denmark and the Chinese factory workers:

(397) I am very fortunate in having a contact there [in China] who has the overall responsibility out there, so I mainly communicate through him and his assistant. So they are in charge of the daily communication to the Chinese, and that is a great relief, a great advantage.[…] He [the contact] speaks Chinese, Portuguese and English.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

This ECCO informant also cooperates closely with a team of regional product managers located in various sales offices around the world; Amsterdam, Boston, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Unlike the experiences of the communication specialist presented in Quote 396, the product manager has not encountered any particular language or communication problems with his international colleagues. The informant believes that this may be due to the educational background of his international colleagues. When asked to elaborate on the quality of communication with his regional product manager, the informant – who is a native Dane himself – replies:

(398) They are very European in their mind-set, so communication is very easy. I think they have adopted a bit of the Danish culture, or the European culture. […] I don't know if it's because of their education or what it is, but [name of contact] is probably the best example. She is Chinese, but she does not act like other Chinese people, and her English is fantastic. A lot of the things you normally have to think about when you talk to a Chinese person, like respect and things like that, you don't have to do that with her. She acts very European, and I think it is because she has studied at the university for a long time.
-ECCO_9, Product manager

As pointed out in Chapter 2, one of the potential risks associated with being in a language intermediate position, is that the person in this position may be asked to take on tasks outside his/her area of responsibility, and possibly be overburdened with work. Feely and Harzing (2003, p. 46) state that the use of language nodes 'places an onerous burden on those acting as language nodes impairing their

ability to perform their formal organisational duties'. One native English speaker in ECCO shares her thoughts on the drawback of being a language node in the following quote (below). In particular, the informant describes how she and one of her native English-speaking colleagues are often involved in projects outside their area of expertise:

(399) A funny thing is, both internally and externally [i.e. for internal and external communication purposes], she [the native English speaking colleague] ended up like me, she was used for all kinds of things, you know, writing strategy and other things, because they [other ECCO departments in the corporate headquarters] just don't have the resources internally and they didn't want to spend the money externally, so you just find a native speaker and 'here, you write, you write my strategy for me!' [laughter] […] So the native speakers, we end up doing all kinds of tasks that really aren't in our job descriptions, because we're the only semi-experts in the company.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

It is evident from talking to this informant that she spends quite a lot of time helping other employees with their communication tasks. As a communication professional, she occasionally volunteers to take on these duties out of personal interest to the communication profession. However, there are also situations where the informant is more reluctant to become involved in the project in order to improve the level of communication. As stated by the ECCO_3: 'A sentence that doesn't make sense, in order to make it make sense, you have to know what is it we really want to say with this'. When the informant is subsequently asked at what point she feels that she is taking on more than her job description or personal interest dictates, she responds:

(400) Interviewee: I would say the point where I'm actually rewriting their documents, not just working with the [English] language, but actually rewriting a text and investigating what are we supposed to be writing here actually, changing the content, I don't feel that that's my job. […]
Interviewer: So at the maximum, in an average week, how much time would you spend, I mean estimating obviously, but how many hours would you say you spent on tasks that was not directly related to your job?
Interviewer: It would depend because if the project was a larger project I could use at least half of my week on that [over several weeks]. If it was a minor task […] I could use just several days of that in a row.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

Indeed, the statements made by this informant where she estimates that she may spend as much as half of the week correcting and rewriting other employees' English language, suggest that language nodes may

easily find themselves faced with an 'onerous burden', in Feely and Harzing's words (2003, p. 46). At the same time this informant describes unwillingness in the company to spend the time and resources on professional translations and proofreading, which is further demonstrated in Quote 401 below. Consequently, the result is that the informant often feels forced to take on these tasks in order to ensure the quality of communication.

(401) We have an in-house publishing department that produces a lot of our internal material, […] and because they work on Mac computers and they work with some sophisticated systems, there is no language check on it. So they had no way of knowing what they were typing, whether it was correct or not, and nobody looked at that, they didn't have a proofreader […] Nobody wants to spend the resources. I actually got an offer from an outside agency […] but the price was so high the company said 'no, it's not worth it, to proofread our material'.
-ECCO_3, Communication professional

The above statement strongly indicates that the informant has experienced unwillingness to commission services from a professional language and translation agency. This finding is once again in alignment with the characteristics of an 'unresponsive company' which deliberately chooses not to address language and communication-related issues (cf. section 2.3.4.10).

8.7 Emergent solutions manufacturing

8.7.1 Emergent solutions Grundfos

As described in section 2.4.3 and 7.7, emergent language management solutions are tools that front-line employees make use of when encountering language issues as part of their everyday communication activities. It may be worth to bear in mind that these tools are characterised by the absence of a language manager (Spolsky, 2004, 2009), cf. the discussion in section 2.2.4.3.

Previous studies (e.g. Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Lønsmann, 2011; Marschan et al., 1997) as well as interview data presented in section 7.7 suggest that language assistance from other employees is one of the most commonly used informal support mechanisms. Also informants in Grundfos say that they frequently rely on their colleagues in order to satisfy emergent language and communication needs. In the following quotes, a key informant in Grundfos' centralised communication department (Grundfos_3) and a role informant (Grundfos_10) both identify their collegial network as one of the most important sources of language assistance. The combination of these quotes is interesting, as the first informant, who is a native Dane, describes how he consults his colleagues for English language assistance, whereas the second informant, who is a non-native Dane, describe how she receives Danish language assistance from her colleagues in Denmark:

(402) We would use our colleagues, ask each other. We know who are good at English, so we can draw on them and discuss with them what they think would work.
-Grundfos_3, Communication professional

(403) For example, everybody receives a Christmas gift, and you have to choose between different gifts, a, b, or c, of course it's in Danish […] [When] we had the deadline to choose the Christmas gift, then our colleagues were warning us 'please be sure that you …', because it's in Danish. Of course it happens that I just don't understand it, and I just don't care what they are writing there [on the intranet], but then they warn us 'please make sure that you decide before next Friday or something', so of course colleagues help a lot.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

On the topic of collegial language assistance, it may also be worth recalling Quote 348 (section 8.3.1), where the informant expressed dissatisfaction with Grundfos' choice of company dictionary, Gyldendal's Red Dictionaries'. Evidently, the inadequacy of the dictionary made the informant turn to her colleagues for language assistance or make use of another emergent language management tool, Google Translate. The use of Google Translate may be further illustrated by Quotes 404 and 405, both stated by foreign employees in Denmark, i.e. employees with limited Danish language proficiency:

(404) I don't use any paper dictionary, but there are a lot of resources on the web. […] Google Translate, for example, if I receive something from Denmark, and it's written in in Danish [laughter], and I haven't a clue what it says, Google Translate works really well.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

(405) Interviewee: I really like that there is a page [referring to Grundfos' intranet], because you can find everything, for example if you want to sell something, then you can also advertise it, so it has a lot of tools, not just Grundfos information, but you can also use it for […] I don't know, finding all kinds of information, hobby possibilities here in Denmark, sports activities, or if you wanted to find a dancing partner, you can also find it there. […] I think it's a quite good tool for communication and sharing information.
Interviewer: And are you able to access the information that is in Danish on the Danish website?
Interviewee: I'm trying to understand it, sometimes if I do not understand it, then I just use my best friend Google Translate [laughter].
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

A final comment in this section should be made with regard to the communication mode. Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002) and Harzing et al. (2011) both discuss how staff members in multilingual organisations may find oral communication more challenging than written communication due to accents and in differences in communication style. The following two quotes from Grundfos employees support this finding:

(406) If I'm trying to communicate to a Chinese guy, and I cannot understand him [laughter] – it's not only me, also the rest of the guys in the department – [I tell the Chinese] 'please write it'.
-Grundfos_12, Consultant

(407) It is a two-way thing, basically. Just as we [in Denmark] need to be better at including our guests and speak English [to non-Danes in the corporate headquarters], the Chinese also need to be better at speaking English, and the Americans need to think about their English, that they speak with an American accent we are able to understand. They have to avoid slang words, reduce their accent and speak a bit slower. […] It's not just from the headquarters and out [to the international companies], or from Denmark and out, it is just as much from the outside and between them [between subsidiaries], and to Denmark that we have a responsibility to develop our language competences.
-Grundfos_7, HR manager

In line with Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002) and Harzing et al. (2011), who advocate the use of written modes of communication, Quote 406 suggest that the informant tries to avoid oral conversations with his Chinese communication partners, whom he has problems understanding. Clearly, written communication also has an advantage in that it documents the communicative history between the parties, as stated by another informant:

(408) Sometimes if it's not your native language of course it can happen that you misunderstand […] most of the communication has to be via emails, because we have to refer to what we have agreed [previously] via email and so on, so that's the communication we prefer, because then we have the history and so on. We don't record the phone conversations, so that's why most of the communication is via email. Then we have the history and all the background.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

It was also pointed out by Grundfos_7 in Quote 407 that efficient communication is a shared responsibility, i.e. the responsibility of everybody that works and communicates in an international company like Grundfos. The informant explicitly mentions that native-English speaking employees from

the US need to ‘avoid slang words, reduce their accents and speak a bit slower’. These prescriptions are very much in agreement with what Louhiala-Salminen et al. (2005) outline as characteristics of BELF (Business English as a Lingua Franca) communication. These authors describe BELF as a neutral language where no speakers can claim it as their mother tongue – i.e. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Seidlhofer, 2004) used in business – which is similar to the request made by the HR informant.

8.7.2 Emergent solutions ECCO

Interview data from ECCO in the category of emergent language management solutions reflect much of the findings found for the three previous case companies. As in the case of Grundfos, the two following excerpts demonstrate that the use of collegial support and Google Translate is also common practice in ECCO. When asked how they typically deal with language-related issues in their everyday communication, two respondents – one native Dane (ECCO_5) and one non-native Dane with Danish language competence (ECCO_6) – reply:

(409) Well, I use dictionaries – online dictionaries today – and of course we help each other. And if it gets too technical we have technicians that may provide the right word for what you are trying to say. So it is a combination of colleagues, specialists [colleagues] and online dictionaries.
-ECCO_5, Personal assistant

(410) I normally don’t use any dictionaries, Google Translate is normally enough for me [laughter] […] but I only use it in very special situations. Normally we get everything in English, maybe [I need to check] a small thing in Danish, for example if there is a long Danish text, maybe I have to use Google Translate for one or two words to see what they mean.
-ECCO_6, Consultant

The response from a third informant is very much in agreement with the above statements. This interviewee is an international employee with limited Danish language skills, who holds a corporate headquarters position at ECCO’s headquarters in Bredebro. In the passage below, he describes how he overcomes the communicative challenge of having to deal with documents written in Danish:

(411) Interviewee: Of course there are documents [in Danish], especially related to laws that are not translated, so then I have a challenge in translating those.
Interviewer: And how do you overcome that?
Interviewee: Three ways. One way is asking my colleagues, another way is Google Translate, and the last way is asking my wife for help.

Interviewer: Is she Danish?

Interviewee: No, she is Turkish, but she is much more advanced in Danish than I am [laughter].

-ECCO_7, Consultant

This informant explicitly mentions three ways of deciphering the content of a Danish document. In addition to the two previously mentioned approaches – collegial language help and the use of Google Translate – the third category – i.e. 'asking my wife for help' – may be worth commenting on. The practice of seeking language assistance outside the company by asking members of one's private network for help has been observed in previous studies, and in particular by Piekkari et al. (2013) (see also Marschan, Welch, & Welch, 1996). One could, however, question the legitimacy of drawing on external language resources, as issues of security and confidentiality may be compromised in such situations (Piekkari et al., 2013, p. 777). In line with what Feely and Harzing (2003, p. 46) argue, there is also a risk of miscommunication when consulting a person without the necessary subject matter skills. One can easily imagine a legal document, cf. Quote 411, being written in a highly professional legal register, and that the content of such a document might imply limited circulation.

Also interview data from ECCO indicates that the choice of communication mode may be a frequently used language management tool in everyday front-line communication. Two native Danes, for example, state that they usually resort to written communication when communicating with international ECCO subsidiaries, especially those located in Asia:

(412) It happens very rarely that we communicate with Asia over the phone. I think it is easier to have it in writing, so that there are no misunderstandings.

-ECCO_10, Trainee

(413) The Chinese often find it easier to write English than to speak it, so it's better to communicate in writing with them. It may be difficult sometimes if you have to call them.

-ECCO_9, Product manager

However, one non-Danish employee, who has acquired a relatively high proficiency in Danish over the years, feels somewhat differently about the choice of communication mode. In Quote 414 the informant explains that he prefers oral communication with his Danish colleagues – to avoid having to write in Danish:

(414) I don't think I can write well in Danish, even if I can communicate in it [Danish]. Writing sometimes is much more difficult, because they [the recipients] are going to check every word you

write down, and even if they can understand you when you speak, when you write it down, they may think it looks strange.
-ECCO_6, Consultant

It was mentioned in section 2.4.3 that several scholars, e.g. Harzing et al. (2011, p. 283) and Shachaf (2008, p. 136) argue in favour of written-medium communication rather than oral-medium communication in cross-cultural encounters. This informant, however, presents a complementary view when stating that he prefers oral over written communication.

8.8 Cross-case analysis Grundfos – ECCO

This chapter has presented and discussed the use of various language management tools in the two manufacturing case companies Grundfos and ECCO. It is evident from the previous sections that Grundfos and ECCO face many of the same language and communication issues. This cross-case analysis will briefly look into how these issues are handled by the two companies, before moving on to the cross-sector analysis in Chapter 9, where the findings from this chapter are further compared with the findings from the two financial service companies presented in Chapter 7.

As described in section 8.1, both Grundfos and ECCO have chosen to adopt English as their corporate language. However, the process of formalising and implementing this language policy decision has been very different in the two companies. Whereas Grundfos' language policy development has been described by informants as a bottom-up process initiated by front-line employees, the development of ECCO's language policy, as part of a more encompassing communication policy, is described as the result of a top-down transformation programme introduced by the top management – yet, the initiative was not completed.

The development of Grundfos' language policy could need some elaboration. It may be worth recalling the argument presented in the cross-case analysis of Grundfos and ECCO in part 1, section 5.3, which emphasised that the high degree of corporate governance and control had affected the development of Grundfos' language policy, as a bottom-up response to the company's top down communication policy (described in section 5.1.2.1). The implementation of Grundfos' language policy raises yet another question with regard to how bottom-up the process actually was. At least, it is worth reflecting on the power relations that come into play when a policy is developed by employees at the corporate headquarters and subsequently distributed to the company's international companies. The hierarchical relationship between the corporate headquarters in Denmark and Grundfos' international companies is something two informants commented on during their interviews. Quotes 415 and 416 were not made about the implementation of the language policy as such, but they may nevertheless be used to inform the headquarters-subsidiary situation. Grundfos_7 is a Danish HR manager who works closely

with HR managers in international Grundfos companies, and Grundfos_10 is a role informant who previously used to work in Grundfos' Hungarian company:

(415) I personally think that one of the things that happen when you come from the headquarters is that you represent a natural authority. At least I have experienced that people don't dare to ask questions […] We may end up in a situation where […] I write something to them [international HR managers] and ask 'does this work for you?' and they think 'it's from headquarters, it must be right, so that's what we are going to do. It may be that it's not right for us, but it's from the headquarters' [laughter], and that's not what we want.
-Grunfos_7, HR manager

(416) We always felt that they [the headquarters] are the top organisation, so if the headquarters say something, then we have to do what they say. So it's like a kind of – there are also kind of hierarchy differences, we are working for them, because it is the headquarters. It doesn't mean that we don't cooperate well, but we knew that if the group said something, […] then of course we had to do what they say.
-Grundfos_10, Project manager

Indeed, these statements clearly point to the dominant position of the corporate headquarters in the Grundfos' group. This phenomenon is what Bartlett and Ghoshal (1989, p. 100) label 'the headquarters hierarchy syndrome', which they define as 'a clear superior-subordinate relationship' between the headquarters and the subsidiaries. In short, the 'headquarters hierarchy syndrome' refers to the centralisation of decision-making processes in the company's headquarters. When connecting Bartlett and Ghoshal to the statements made by respondents Grundfos_7 and Grundfos_10 above, the 'bottom-up language policy process' of Grundfos' language policy is further challenged.

The investigation of the use of translation and interpretation services in the two companies also yielded some interesting findings. In both case companies, interview data demonstrated that English language communication is insufficient to reach production workers in Denmark and at foreign production sites. Consequently, the need to translate information into the local language of these employees is described as imperative, for example with regard to the companies' employee magazine, which is identified as the main communication channel between headquarters and operative staff in foreign production units. At the same time the previous discussion has also shown that the presence of international, non-Danish, employees at the company's corporate headquarters in Denmark creates a need for communication to take place in English in these office locations. Whereas ECCO has chosen to offer simultaneous interpretation from Danish into English, and English into Danish at employee

assemblies, Grundfos does not offer any language assistance to their international employees at similar employee assemblies, even though these meetings are usually held in Danish.

Another area where Grundfos and ECCO differ is with regard to the use of technological solutions. Where employees in ECCO are free to consult the dictionary of their choice, all employees in Grundfos are expected to consult the same dictionaries – 'Gyldendal's Red Dictionaries' – which has raised some discussions internally in the company. Grundfos is also an interesting case in that the translation department has established a comprehensive internal database of company-specific terms and product names to ensure consistency in the terminology. However, interview data revealed that knowledge of the Grundfos dictionary was somewhat limited among employees outside the translation department. Consequently, in-house translators in Grundfos' translation department and Grundfos' external translation agency were found to be the main users of the dictionary. This finding may explain why ECCO's communication department has chosen to discontinue their work on transforming their company-specific dictionary into a format that employees can make use of today. ECCO does not have an in-house translation department like Grundfos and the company has just recently entered into an agreement with a new translation agency to e.g. handle the translation of the newly-established employee magazine. Without a similar driving force as the translation department in Grundfos, communication professionals in ECCO are questioning whether their work and investment in the dictionary will be worthwhile and whether anyone will benefit from the dictionary.

Furthermore, the previous discussion has also pointed to some differences in language training programmes between the two companies. Both Grundfos and ECCO turn to language training for the purpose of raising the competence level of employees. Where Grundfos offers English language courses to all employees – both white-collar and blue-collar workers – language courses are usually only offered to white-collar employees in ECCO. It may be worth once again to draw attention to the slightly different employee composition in the two companies, which relates back to the companies' different product lines. As a producer of leather and footwear, ECCO's production processes require more manual labour than Grundfos' highly technical pump products. Both companies employ approximately 19,000 employees in total; however, as mentioned in section 5.3, blue-collar workers in ECCO account for 88 % of the total number of employees in the group (approx. 16,700), whereas the number is 47 % for Grundfos (approx. 9000).

Another consideration is the work situation of employees in ECCO, who manufacture the majority of their products in cheap labour economies. One informant who has worked in ECCO's shoe factory in Indonesia, explains why it is difficult to train blue-collar employees in English:

(417) I can't see how they can stop the assembly line, so it [language training] has to be in their spare time. But in [the shoe factory in] Indonesia for example they work ten hours a day, and in addition

to that they may have one hour to get to work, so maybe they have other priorities than to improve on their English skills.

-ECCO_10, Trainee

One may question the practice of organising English language courses for blue-collar workers if they rarely are in contact with international colleagues. As mentioned in section 2.5, Bellak (2014, p. 309) discourage blue-collar language training and recommends that language training are directed towards top and middle level managers. With this argument in mind it is interesting that Grundfos chooses to invest in English language training for blue-collar employees who in most cases do not need this skill in order to perform their job tasks. Yet, offering English courses to all staff members may be seen as a type of fringe benefit whose primary purpose is to contribute to a positive and enjoyable work environment. Satisfied and motivated employees who feel valued by their employers usually have higher self-efficacy levels (Pierce & Gardner, 2004), and are also less inclined to leave the company (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 133). An investment in human resource initiatives can thus be seen as a way of obtaining loyalty, engagement and commitment.

Another language management tool discussed in both case companies was the use of selective recruitment of new employees. Not surprisingly, potential new candidates for white-collar functions in both Grundfos and ECCO are usually required to have a high proficiency in English. Indeed, interview data from Grundfos revealed that this language requirement in specific departments may even exclude the use of other language management tools such as language training (section 7.5.1). In contrast, Danish language skills are not usually required for positions in either of the corporate headquarters, unless the position requires the candidate to communicate in Danish, for example with external parties in Denmark. This finding was also observed with regard to foreign language skills other than English. With the exception of a couple of informants, the general tendency in the data set, Grundfos and ECCO combined, indicates that foreign language skills in languages other than English may be a factor in the recruitment of new employees, but usually only in combination with other professional skills (cf. Inman, 1980; Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014)

The sixth language management tool discussed in this chapter was the use of language intermediates, i.e. strategic use of language-skilled employees (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1997). Language intermediates are often treated as an informal language management solution in the literature; however, findings from both Grundfos and ECCO demonstrate that the use of language intermediates may be formalised through more or less established language networks. In Grundfos, the organisation of language ambassadors that facilitated the implementation of the company's language policy can be seen as one way of formalising collegial language help, whereas 'normal' everyday language assistance offered by colleagues can be described as an emergent language management tool. A more recent example from Grundfos may be found in the communication

department's network of locally employed proofreaders in the various international Grundfos companies who are used as language intermediates for Grundfos' employee magazine. However, the preceding discussion has revealed that the use of these proofreaders may be problematic. Considering that the employee magazine is the main direct communication channel from the corporate headquarters to blue-collar workers in foreign production units, the risk of gatekeeping activities is significant as the proofreaders may take advantage of their position as language intermediates. As discussed in section 6.6, a breach in headquarter-subsidiary communication could ultimately result in 'communication-induced' organisational isolation.

Previous studies (e.g. Feely & Harzing, 2003) indicate that there is a potentially burdensome side to language intermediate positions. In ECCO, one native English speaker revealed that she frequently found herself undertaking other employees' communication tasks, and that the scale of these projects often took up a substantial amount of her time. As a communication professional, her position as a language node may be seen as formalised in the sense that the informant felt obliged to help other colleagues with their English language communication. This finding from ECCO demonstrates that when a company underinvests or refrains from spending resources on professional translation or language assistance, language intermediates may ultimately be the ones that have to carry the burden.

Finally, a few words should also be said about emergent language management tools. Interview data presented in sections 8.7.1 and 8.7.2 suggest that informants in Grundfos and ECCO use many of the same types of emergent tools to handle on-the-spot language and communication needs. In line with what previous studies have established (e.g. Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing et al., 2011; Lønsmann, 2011; Marschan et al., 1997), language support from other colleagues was found to be a common source of language assistance. Interviews with informants in the two case companies demonstrate that employees may turn to their colleagues for a number of reasons; this type of language help is often sought for reasons of convenience, but informants also mention the lack of other adequate language management tools (i.e. inadequacy of dictionaries) as a reason for seeking collegial language assistance. Another frequently mentioned tool was the use of online language solutions, and in particular Google Translate, which raises questions about confidentiality and data protection (Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 35-36; see also section 7.7.1).

This discussion of language management approaches has also pointed to another interesting finding. ECCO has previously been described as a low language management firm, based on their handling of internal language and communication issues in the past (cf. Chapter 5). However, the findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that ECCO has implemented several language management tools, and many of these are in fact well-established schemes, for example mandatory foreign language training for trainees, which has been practised since 2000. Indeed, when comparing ECCOs findings presented in this chapter against the findings from Grundfos, it is evident that ECCO 'outperform' Grundfos when it comes to offering simultaneous interpretation at employee assemblies.

This leads to an interesting problematisation of what efficient language management is, and in particular what efficient language management is in the context of the manufacturing sector, given that the rationale for holding these meetings in Danish is to a large extent based on a consideration of the limited English language skills of blue-collar workers (cf. sections 5.1.3.2. and 5.2.3.2). This question, together with other key findings presented in this and the preceding chapter on language management tools in the two financial service companies, will be addressed in the following cross-sector analysis in Chapter 9.

9 Discussion across the industry sectors

The previous two chapters have examined the different language management tools that are implemented in the two financial service companies (Chapter 7), and in the two manufacturing companies (Chapter 8). Findings presented in these chapters have revealed that there are significant differences between the two pairs of cases, which to some extent can be related to the sampling strategy of the case companies (i.e. 'high' and 'low' language management companies, cf. section 3.2.2). Using the language management tools taxonomy presented in section 2.4, the main findings from Chapters 7 and 8 are presented in Table 8 (Appendix 9b). The findings from the four case companies, as 'representatives' for the two industries, will form the basis for the cross-sector discussion in the present chapter.

Like the cross-sector discussion in Chapter 6 this chapter will also look beyond the company level and focus on the effects of industry sectors on language management, and in particular on the choice of language management tools, cf. Table 1. The present chapter will in other words examine language management tools in the two different settings, i.e. financial services and manufacturing, and compare these findings against each other in a pursuit of deeper understanding and explanation (Maxwell, 2012, pp. 89-90; Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 173). The main purpose of this chapter is, in other words, to understand how and why the two industries affect the use of various language management tools as they have been described in the context of the four case companies. The present chapter will build on the sector-specific findings from Chapter 6 and relate these to the use of the various language management tools in the two sectors, as outlined in Figure 8, while engaging in a cross-disciplinary dialogue with the sociolinguistic and international business and management literature.

		Financial services **Sector-specific factors**	**Manufacturing** **Sector-specific factors**
Language management tools	**Common corporate language**	-Economic geography -Global integration	-Global integration
	Multiple corporate languages	-Local responsiveness -Regulatory compliance -Age structure	-Economic geography -Educational level
	Company-specific language	-Industry speak -Regulatory compliance	-Industry speak
	Translation	-Local responsiveness -Regulatory compliance -Age structure	-Economic geography -Educational level -Communication mode
	Technological solutions	-Industry speak	-Work environment -Industry speak
	Language training	-Local responsiveness -Age structure	-Educational level -Work environment

Selective recruitment	-Local responsiveness -Global integration -Regulatory compliance	-Global integration
Language intermediates	NA	-Economic geography -Risk of organisational isolation

Figure 8 Language management tools and sector-specific factors

9.1 Corporate language policies

This section will discuss the three general types of language policies identified in the literature review (cf. section 2.4.1) – i.e. common corporate language; multiple corporate languages; and corporate-specific language, on the basis of sector-specific factors discussed in Chapter 6 (cf. Figure 8). What is interesting when comparing corporate language policies and their effects in the two financial service companies and the two manufacturing companies is that these findings are actually quite similar. Considering the two pairs of financial services and manufacturing companies collectively, a general, high-level distinction may be made between two groups of employees. In the two financial service companies, employees may, based on the business area they are working in, be categorised either as headquarters employees – i.e. employees working in corporate headquarters functions – or branch employees – i.e. employees working in one of the company's local branch offices. Likewise, in the manufacturing companies there is also a clear distinction between headquarters employees and production workers – i.e. employees associated with the manufacturing of the companies' physical products – which in manufacturing is commonly referred to as white-collar and blue-collar employees, as previously stated. Interestingly, when comparing these two groups of employees in the manufacturing companies with the two groups of employees in the financial service companies, it is evident that they share certain characteristics in terms of communication practices.

In particular, respondents in all four case companies have highlighted the importance of using the local language in communication directed at or indented for employees working in the financial sector companies' branch offices and the manufacturing companies' production units. In both industry sectors there is an urgent need for local language information, irrespective of whether this local language is one of the Nordic languages to meet the needs of branch employees in one of the local Nordic markets or the local language of production workers employed in one of the foreign production units of the manufacturing companies. In other words, across the case sample, English is typically used for cross-border communication purposes, and local languages within the national borders.

Chapters 7 and 8 have demonstrated that all four case companies operate under some form of corporate language policy, either formalised as in the case of Nordea and Grundfos, semi-formalised as in the case of Saxo Bank, or non-formalised as in the case of ECCO. The previous discussion has also

revealed that there are significant differences between the companies in terms of what these language policies contain and – in relation to that – do not contain. Before delving into a discussion on sector-specific effects on corporate language policies, it may be worth consulting the literature for a moment and ask the following question: what does a corporate language policy actually do?

Recalling the three-level definition of corporate language policies presented in section 2.3.1, corporate language policies can be understood as policies about language use in a corporation. Whereas there is little theory on corporate language policies in particular, one may find a vast amount of literature on language policies in general, and as mentioned in section 2.3.3 corporate policies that aim to minimise linguistic diversity by imposing one language (or a small number of languages) as the common corporate language (or languages) bear resemblance to language standardisation in the national context (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Haugen, 1966, 1983; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Rubin, 1977). In this connection, it may be worth introducing Haugen's (1966) four-stage process of norm development, which is commonly referred to as the first theory of language standardisation (Linn, Sanden, & Piekkari, 2016 forthcoming). In Haugen's model, language standardisation involves the following four successive stages: a) norm selection (the choice of language to be used as the standard language, b) norm codification (standardising various aspects of the language), c) norm implementation (adopting the selected language), and finally d) norm elaboration (continuous development of the selected language).

In Haugen (1983), norm selection and norm implementation are discussed as aspects of status planning, while norm codification and norm elaboration are discussed as aspects of corpus planning (see also Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 29). The division between status planning and corpus planning as two distinct types of language planning was initially suggested by Kloss (1969). In his report on research possibilities on group bilingualism, Kloss (1969, p. 81) states that:

> Planning with regard to language is usually understood to mean that some agency, person, or persons are trying to change the shape of the corpus of a language by proposing or prescribing the introduction of new technical terms, changes in spelling, or the adoption of a new script […] [T]hey modify the nature of the language itself, changing its corpus as it were. We may thus speak of language corpus planning. There exists, however, another dimension of planning where one busies oneself not with the structure and form of a language but with its standing alongside other languages or vis-à-vis a national government […] They are primarily interested in the status of the language whether it is satisfactory as it is or whether it should be lowered or raised. Here we can speak of language status planning.

In other words, while corpus planning refers to interventions in the language itself – primarily linguistic aspects that 'modify the nature of the language itself' – status planning refers to the functional allocation

of a language vis-à-vis other languages – its ‘status’ in the bi- or multilingual community (Cooper, 1989; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kloss, 1969).

The previous discussion has clearly demonstrated that the concept of status planning has strong explanatory power in all four case companies: the very purpose of a corporate language policy is often – also in the four companies in this study – to establish a common corporate language or specify the use of parallel/multiple languages for various communicative purposes. This motivation corresponds with the purpose of status planning which, as described above, concerns the allocation of functions among a community’s languages (Cooper, 1989, p. 32). When acknowledging that MNCs are multilingual communities (Barner-Rasmussen & Björkman, 2007), it makes sense to regard the choice of a common corporate language (or languages) as ‘norm selection’ which is the first stage of Haugen’s (1966) model of language standardisation.

It is interesting to observe how the four case companies included in this study have approached norm selection in very different ways: in Nordea the decision to choose English as a corporate language was prompted by the 2000 merger and a previous unsuccessful norm implementation (Swedish) (section 4.1.1.1); in Saxo Bank, the choice of English is described as ‘a non-official decision that has turned into an official decision’ (section 4.2.1.1); in Grundfos norm selection ‘happened gradually by itself’ (section 5.1.1.1); and in ECCO, norm selection turned out to be too difficult to agree on (section 8.1.2). Although all of the four companies operate under some form of language policy, Nordea is actually the only company that has implemented a norm following norm selection. In the three remaining companies, norm implementation – i.e. the adoption of a corporate language – has in fact preceded norm selection.

In Haugen’s model, norm codification constitutes the second stage of the language standardisation process. As mentioned multiple times throughout the previous discussion, several studies note that companies tend to develop their own ‘company speak’ (de Vecchi, 2012, 2014; Welch et al., 2005), often closely intertwined with ‘industry speak’ (cf. section 6.10). One interesting finding from the present study concerns corporate corpus planning in the sense that all case companies actively pursue norm codification by standardising a register of company and industry-specific terms. This form of codification is what Haugen (1983, p. 272) refers to as lexication. Findings presented in Chapters 7 and 8 have shown that in particular Nordea and Grundfos, the two ‘high’ language management companies, have developed extensive company dictionaries consisting of several thousand terms. Nordea and Grundfos have also established mechanisms for norm elaboration (the fourth stage in Haugen’s model) by inviting employees to contribute to the functional development of the company language(s). As stated by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 44) ‘language communities’ – also multilingual corporations, one may add – ‘need […] to have mechanisms to modernise their language so that it continues to meet their needs’.

Now, considering the two pairs of financial service companies and manufacturing companies, some observations can be made when comparing findings from the two preceding chapters. With

reference to the two cross-case analyses (sections 7.8 and 8.8), it is noteworthy that these have revealed similar communication patterns in the two financial services and manufacturing companies despite their different language policies. In the two financial services, Nordea has a formal language policy stating that British English is the corporate language of the firm to be used in cross-border communication but that local languages may be used for country-specific communication. In comparison, Saxo Bank's semi-formalised language policy states that British English is the corporate language, but Danish is nevertheless used (*de facto*) for country-specific communication, as in Nordea. Likewise, Grundfos' formal language policy states that British English is the 'shared corporate language' of the group, while allowing local Grundfos companies to communicate by means of their local language. In reality, Grundfos is also moving towards a 'semi-formalised' multiple corporate language set-up, through its consistent use of the eight 'Grundfos-languages', although the use of these languages is not specified in the policy document. The same patterns of parallel language use – English and local languages – is also found in ECCO, which like Grundfos uses English for cross-border communication and local language communication in the national context. On the basis of these findings, one may conclude that language standardisation overall does not reduce linguistic diversity within these four case companies. Rather, in all case companies the tendency is the same: norm selection does not imply 'norm deselection' – hence, parallel language use exists in all case companies to some degree, either formalised (Nordea and Grundfos), non-formalised (ECCO) or 'semi-formalised' (Saxo Bank).

What I have described in the previous paragraph bears strong resemblance to Steyaert et al.'s (2010) conceptualisation of multilingual organisations as 'linguascapes'. In essence, Steyaert et al. (2010, p. 270) observe how organisations tend to form specific linguistic landscapes; hence the term 'linguascapes' describes 'the flow of languages that cross a specific organisational space'. On the basis of Steyaert et al.'s theory, one may question why such completely different industry sectors – financial services and manufacturing – display tendencies of the same 'linguascapes' with regard to the use of English in corporate functions and local language communication among branch employees and production workers.

It may be worth recalling what one informant in Grundfos (section 8.1.1.) said about organisational subcultures within the company, i.e. what the informant experiences as a division between white-collar and blue-collar workers. This phenomenon was explained on the basis of Schein's (2010, p. 58) definition of 'the operator subculture'. In addition to what was stated in section 8.1.1, Schein argues that (pp. 58-59):

> All organizations have some version of what has been called 'the line' as opposed to 'the staff', referring to those employees who produce and sell the organization's products or services. I will call these the 'operators' […] The operator subculture is based on human interaction, and most line

units learn that high levels of communication, trust, and teamwork are essential to getting the work done effectively.

Considering the general cross-sector distinction made above regarding headquarters employees on the one side and branch/production employees on the other side, this distinction fits what Schein refers to as 'the line', i.e. the operators vs. 'the staff', i.e. headquarters employees. When coupling Schein's (2010) conceptualisation of the operator subculture to Steyaert et al.'s (2010) conceptualisation of 'linguascapes', findings from this study strongly suggest that the two have much in common. Indeed, findings from the four case companies demonstrate that linguascapes occur based on the language needs and communicative practices of different subcultures within the organisations.

A recurring topic in the previous discussion has been the following: what does English as a common corporate language actually mean? The same question was raised by Lønsmann (2011; cf. section 2.3.4.5) in her case study of English as a corporate language in Lundbeck, where informants displayed very different understandings of the company's English language policy. In the present study it is clear that the existence of the 'operative linguascape' (cf. Schein, 2010; Steyaert et al., 2010) at the branch/production level clearly challenges the concept of English as the single companywide 'corporate language' and most definitely as the single 'common corporate language'. In both of the two 'high' language management companies, 'corporate language' is in fact to be interpreted as 'cross-border language' as mentioned above; the language one should use when communicating with others across national and linguistic borders. In this way, 'corporate language' refers to the language used by corporate-level functions, i.e. specific functions that coordinate activities across national and linguistic borders companywide, such as marketing or finance (Feely & Harzing, 2003; Goold & Campell, 2002; Guadalupe, Li, & Wulf, 2014), as opposed to the operating functions of the firm – branch (financial services) and production (manufacturing). Hence, it may make more sense to talk about the use of English as a divisional language for personnel who collaborate and maintain regular contact with international colleagues in corporate level functions (i.e. 'corporate' denotes the functions within the corporation where the language is in use, not the corporation as a whole, cf. section 2.3.4). Just like the branch/production employees may be thought of as a subculture with its own linguascape, 'the staff' (Schein, 2010), or headquarters employees, may also be thought of as a subculture with its own linguascape. The idea that English represents a common corporate language for the entire organisation is not consistent with the existence of different linguascapes with their own language preferences. Therefore, data presented in this study support Janssens and Steyaert's (2014) argument that language research in international business studies should pay more attention to the relationship between the global and the local rather than focusing on the single lingua franca.

It follows from this discussion that the occurrence of different linguascapes affects language practices both in the two financial service companies and the two manufacturing companies. However, in

line with the discussion in Chapter 6, the composition of employees in the two sectors is affected by sector-specific characteristics, which again contribute to create the need for local-language communication in the 'operative linguascape'. As previously discussed, Grundfos and ECCO employ a large number of production workers who tend to have modest to low educational levels , and they have outsourced much of their production to cheap labour economies where knowledge of English is limited. Thus, educational level in the industry and economic geography appears to contribute to the formation of the 'operative linguascape' in the two manufacturing firms where the use of the local languages is favoured. In Nordea and Saxo Bank the majority of employees are located in the companies' home countries, unlike in the manufacturing companies. Here, the age structure of Nordea's and Saxo Bank's branch employees have been found to create a demand for local-language communication, which corresponds to Heikkilä and Smale's (2010) study of the effects of language standardisation (English) on electronic human resource management, where the authors also compare educational level and age as factors negatively affecting employees' ability to obtain English-medium information. The two financial services' need for local responsiveness and regulatory compliance are also sector effects that contribute to the formation of the 'operative linguascape' in the financial service companies. Consequently, although the phenomenon and the need for local language is the same across industry sectors, the previous discussion (based on Chapter 6) has revealed that to a large extent they may be ascribed to different sector-specific factors.

In comparison, the need for English-medium communication across the two industries appears to be prompted by the same factor: global integration. Yet, the pressure for integration can be explained by different sector-specific characteristics owing to the nature of the two different industry sectors. In the two manufacturing companies, the need for global integration is to a large extent motivated by relatively standardised consumer needs, investment intensity in research and development, and pressure for cost reduction (Dicken, 2011; Harzing, 2000; Prahalad & Doz, 1987; Yip, 1989) – factors that result in what Prahalad and Doz (1987, p. 25) refer to as 'product emphasis', expressed through 'integrated product strategy and worldwide business management'. In comparison, global integration in the two financial services must be seen together with economic geography. As an industry characterised by a very high degree of geographic concentration, it is not the product that drives global integration in the two financial services, but rather the agglomeration of the financial services industry, i.e. the clustering of financial services in particular cities (cf. Venables, 1996, p. 53), and the importance of investment and wholesale divisions to be close to market information (Dicken, 2011; Grant & Venzin, 2009). The need for global integration arises from having to coordinate activities across national and linguistic borders, for example in relation to multinational customers and competitors (Prahalad & Doz, 1987, pp. 18-23). These are also factors that increase the need for English-medium communication, given the widespread use of English in global banking, as previously discussed.

Figure 9 illustrates the formation of the operative and corporate level linguascapes across the two sectors. Note that the formation of these linguascapes is based on general communication tendencies, but these are by no means static – for instance, the relatively common use of local language communication for social purposes in headquarters strongly suggests that the local language has not been excluded from this linguistic-communicative arena, regardless of the company's language policy. Note also that there is an overlapping area between the two linguascapes; this is a potentially problematic area of hierarchical and vertical communication practices where language choice is negotiated between members of the two corporate and operative linguascapes. Data from Saxo Bank (section 4.2.3.2) and ECCO (5.2.3.2) in particular demonstrate that problems may arise when there is no agreed standard for which language this communication should be conducted in.

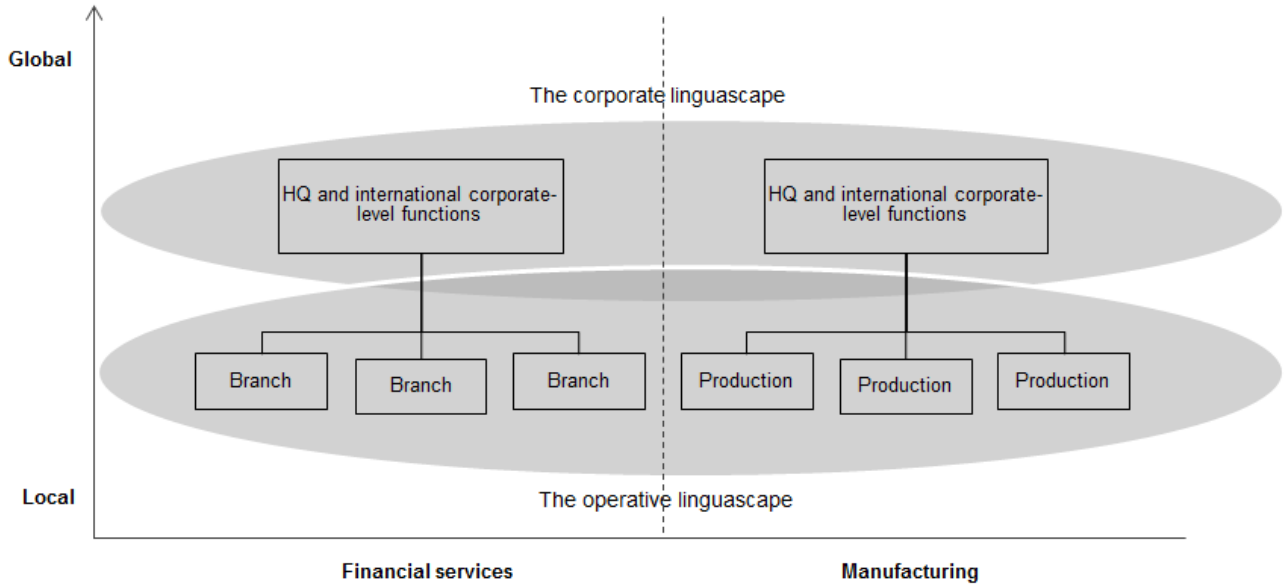

Figure 9 Cross-sector linguascapes

When comparing Figure 9 to the language management taxonomy (Table 1), it is evident that the presence of the corporate linguascape promotes the use of English as a corporate/divisional language, while the operative linguascape promotes the use of multiple corporate languages. In Table 1 one can also find various forms of company-specific language. As discussed in section 6.10, the industry-specific characteristic 'industry speak' is likely also to affect the company-specific language in both financial service companies and manufacturing companies. In financial service companies, the sector-specific characteristic 'regulatory compliance' also has an effect on company-specific language.

Findings from the case companies indicate that English and the local language(s) tend to be used for different communicative purposes, within the different 'linguascapes' (cf. Figure 9). The question remains whether this functional division of languages results in language hierarchies, where one language is perceived as having higher status than the other(s). Within a status planning framework, selecting English as a corporate language with the purpose of standardising language practices within a

multilingual organisation should – in theory – place English at the top of the organisational language hierarchy. For this reason it is interesting to observe that Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999b, p. 435), Piekkari et al. (2014, p. 209) and Piekkari and Tietze (2014, p. 264) all discuss the organisational ranking of languages, i.e. language hierarchies, with the local language as the dominant language, followed by the corporate language English, and the local subsidiary languages at the bottom. However, as noted by Barner-Rasmussen and Aarnio (2011, p. 294), the formation of language hierarchies appears to be a 'two-way-street', dependent on important contextual factors such as the communicative situation. In accordance with this statement, data from the present study also strongly indicate that language hierarchies should by no means be regarded as stable entities, but rather that they are reshuffled on the basis of the communicative need, which may differ according to language practices within the linguascape.

9.2 Language needs analyses

In section 2.4.2.1, language needs analyses were described as analyses that companies may utilise to obtain an overview of their language situation (i.e. linguistic auditing; Reeves & Wright, 1996, and language check-ups; Feely & Reeves, 2001). Neither of the two preceding chapters has discussed language needs analyses as a language management tool, the reason being that there is no evidence in the data that such analyses are used in the companies. Given that language needs analyses often are very time-consuming (Grin et al., 2010, pp. 131-134), and previous studies suggest that companies display low interest in them – 'disturbingly low' in the words of Randelsome and Myers (1997, p. 9) – it is not particularly surprising in itself that neither of the firms have made use of this language management tool.

However, even though language needs analyses as they are defined in the literature are not utilised in the four case companies, it is possible to find elements of such analyses. Following the 2000 merger Nordea developed a business case of language and translation needs (section 4.1.2.1) which laid the foundation for the company's language policy as it exists today. The purpose of this business case was to obtain an overview of the company's language needs in order to make a well-informed decision about the future handling of language and communication – a motivation that echoes the purpose of language needs analyses. Recall that respondent Nordea_1 made use of two sources of input when developing the business case; firstly, statistics of the previous Danish translation unit's translation output, and secondly, interviews with the business units and areas that had been identified as the largest customers of the translation department.

With that in mind, one may draw a parallel to Vandermeeren (1998, 2003), who defines language needs as the need for communication to take place in one or more particular language(s). According to Vandermeeren, language needs are made up of two dimensions: a quantitative dimension, which refers to how often the use of a particular foreign language is necessary, and a qualitative dimension, which refers to the kind of competence required in that particular language. Vandermeeren argues that these

dimensions combined will give an indication of the extent of the language needs as they occur in various business settings. These two dimensions are exactly what Nordea_1 sought to examine by utilising the two previously mentioned sources of data; statistics helped identify the quantitative language need, while interviews were used to identify the qualitative language need.

Thus, the most important finding form Nordea is that this form of language needs analysis was conducted on a scale and format that was perceived as manageable. In comparison, a full linguistic auditing procedure or language check-ups may provide more extensive knowledge, but if the methodology itself requires extensive time and efforts, the threshold of conducting the analysis becomes too high – hence, the needs analysis will not be implemented in practice (Feely & Harzing, 2003, p. 40). The business case from Nordea also shows that it can be possible to investigate language needs based on existing data (i.e. statistics), which not only reduces data collection efforts, but also increases the reliability of the analysis (Grin et al., 2010, p. 132) by limiting the risk of over- or underestimation of language needs (cf. section 2.4.2.1).

9.3 Translation

Empirical findings show that translation is needed in all four case companies. In general, the need for translation appears to correspond with the language and communication patterns identified in the two linguascapes (Figure 9). In communicative situations where the language used for communication differs from that of the linguascape, translation needs occur. As discussed in section 9.1, these needs may be ascribed to factors pertinent to the industry sector, i.e. such as economic geography and educational level in the two manufacturing companies, and local responsiveness, age structure, and regulatory compliance in the two financial service companies. These factors also feed into the companies' use of translation, since communication in multiple languages creates situations where information in one or multiple languages must be translated into another language or languages.

Another sector-specific characteristic in the two manufacturing firms which also appears to influence the choice of translation is communication mode. As discussed in section 6.5, this factor captures the demand for communication to be conducted in a specific mode, in particular oral and visual modes of communication (e.g. Harzing et al., 2011; Lehtonen, 2011). Converting messages from text to pictures and oral messages can also be seen as a form of translation, undertaken either by the corporate headquarters as the sender of the message (e.g. visual material) or by the local management level (e.g. oral communication). When managers at different organisational levels perform such translation activities this may be seen in relation to Tietze's (2010, p. 192) conceptualisation of international managers as translators whose role is to create 'a context in which knowledge and activity can begin to flow'.

Both Nordea and Grundfos have established in-house translation departments to handle translation requests internally in the firm. However, Grundfos' translation department only handles the translation of

externally-directed material, which means that Nordea is the only company with an in-house translation department for internal translation needs. The three other companies rely solely on external translation agencies for internal communication assistance, i.e. they have chosen to externalise their organisational language capital (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 40, 106). In addition to the use of professional translators, findings from this study also demonstrate that translation needs may be solved by language intermediates (cf. section 9.7), or be left to the front-line level (cf. section 9.8).

9.4 Technological solutions

As mentioned above in section 9.1, all four case companies have engaged in some form of lexication by standardising and collecting a register of company and industry-specific terms. The scale of the companies' corpus planning initiatives range from a few standardised key terms found in Saxo Bank's communication manual (cf. section 7.1.2), to Nordea's and Grundfos' extensive online dictionaries (sections 7.3.1 and 8.3.1). As industry-specific terms make up a significant part of these companies' comprehensive online databases, it is clear that the factor 'industry speak' has an impact on the use of this language management tools.

In both Grundfos and Nordea the corpus planning initiatives have primarily been driven by professional translators in the two companies' translation departments. In line with this observation, it is interesting to once again consult Kloss (1969, p. 81), who states that:

> The big difference between corpus and status planning is that the former cannot be done without the help of some specialists, chiefly linguists and writers, who are called upon to form an academy, commission or some other official or semiofficial body within the framework of which they are expected to do some long-range teamwork.

Thus, it seems as if corporate corpus planners also need to have some form of specialist background in order to 'form' the 'academy' and fully commit to the task, regardless of industry sector.

Interview data presented in the two preceding chapters indicate that knowledge of online dictionaries may be limited at the front-line level, or that front-line employees may find the usefulness of these dictionaries somewhat limited. Rather than making use of the technological solutions available, employees may resort to emergent solutions (cf. section 9.9) or passive behaviour (Marschan et al., 1997; Piekkari et al., 2013). Still, technological solutions such as online dictionaries may be beneficial both to language and communication professionals in the company, and to normal employees for the type of communication tasks they perform – both in financial service companies and manufacturing companies. The biggest difference between the sectors relates to the typical work environment of employees, in particular production workers' access to the technology that provides these online solutions. As discussed in section 6.4, production workers, who make up a large portion of the personnel in the

manufacturing firms, have reduced access to computers and online channels. Hence, overall, the percentages of employees who are theoretically able to benefit from technological solutions are higher in financial service firms, where most employees tend to have relatively easy access to the company's intranet.

9.5 Language training

As described above, language status and language corpus planning are often treated as two interconnected mechanisms of language planning, or as Fishman (2004, p. 80) puts it: 'two sides of the same language planning coin'. However, Cooper's (1989) argument that the supply of language skills plays an equally important part in language planning has led to the inclusion of language acquisition as a third dimension, cf. Kloss (1969). In the words of Cooper (1989, p. 120): 'Status planning is an effort to regulate the *demand* for a given verbal resource whereas acquisition planning is an effort to regulate the *distribution* of those resources'.[8]

In the sociolinguistic literature, language acquisition is often synonymous with language training, e.g. for large-scale language planning initiatives at the national level. Indeed, as mentioned in section 8.1.1, the educational system often plays a key part in the implementation of language policies (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p. 36; Spolsky, 2009, p. 90) – which is also the case in Grundfos, where the company's English language policy has been used for language teaching purposes. Also the other manufacturing company, ECCO, has well-established language training programmes for certain groups of employees (cf. section 8.4.2). In the two financial service companies, however, language training is primarily offered when explicitly requested by the employees themselves (section 7.4).

Findings presented in Chapters 7 and 8 show that some sector-specific factors appear to have a negative impact on the use of language training across the two industry sectors, in particular in the

[8]Following Cooper's (1989) contribution, the tripartite division of status, corpus, and acquisition planning have gained foothold in the literature. An alternative division is proposed by Haarmann (1990) who advocates 'prestige planning' – values/evaluation as regards the targets of planning – as the third language planning activity in addition to Kloss' (1969) status-corpus planning distinction. Verhoef (1998) proposes a similar language planning type when arguing in favour of 'attitude planning', but in contrast to Haarmann (1990), Verhoef (1998, p. 32) states that 'language attitude planning should not be seen as a separate type of language planning, but rather as part of the implementation phase within the status domain'. Furthermore, Baker (2003) discusses 'opportunity, use and incentive planning' as a separate distinction alongside the classical status, corpus and acquisition planning division, as a part of what he calls 'target language planning'. 'Discourse planning' has also been proposed as an ideological addition to other forms of language planning actions. In the words of Lo Bianco (2004, p. 743), discourse planning 'refers to the efforts of institutions and diverse interests to shape, direct, and influence discursive practices and patterns'. Finally, it may also be worth mentioning the term 'cultivation planning', which must not be confused with language planning types (i.e. status, corpus and acquisition planning). Rather, cultivation planning should be seen as a functional approach to language planning vis-a-vis policy planning (i.e. form vs. function); see Hornberger (2006); Ricento and Hornberger (1996) for an overview. The terms mentioned in this footnote are included for terminological clarification but will not be discussed any further.

branch and production area (the cross-sector ‘operative linguascape’, cf. section 9.1). Specifically, informants in Nordea and Saxo Bank stated in section 7.4 that the need for English language training is limited due to the typical communication patterns of branch employees, which can be related to the pressure for local responsiveness. The higher age structure of employees in the branch area was also mentioned as a consideration in relation to language training, which often results in the choice of other language management tools, usually translation.

Language training is one of the few language management tools that have been discussed in the literature on the basis of sector-specific characteristics. It was mentioned in section 2.5 that Bellak (2014, p. 309) and Grin et al. (2010, p. 149) question the effectiveness of foreign language training for production workers. Grin et al. (2010, p. 115) find that employees in the financial sector tend to benefit more from English language skills than employees in manufacturing, where national languages ‘make a more important contribution’. The limited use of language training for blue-collar workers in manufacturing is often seen in relation to limited international exposure (cf. Figure 9), combined with the way production units are organised and run, expressed in the sector-specific finding work environment, and the educational level of operative staff members.

Interview data presented in section 8.4 also suggest that foreign language training (English) for production workers may yield limited benefits if perceived solely as a language management tool for exisiting language needs. However, language training may provide other organisational benefits on a long-term basis both for financial services and manufacturing companies (and other sectors too). Firstly, several authors argue that language skills may be thought of as a form of currency or capital (Dhir, 2005; Dhir & Gòkè-Paríolá, 2002; Duchêne, 2009; Piekkari et al., 2014; Welch & Welch, 2008). Indeed, Dhir (2005, p. 364) states that corporations may treat language assets as a portfolio of financial currency assets, and that ‘as a store of value, it [language] serves as an investment asset’. The analogy of ‘language investment’ as a way of building up organisational language capital – not just individual language capital – over time (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 106) requires us to also consider the future careers of employees. In this way, training and development can be seen as a method through which companies can ‘develop their latent potential’ (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989, p. 186). Like all investments the return of language investments may not materialise in the immediate future, but several years down the line. Piekkari (2008), for instance, notes that foreign language competences may influence individual careers, both by advancing and limiting career opportunities. With that in mind, it may be worth considering the following excerpt from an informant in ECCO:

(418) Let’s say you want to have a career within shoe manufacturing, then I think you can make it quite far without knowing a lot of languages, but the higher up you want to go, the more important it is that you are good in languages.
-ECCO_8, Project manager

For this reason, one may argue that investing in language training is a way of investing in future talents, by giving employees the possibility to embark on careers they otherwise would be excluded from. Although blue-collar employees may not need foreign language skills in their current job (Bellak, 2014, p. 309), they may need them in order to realise a future career.

Secondly, it was argued in section 8.8 that foreign language training may be seen as a fringe benefit to employees. However, unlike many other types of fringe benefits that primarily benefit the employees (and maybe indirectly the company by having satisfied employees, e.g. insurance, or retirement schemes) language training may also be directly advantageous for the company by promoting and retaining talented employees, as discussed above. Another side effect of organising language courses for employees is that it creates forums for employees to meet other colleagues, and possibly colleagues they would not have had occasions to meet otherwise. Therefore, language training may provide networking opportunities and opportunities to bond with other colleagues, since language courses often are scheduled to take place over several weeks, even months, which also may contribute positively to intra-organisational knowledge sharing (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1990; Charles & Marschan-Piekkari, 2002).

9.6 Selective recruitment

As discussed in section 2.4.2.5 companies that deploy selective recruitment as a language management tool often tend to look for a combination of language and (other) professional skills. This finding also emerges in the data material presented in this study; when looking at all four case companies combined, the general trend across the two sectors is that candidates are often attractive because of their combination of skills. Still, as mentioned by one informant in Grundfos (section 8.5.1) language skills (English) could be given priority over professional skills (in this case knowledge of HR-related issues) if the position requires extensive international cooperation. However, except for this observation, any formal language requirements appear to depend on the typical communication patterns associated with the particular position, e.g. English is usually (in all case companies) a requirement for most headquarters positions (cf. Figure 9), but this requirement will not ‘materialise’ before the candidate has fulfilled other criteria first. This finding suggests that the sector-specific characteristic global integration influences the use of selective recruitment of English-competent employees in both sectors.

The biggest difference between the two financial services and manufacturing companies thus relates to the requirement of local language skills in the branches of Nordea and Saxo Bank. Employees who are hired to engage in B2C customer contact must as a general rule be able to conduct meetings in the local language. This is clearly a sector-specific finding that relates back to the discussion on local responsiveness (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; Luo & Shenkar, 2006). Regulatory compliance is also a sector-specific finding appearing to have an impact on selective recruitment of candidates with local

language skills in the two financial service firms, as employees who are going to fill positions dealing with local authorities must be competent in the local language.

As stated in section 9.5, language acquisition in the sociolinguistic literature is often seen as a process that takes place at the individual level, in the sense that individuals are the ones who obtain certain language skills through education (Cooper, 1989). However, the present study (and previous studies, e.g. Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; CILT, 2006, 2011, Peltokorpi & Vaara, 2014) demonstrates that it makes sense also to talk about selective recruitment as a form of organisational level language acquisition, given that the main purpose of selective recruitment (in the context of this study) is to hire – i.e. 'acquire' – employees who possess certain language skills. Hence, in business organisations we may talk about language acquisition at both the individual and organisational levels. While acknowledging that language skills are individual level skills (Welch et al., 2005), this observation ultimately makes the company the 'language acquirer'.

9.7 Language intermediates

The general trend across the four case companies indicates an inversely proportional relationship between the use of professional translation services and language intermediates. The two companies that make little use of professional translators (Saxo Bank and ECCO) appear to make more frequent use of language intermediates for translation purposes. On the other hand, Nordea and Grundfos rely to a lesser degree on having their material translated by language intermediates, which can be explained by their well-established professional translation set-up, either in-house (Nordea) or with an external agency (Grundfos).

However, it is also evident from the findings presented in Chapter 8 that there are some sector-specific effects at play across the data sample. Grundfos, for example, is a firm that has been defined as a 'high' language management company, and a company that has made use of professional translators for decades. Still, despite using professional translators for their employee magazine, Grundfos nevertheless relies on local proofreaders in the local host countries. This may be explained by the company's host-country locations, as expressed in the sector-specific factor economic geography. Being a manufacturing company, Grundfos has located much of their production in cheap labour economies and in order to communicate effectively with the workforce in these locations, the headquarters communication department finds the language assistance of local language intermediates a necessary supplement to the translation provided by the Danish translation agency. Also the other manufacturer ECCO relies on language intermediates due to economic geography, when employees in the headquarters need to get in touch with English-proficient colleagues in locations where English language skills are scarce. In comparison, language intermediation as a language management tool for internal communication purposes is not commonly used due to economic geography in the two financial services.

The widespread use of language intermediates in the headquarters of two 'low' language management companies to a large extent appears to be the result of financial considerations (discussed as a company-specific finding in section 6.11). In both Saxo Bank and ECCO informants state that the company's unwillingness to pay for professional translation services is the main reason that language intermediates are used to meet the company's translation needs. This finding raises some questions with regard to the two concepts of costs vs. expenditures. Evidence from Saxo Bank and ECCO demonstrates that the two companies are primarily concerned with the expenditures – i.e. the direct monetary outlay – associated with purchasing translation services. However, as argued by Grin (2003a, 2003b), the costs of all language policy evaluations – also in the corporate context, one may add – should include factors other than the mere monetary expenses, i.e. the total costs of a language management tool. These are costs that are often described as 'hidden' (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 31; Welch & Welch, 2008, p. 347), because they cannot be measured in direct monetary terms. For example, when one of the native English speakers in ECCO describes how she feels obliged to correct her colleagues' inadequate English-medium communication, this is a type of (human resource) cost that should also be considered when evaluating the use of language intermediation as a language management tool.

The distinction between expenditures and costs feeds into the two basic economic principles of effectiveness and cost-effectiveness. Effectiveness refers to the achievement of a certain outcome in line with its intended purpose – the desired result is obtained. On the other hand, cost-effectiveness refers to a situation where a given effect is achieved with the lowest possible use of resources, or where the best possible effect is achieved, given a certain amount of resources (Grin, 2003a, p. 99, 2003b, p. 42). Applied to language intermediation, one may summarise the situation as follows: language intermediation may be an effective tool in the sense that it delivers the intended outcome (e.g. a native English-speaker carries out a translation task), but when one considers all the costs associated with the use of language intermediation (the translations takes two full working days, may hamper inter-collegial relationships, and the person may suffer significant stress from taking on the extra workload), one may question whether it is the most cost-effective tool. In other words, a language management tool that at first sight may seem like the 'cheapest' option, is not necessarily the most cost-efficient solution once the total costs have been taken into account.

Furthermore, companies may also find that language intermediation is not necessarily the most effective tool either in terms of providing desirable outcomes. For example, findings from Grundfos (section 8.6.1) demonstrate that although the use of language intermediates as proofreaders for the employee magazine may appear to produce the desired result (proofreading), the use of language intermediates may in fact not have the best effect. As discussed in section 6.6, language intermediates are often in positions of power (cf. Piekkari et al., 2005; Vaara et al., 2005), and the use of this language management tool may therefore cause problems, especially for manufacturing companies, given that gatekeeping activities ultimately could result in organisational isolation (cf. section 6.6).

9.8 Emergent solutions at the front-line level

As mentioned multiple times already, the use of emergent solutions refers to the management of discourse through the use of informal, on-the-spot language management tools available at the front-line level (cf. section 2.4.3). Findings from the four case companies were rather similar in this category, which is interesting given that the companies have been selected based on their different language management approaches across two different sectors. In all case companies the most important emergent solution was found to be collegial language assistance offered by other employees, or the (non-language manager approved) use of online language tools (not to be confused with technological solutions emanating from the corporate level, cf. 9.4). The widespread use of emergent solutions across the two industries, also in the two 'high' language management companies, indicates that this type of immediate language help is needed by the employees – although there may be different reasons why the needs emerge, e.g. need for speedy translation (section 7.7.1) or lack of other alternatives (8.7.1) – which corresponds with findings from previous empirical studies (e.g. Andersen & Rasmussen, 2004; Harzing et al., 2011; Lønsmann, 2011; Marschan et al., 1997). Since the findings were rather similar across the sample, it is difficult to point to any sector-specific characteristics; rather, when comparing the findings from this study to previous studies, the need for emergent solutions appears to be pertinent to most multinational, multilingual corporations.

9.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed the use of various language management tools across the two sectors, based on findings presented in Chapters 7 (financial services) and 8 (manufacturing). The present chapter has found that there are both similarities and differences when comparing these findings with each other; in other words, the use of some language management tools appears to be more affected by sector-specific factors than others.

First of all, with regard to corporate language policies, the findings across the four case companies are unanimous: regardless of sector or degree of language management, all case companies are truly multilingual organisations. This finding supports Phillipson's (2010, 2012) argument that there is an undisputed need for local language communication in the corporate world. Although the same phenomenon was observed for both the financial service companies and the manufacturing companies, there appear to be some sector-specific factors contributing to creating various language needs (cf. Figure 9), and the impact of these factors on the selection of language management tools are summarised in Figure 10 (based on Figures 7 and 8).

One of the most important observations from the preceding discussion has been the following: the use of one language management tool does not limit the benefits of others. Rather, several language management tools appear to be interconnected and can easily be combined dependent on the company's

situation with regard to language and communication practices. What this implies is that the implementation of one language management tool is often insufficient to meet all language needs at all organisational levels. For example, the adoption of an English language policy is likely to trigger the need for follow-up initiatives, such as translation, language training or selective recruitment – possibly all at once. The use of the various tools is largely dependent on factors pertinent to the company and the company's context, including sector-specific factors (cf. Figure 10).

		Financial services – Language management tools	**Manufacturing – Language management tools**
Sector-specific findings	**Economic geography**	-Common corporate language	-Multiple corporate languages -Language intermediation -Translation
	Local responsiveness	-Multiple corporate languages -Translation -Selective recruitment -Language training	NA
	Global integration	-Common corporate language -Selective recruitment	-Common corporate language -Selective recruitment
	Work environment	NA	-Technological solutions -Language training
	Communication mode	NA	-Translation
	Risk of organisational isolation	NA	-Language intermediates
	Educational level	NA	-Multiple corporate languages -Translation -Language training
	Age structure	-Multiple corporate languages -Translation -Language training	NA
	Regulatory compliance	-Multiple corporate languages -Company-specific language -Selective recruitment -Translation	NA
	Industry speak	-Company-specific language -Technological solutions	-Company-specific language -Technological solutions

Figure 10 Sector-specific findings influencing the choice of language management tools

10 Conclusions

10.1 Major findings

The present study has examined language management within financial services and manufacturing through a multiple case study research strategy. Whereas language in international business and management has gained momentum as an independent research topic over the past two decades, the effects of industry sectors on corporate language management have been largely overlooked in the existing literature. Findings from this study reveal that a number of sector-specific factors influence language management at the company level of the four case companies included in this study, and that these factors clearly have an impact in terms of which language management tools the companies choose to make use of. This thesis has demonstrated that industry sectors – as part of a company's context – matters with regard to how and by what means language management is carried out in practice. Consequently, while the case companies in this study represent an arena for studying *how* corporate language management takes place in real-life settings, industry sectors represent a deeper level of context, which provides new perspectives for understanding *why* corporate language management is conducted in the way it is.

The explanatory power of industry sector has been discussed on the basis of sector-specific characteristics reflected in the companies' language management approach. The main conclusions from this study can be summarised as follows: With regard to the two financial service companies Nordea and Saxo Bank, this thesis has found six sector-specific characteristics that influence the choice of language management tools (cf. Figure 10): a) *Economic geography:* sector-specific factors affect the companies' presence in international financial centres, where the use of English is widespread, thereby prompting the use of a common language for corporate-level functions; b) *Local responsiveness*: strong local market presence through extensive retail banking operations increase the need for local responsiveness (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989) and local language communication, which again increases the need for multiple corporate languages and translation into the national language used in the local (Scandinavian) markets. Local responsiveness also enhances selective recruitment and therefore imposes restrictions on the provision of language training; c) *Global integration*: centralisation of corporate level functions (excluding retail banking) increases the frequency of cross-border communication (Prahalad & Doz, 1987) and the use of English as the company (i.e. divisional) language. Global integration also increases the use of selective recruitment of English-skilled employees; d) *Age structure*: higher age structure of branch employees is found to create a need for local language communication, leading to the use of multiple corporate languages and translation of information from the corporate language English to the local language of branch employees. Age structure was also found to have a negative impact on the use of language training; e) *Regulatory compliance*: regulatory demands pertinent to the financial sector affect the choice of multiple corporate languages (local language(s) in addition to English) and the

company's language practices as part of its company-specific language. Regulatory compliance was also found to inform the choice of translation to existing employees and selective recruitment of employees with certain (local) language skills; f) *Industry speak*: professional language that relates to financial service activities which affects company-specific language use and the implementation of technological solutions to manage large term databases (the latter was found only at Nordea).

With regard to the two manufacturing companies Grundfos and ECCO, the following seven sector-specific characteristics were found to affect the companies' selection of language management tools: a) *Economic geography:* the companies' internationalisation processes have been influenced by sector-specific factors resulting in the establishment of production facilities in locations where English language skills tend to be scarce, thereby increasing the need for multiple corporate languages and translation into the mother tongue of production workers. Economic geography has also been found to trigger the use of language intermediates as mediums of communication; b) *Global integration*: manufacturing involves global-scale production, which affects the choice of the common (divisional) language English in cross-border communication at the corporate level (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989). Global integration also informs the use of selective recruitment of English-competent employees for positions that require extensive international contact; c) *Work environment:* the physical work environment of production units limits access to communication mediums for production workers, including access to technological solutions. Work environment has also been found to limit the use of language training in ECCO, but not in Grundfos, which can to some extent be explained by differences within the manufacturing industry (i.e. ECCO as a more labour-intensive manufacturer than Grundfos); d) *Communication mode:* the employee structure of manufacturing companies implies that there is a 'limit of language' at the operative level, which creates a need to translate written-medium information into visual and oral-medium communication (cf. Harzing et al., 2011), e) *Risk of organisational isolation*: the risk of gatekeeping is higher when there are few or no direct communication channels between headquarters and foreign subsidiaries – consequently, the use of language intermediates with gatekeeping potential could present a threat to communicative inclusion of foreign subsidiaries, f) *Educational level*: large numbers of production workers with modest to low educational background increase the need for multiple corporate languages and local-language communication through translation (cf. Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio, 2011). Low educational levels have also been negatively related to the choice of language training as a language management tool in the production segment (the latter only in ECCO), g) *Industry speak*: professional language that relates to manufacturing of goods which affects company-specific language use and development of technological solutions to manage large term databases.

In conclusion, by adopting a multiple case study approach consisting of two matched pair cases of financial service companies and manufacturing companies, this thesis has captured the effects of industry sectors on corporate language management.

10.2 Theoretical contributions

10.2.1 International business and management literature

As a cross-disciplinary study of language and communication in multinational corporations, this thesis has theoretical implications for both international business and management research and sociolinguistics research. Firstly, the present study contributes to fill a gap in the emerging language-sensitive research stream in international business and management by focusing on a level of analysis that has largely been overlooked in the existing literature. This thesis has demonstrated that industry sector matters: characteristics pertinent to the different sectors clearly hold strong explanatory power when examining in what way the case companies approach language management. The main contribution of this work therefore lies in generating knowledge about sector effects as an important layer of context in the study of corporate language management.

Another contribution of this thesis lies in conceptualising language management through language management tools. Language management tools have been described as the means by which language is managed; i.e. the tools used to address aspects of a company's internal language and communication practices. By placing language management tools next to other forms of management tools, this project has shown that it is possible to treat the management of language in the same way as international business and management scholars treat any other aspect of MNC management. The taxonomy of tools (Table 1) provides a framework for operationalising language management in the management of multinationals.

At the same time, this thesis has also emphasised that industry sector characteristics affect the companies' use of different language management tools. Clearly, many aspects of a company's context may have an impact on the implementation of such tools, yet, as a cross-sector study, this discussion has focused primarily on how and why the sector matters when it comes to the ways in which companies choose to execute their language management. A contribution of the study therefore lies in calling attention to the strategic considerations that may be explained by sector-specific factors in terms of the selection of different language management tools at company level. This thesis underscores the need to recognise the dynamics of sector effects on corporate language management when examining language management strategically – that is, knowledge and understanding of the sector provides a stronger basis for strategic language management. Thus, in a day-of-age where the study of language has gained momentum in international business and management literature, the present study contributes to make the case for strategic language management as the next frontier in language management research.

In line with what Piekkari et al. (2014) call 'the multilingual reality of global business expansion', it is evident from what has been discussed in this thesis that manufacturing, which is often described as a global industry (e.g. Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; Roth, 1992), and financial services, which have become increasingly global in the past decades with regard to international trade and investment (Dicken, 2011,

pp. 390-394; Moshirian, 2006), are also in need of local-language communication for company-internal reasons. This observation contributes to raise awareness of the role of local languages in global and transnational corporations, where uniform English language policies have been discussed by some authors as the highway to global efficiency (Luo & Shenkar, 2006; Van den Born & Peltokorpi, 2010). Global industries, like all other industries, must address a number of factors – including but not limited to the sector-specific factors discussed in this thesis – when managing their internal multilingualism. As a human resource skill, employees' language skills (or lack thereof) create internal pressure for language management and the implementation of language management tools, in particular corporate measures (cf. section 2.4.2). A strategic approach to language management requires corporate language managers and corporate language management researchers to consider how the language needs of the particular organisation can be met in the most efficient manner. The present study thus emphasises the human resource aspect attached to the management of language (cf. Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999a; Piekkari, 2006; Piekkari & Welch, 2010; Piekkari & Tietze, 2011; Welch et al., 2005).

Finally, the present study has offered rich, in-depth within case analyses of four case companies, two of which have chosen to approach language though detailed language regulation in the form of formalised language policy documents. With regard to the two 'high' language management companies Nordea and Grundfos, this thesis has offered a processual perspective on how these policies came about, which represents a form of analysis rarely found in language-sensitive research in international business and management. Rather than presenting a picture of how the companies manage language today, this study has presented the full story by also considering the development of the language policies as events that offer contextual insight into the companies' current language management practices. The combination of interview data, especially from key informants who took part in developing the companies' language policy documents, combined with the policy documents and other relevant company-specific documents have made it possible to examine the different considerations that were made at the time the policies were developed and compare these to the present-day situation.

10.2.2 Sociolinguistic literature

In line with Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997) theory of linguistic eco-systems, the present study demonstrates that business organisations can be seen as linguistic eco-systems of their own, with multiple company and sector-level forces at work. This study also brings insight into a relationship that has been widely debated in the sociolinguistic literature, namely the relationship between language policy and planning activities at the national (macro) level and at the corporate (meso) level. The implementation of corporate English language policies in countries where English is not an official language, e.g. Scandinavian countries, is occasionally portrayed as a 'domain loss' ('domains' were also discussed in sections 2.2.2 and 2.2.4.5; for more on 'domain loss'; see Haberland, 2008). Lønsmann (2011) for example, discusses how the Danish language in Denmark is perceived to be under threat by

the adoption of corporate English mandates. When a language is perceived to be 'losing domains', such as the domain of business and commerce, one may draw a reference to the concept of diglossia (Ferguson, 1969). Diglossia, in its original form denotes a community in which related varieties of the same language are used in different parts the society. The superior variety, the 'high language', is divergent from the inferior 'low language' in the sense that it is associated with more prestige and often considered to be more beautiful, logical and/or more expressive. One of Ferguson's examples is for instance how classical Arabic ('high language') is regarded as more prestigious than Egyptian Arabic ('low language'). The high and the low variant forms a language hierarchy based on the status they are perceived to have in relation to one another.

However, diglossia is also commonly used to describe how different languages, not just language varieties, in multilingual societies are used for different purposes. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996, p. 446) write that:

> Evidence in western and eastern Europe shows that diglossia, with English as the intrusive dominant language, may be imminent. If the state language is construed or presented as unable to function adequately for certain purposes, for instance as the medium for higher education or as the in-house language in commercial enterprises aiming at the export market, arguably linguicist structures and ideologies will gradually result in the spread of the dominant international language, English, in a diglossic division of labour that marginalizes the state language. There are trends of this sort in Scandinavia, the implications of which have been little explored.

In other words, the argument presented here is as follows: if the national language is unable to fully serve the language needs of internationally-oriented business organisations, the national language will ultimately suffer a domain loss, which may lead to a situation where English takes up a dominant position as the 'high language' at the expense of the national language, which is degraded as a 'low language' (cf. Ferguson, 1959).

In contrast to Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas' statement above, findings from the present study show that the introduction of English language policies in these four case companies does not necessarily degrade the status of the national language(s) at the macro (societal) level, given the widespread use of parallel languages, i.e. English via-a-vis the local language(s) (which echoes Lønsmann's findings). This leads to a rethinking of what 'domain loss' actually entails. In line with Kloss' conceptualisation of status planning (1969) at the macro (national) level, we may conceptualise 'domain loss' as a mismatch between the status planning activities at the national and organisational level. In Denmark, for example, Danish is the 'selected' norm of the country (although not ratified by law, see Siiner, 2011), and a Danish company that implements an English language policy is in reality selecting a different norm; hence, the deviating norm selection results in a domain loss. While it is often assumed that norm selection

automatically leads to the deselection of other norms in the multilingual society, this is not the case for the four multilingual 'societies' included in this study. Consequently, a domain loss occurs when norm selection (i.e. English) is followed by deselection (i.e. English at the expense of the local language). If deselection does not take place, we are looking at what might be called a 'possible domain loss'. The 'possible domain loss' may turn into an actual domain loss if deselection occurs, but it may also remain 'unrealised' over time (e.g. Nordea 'selected' English in 2000; deselection has not yet happened, same with Grundfos where English was 'selected' following implementation in 2002), as illustrated in Figure 11.

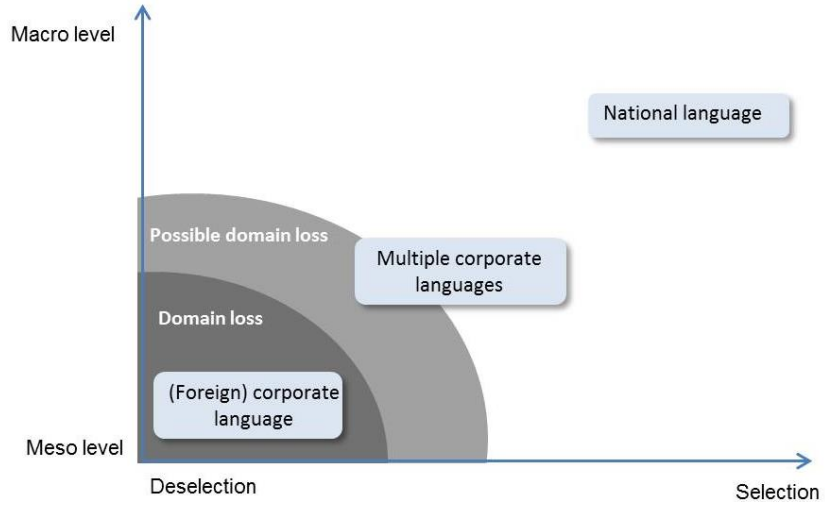

Figure 11 Domain loss and possible domain loss

Furthermore, this study demonstrates that although corporate language management by definition focuses on language management at the meso level, this level of analysis may also explain factors outside of corporations, i.e. in the national context. Recall how Cooper (1989, p. 120) describes language acquisition as a way of supplying the language skills that status planning activities 'demand'. In most cases, status, corpus and acquisition planning are seen as three interrelated language planning factors occurring at the same level, often at the national (macro) level (Fishman, 2006, p. 324). Language planning may of course occur at different levels, including the meso level (Spolsky, 2009, for example discusses language planning/language management in a variety of meso-level domains), and actors at the micro or meso level may also influence language planning decisions at the macro level (see e.g. Combs & Penfield, 2012, for a discussion of language activism), but the co-occurrence of different types of language planning (status, corpus, acquisition) at different levels (micro, meso, macro) is rarely discussed explicitly. This, however, happens in practice as an increasing number of Scandinavian companies engage in status planning activities by implementing English language policies. In these cases, the 'demand' for English language skills is not created by status planning at the macro level, but at the meso level. What we are witnessing may be conceptualised as a 'decentralisation' of the language

planning agency from the macro to the meso level (cf. Baldauf, 1982, 2006) or an introduction of an additional layer of language managers (cf. Spolsky, 2004, 2009). Yet, as multinational corporations are increasing in size and scale, outgrowing nations in terms of economic impact and 'population' (UNCTAD, 2012), we may have to reconsider whether it is the corporations that are multinational or the nations that are multicorporate. Indeed, in a new world order of 'multicorporate nations', we also have to ask ourselves: who's planning whose language policy?

Normally, employees are residents of the country where they work (although it of course possible to commute from one country to another; see e.g. Huber, 2011). This means that the language planning activities conducted at the national level will often affect the companies indirectly by shaping their pool of talents, i.e. employees who are part of the country's population. For example, when a foreign professional decides to relocate to Denmark to work for a Danish firm, the Danish state will offer Danish language training to the person, free of charge for the company, which also may benefit from the language skills of the employee in the work situation. On the other hand, evidence from this study also demonstrates that companies may offer Danish language training to their foreign employees, free of charge for the Danish society, which may also benefit from the language skills of the citizen in societal situations. In this way, there may be an indirect relationship between the language planning/language management activities carried out at the national and organisational level.

At the same time, a company may also be directly affected by national-level language planning activities. As mentioned above, domain loss may be perceived as a mismatch between status planning at the national and at the organisational level, and this mismatch may be corrected through language regulation, preventing the occurrence of deselection. Language legislations have been issued in France, for instance, and following the implementation of the 'Toubon law', all essential company-internal documents must be available to employees in French (Grigg, 2008). Alternatively, the state may choose milder measures or 'soft policies' (Torenvlied & Akkerman, 2004; cf. section 5.1.2.1) in an attempt to affect corporate status planning. In Norway, the Norwegian Language Council [Språkrådet] launched a campaign in 2010 together with the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise under the slogan: 'use Norwegian when you can, and English when you have to' ['Bruk norsk når du kan, og engelsk når du må'] (Språkrådet, 2014; see also Nordic Declaration on Language Policy (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2006)).

However, the Danish state has done little to prevent the realisation of any 'possible domain losses', which contributes to the image of Denmark as a 'multicorporate nation' largely left to market forces with regard to corporate language policy and planning (Siiner, 2010). Although the present study finds that English is not selected at the expense of Danish in the four case companies, it is worth emphasising that these companies are all of Scandinavian origin, and findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5 have pointed to the impact of ownership on language management practices. For this reason it is worth paying attention to the fact that as many as 268,000 Danes are employed (full-time equivalent) in foreign-owned

companies in Denmark, amounting to 20 % of all private-sector employees (Statistics Denmark, 2014). The unregulated language planning activities of these firms – in a 'laissez faire language policy' environment (Phillipson, 2001a, p. 22, 2001b, p. 13, 2003, pp. 1-23) – need more investigation.

Thus, it is clear from the preceding discussion that there are strong reasons for acknowledging corporate language management within national models of language policy and planning: the language management activities of a company in many cases exist either in direct or indirect relationship with the language planning activities of the state and other macro-level bodies (e.g. the EU). This thesis contributes to the sociolinguistic literature by emphasising the role of corporations as language managers/planners.

10.3 Managerial implications

A number of findings from this study have direct practical applicability to multilingual organisations. Rather than addressing language and communication-related issues as trivial matters, the present study calls for a more strategic approach where 'corporate language managers' (not referring to a position but a general term covering 'those who manage language') acknowledge the potential of multilingual management. The language management tools taxonomy presented in Table 1 may serve as a menu of possible ways to address linguistic diversity in internal communication. This section will discuss how managers may utilise this taxonomy through four successive stages, illustrated in Figure 12.

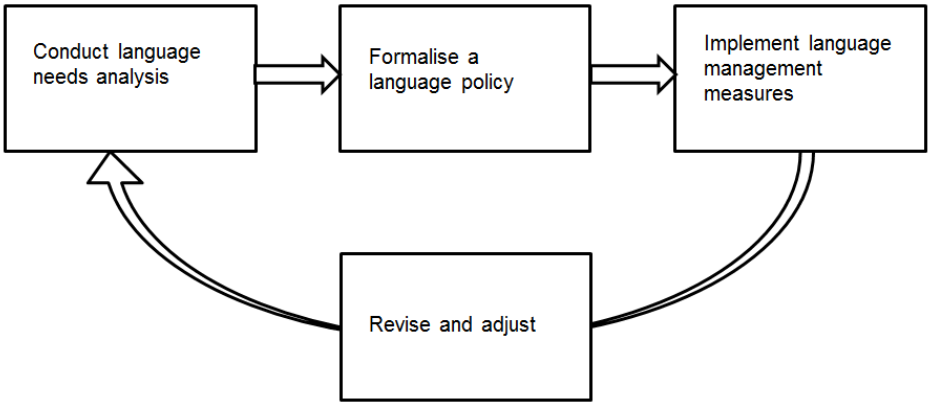

Figure 12 Language management initiatives

1) *Conduct language needs analyses*: The first and most basic thing any company that wishes to attend to its internal linguistic-communicative area should do is to obtain an overview of its current language situation. Section 2.4.2.1 mentions two types of language needs analyses that companies may use for this purpose. However, findings from this and previous studies suggest that comprehensive language needs analyses are often difficult to implement in practice (cf. section 9.2). The case of Nordea demonstrates

that it is possible also to conduct smaller-scale analyses by e.g. reviewing existing data on the company's language and communication practices. Such analyses may help reduce the risk of inadequate language policies due to unawareness (language policy challenge no. 9, cf. Figure 2) by gaining knowledge of language needs that are difficult to recognise as part of everyday communicative interaction, which also reduces the possibility of developing reactive policies (challenge no. 8).

2) *Formalise a language policy:* A language needs analysis may create a strong foundation for developing appropriate language policies (Piekkari et al., 2014, pp. 211-212). Indeed, a language policy is likely to be more successful when developed in agreement with the overall business plan – which will reduce the risk of misalignment (challenge no. 6) – and in response to the language needs of the front line – which will reduce the risk of ignorance of the formal language policy (challenge no. 5). If the language needs analyses reveal a strong demand for local language use (cf. section 9.1 and Table 8), the choice to use multiple corporate languages is likely to reduce individual and collaborative problems (challenges nos. 2 and 3).

3) Implement language management measures: As discussed in section 2.4.2, language management measures are the planned activities that managers may deploy for the purpose of improving the linguistic-communicative area of the firm. Effective use of such language management measures, developed in response to a formal language policy, will render problems with inappropriate follow-up initiatives (challenge no. 7). Language management measures such as translation/interpretation, language training or technological solutions are also likely to have a positive effect on communication overall, reducing the risk of communicative problems (challenge no. 1). Language intermediation may be useful in certain situations, but managers should be aware of power reallocation (challenge no. 4) when relying on this language management tool. This is particularly important for manufacturers, cf. section 6.6. On a general note it is worth pointing out that sector effects (financial services vs. manufacturing) overall appear to be more prominent on language management measures (sections 9.3-9.7) than policies (section 9.1). While the findings on corporate policies were rather similar across the industry sectors, important differences were found with regard to the various language measures, as discussed in Chapter 9. This finding strongly suggests that managers should consider sector-specific characteristics when planning which language management measures to invest in.

4) *Revise and adjust*: Feedback is essential for strategic learning, also when it comes to corporate language strategies (Piekkari et al., 2014, p. 222). This study and previous research has shown that the top management is often unaware of the types of language problems that employees deal with at the front line level (Barner-Rasmussen & Aarnio; 2011; Neeley et al., 2012; Welch et al., 2001). By continuously

revising and adjusting the mix of language management tools, potential language policy challenges may be addressed at an early stage.

This discussion demonstrates that managers may do a great deal to manage language and communication in an effective way. Thus, the most difficult language policy challenge to address is that of unresponsiveness (challenge no. 10). Willingness to act is a precondition for effective language management. This thesis contributes to raise awareness of the importance of language in international business, which in itself may reduce the risk of the 'fatal' number 10.

10.4 Limitations and future research

The aim of this study has been to gain insight into language management within two different sectoral contexts, and not to generalise findings to all financial services and manufacturing firms. Yet, one potential weakness of case study research, discussed by Eisenhardt (1989, p. 547), lies in the risk of developing narrow and overly excessively idiosyncratic theories. Since the discussions of sector-specific characteristics have largely been based on comparative analyses of the two financial services and the two manufacturing companies, this is also a potential limitation of the study. A comparative analysis can be seen as relational in the sense that the outcome depends on what one compares with, therefore, had I chosen to compare one of the sectors, e.g. financial services, with a sector other than manufacturing – for example agriculture, construction, or transportation – this would probably have affected the findings to some extent. Still, by including two matched pair cases from both industry sectors, I have tried to also compare findings within the sectors in addition to the cross-sector comparisons.

A comment should also be made with regard to the two sectors included in this study, as they – on the basis of the findings from the four case companies – have been discussed primarily as two distinct sectors. However, there is a growing body of literature on the servitization of manufacturing sectors that have not been taken into account in this thesis. The term servitization was originally coined by Vandermerve and Rada (1998, p. 314) to describe the tendency of modern corporations to include service components in their market packages, creating 'bundles' of customer-focused combinations of goods, services, support, self-service, and knowledge'. Thus, servitization has started to blur the boundaries between manufacturing and services, which may create pressure for other types of language strategies in the future, e.g. along the lines of the language management tools selection of financial service firms. Business model shifts within a sector are likely to have implications also for language management, which could be addressed in future research.

Another potential limitation of this study is that it only includes MNCs that are headquartered in Scandinavian countries, i.e. Denmark and Sweden, where corporate language policies tend to be more flexible and adaptive than in many other places (Piekkari & Tietze, 2012, p. 561). The present study is

also a pan-Scandinavian study that has chosen not to engage in a discussion of potential differences between the Scandinavian countries, including different national language policy efforts, despite the fact that such differences are discussed in the literature (see e.g. Phillipson, 2003). When searching for case companies, the headquarters location and background of the companies were considered to the extent possible, given the selection criteria (section 3.2.2), but in the end, industry sectors and the companies' degree of language management were considered more important than nationality.

Furthermore, this is a one-sided study of corporate language management in the sense that it primarily builds on empirical data collected from the companies' headquarters. I have interviewed a small number of branch employees in Saxo Bank, as these were physically working in the company's headquarters building, and a couple of informants in Nordea with a background in the branch area, but I have not been able to visit these two financial services' retail operations myself. In the two manufacturing companies, I have interviewed only white-collar workers in the corporate headquarters, excluding blue-collar workers and employees at foreign subsidiaries. This is a limitation of the study in the sense that employees in these locations probably could have provided other perspectives on the companies' language management practices. Although it is important to be aware of this limitation, it has not been possible to travel and conduct interviews in e.g. the production facilities of the manufacturing companies given the time and resource constraints of the study, and I have therefore tried to reduce this limitation by triangulating interview data from different informants (e.g. informants who have worked in foreign production) and company documentation. At the same time there is also a potential problem associated with interviewing a small number of informants, also key informants who were selected on the basis of who they are and their responsibilities in the area of language and communication (cf. section 3.3.3), as the risk of response bias is higher (Yin, 2009, p. 102). This is a limitation one needs to be aware of when analysing and reporting on interview data.

Having said that, I believe it would be a fruitful avenue for further research to consider the subsidiary perspective and especially the perspectives of blue-collar workers with regard to corporate language management in manufacturing companies and branch employees in financial service companies. Data presented in this study have demonstrated that the language and communication preferences of these groups of employees can have profound consequences on the type of language management tools the company's leadership is able to implement in the organisation.

I would also suggest more research on the impact of national and supranational legislation with regard to language management, and in particular with regard to language rights of employees (e.g. Grigg, 2008). Language rights are rarely discussed in the international business and management literature, although numerous previous studies have found that corporate language regulation can have serious negative implications for employees (i.e. section 2.3.4).

Finally, as a cross-disciplinary cross-sector study of language management, I would like to encourage more cross-disciplinary cross-sector studies of language management. If anything, this thesis

has demonstrated that there is a value in combining perspectives of different research traditions and comparing findings across research contexts when investigating the complex, multifactorial role of language in complex, multifaceted organisations. The present study offers insight into the effects of sector-specific characteristics on language management in financial services and manufacturing – many other sectors could be considered.

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Appendix 1: Overview of written documentation

Unless otherwise stated, the documents are in English and in A4 page format.

Nordea

Internal material

-Print-outs from Group Translation – language and translation site on Nordea intranet: 'Translation and language: Welcome to Nordea's language site'; 'How to order translations'; 'Nordea's language policy'; 'Translation guidelines'; 'Language tools'; 'Styleguide and glossaries'; 'Language tips'; 'Electronic dictionaries' hereunder 'Nordea Terms' 'Links to Internet dictionaries' and 'Language portals' (20 pages in English version; 19 pages in Danish version)

-Business case for future handling of translation in Nordea – November 2000 (11 pages)

-Recruitment policy incl. 'General guide to Nordea's recruitment policy' (6 pages)

-Example of job specification (cf. recruitment policy), (6 pages)

-PowerPoint presentation: 'IT survey. Score break-down for country' (survey about IT tools in Nordea, incl. employees' preference for language standard) (13 PowerPoint slides)

Publicly available material

-PowerPoint presentation: 'Engelsk som koncernsprog i Nordea' ['English as a corporate language in Nordea'], from the conference 'Engelsk som koncernsprog – what's the problem?', CBS, 10 June, 2010 (15 PowerPoint slides, Danish), previously available at cbs.dk

-Annual reports 1998-2014, available at http://www.nordea.com/Investor+Relations/Financial+reports/Annual+reports/804982.html

-Nordea, 2014. Nordea's formation. Available at http://www.nordea.com/About+Nordea/Nordea+overview/History/Nordeas+formation/867322.html

Saxo Bank

Internal material

-'Communications manual' (34 pages) + 59 pages appendices; 'List of spokespeople'; 'Media analysis 2007/2008'; 'Press release example'; 'Executive power point presentation'

-'Design manual' (manual over Saxo Bank's colour palettes, fonts etc., primarily used for external communication purposes) (48 pages)

-Information brochure about Saxo Bank: 'Vi skaber vækst gennem innovation, integritet & high performance' ['We create growth by innovation, integrity & high performance'](B5, 6 pages, Danish)

-Information brochure about Saxo Bank's values: 'Seven' (A5, 19 pages)

-'Saxo Bank corporate statement' and 'Rules of engagement' (3 pages)

-Power point: 'Saxo Bank Group structure' (1 PowerPoint slide)

-Power point presentation: 'Saxo Bank ownership structure' (3 PowerPoint slides)

Publicly available material

-Annual reports 2001-2014, available at http://www.saxoworld.com/investorrelations/annual-reports

-Annual reports Saxo Privatbank, 2011-2014, available at http://dk.saxobank.com/saxo-privatbank/regnskab/

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-Christensen, Lars Seier. 2012. What is the broader relevance of Ayn Rand for society? Available at https://www.tradingfloor.com/posts/broader-relevance-ayn-rand-society-710110757

-Rand, A., Branden, N., Greenspan, A., & Hessen, R. (1986). *Capitalism: The unknown ideal*. New York: Signet.

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Grundfos

Internal material:
-'In other words… Grundfos language guide' (B5, 80 pages)
-'Med andre ord… Grundfos' sprogpolitik' ['In other words… Grundfos' language policy'] (B5, 72 pages, Danish'
-Group policies, 2001 version (28 pages)
-CSR brochure: 'Code of Conduct – how we practice it' (A6, 69 pages)
-CSR brochure: 'Bring clean water to Vietnam' (A5, 12 pages)
-CSR brochure: 'The CEO water mandate. Grundfos communication on progress, water report 2012' (27 pages)

Publicly available material
-Group policies, 2014 version (17 pages), available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/introduction-to-grundfos/group-policies.html
-Gmagazine, available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/news-and-press/Magazines.html
-Danish employee magazine 'Løberen', ['The runner'], available at http://dk.grundfos.com/om-os/nyhedscenter/l-beren.html
-Journal12 (a journal written on the basis of information from the annual report 2012), available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/reports/annual-reports/journal12.html
-Annual reports 2001-2014, available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/reports/annual-reports.html
-Grundfos. 2013. Workforce size (full time employees) Available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/sustainability-responsibility/Our-performance/sustainability/social/workforce-size-full-time-employees.html
-Grundfos, 2014. Facts about Grundfos. Available at http://www.grundfos.com/about-us/introduction-to-grundfos/facts-about-grundfos.html

ECCO
Internal material
-PowerPoint presentation: 'Talking points for Guro Refsum Sanden on 'Language strategies in multinational corporations', prepared by the communication department, containing information about ECCO and the communication department (31 PowerPoint slides)
-PowerPoint presentation: 'ECCO Magazine' (19 PowerPoint slides)
-Policy development template from the GOHIO project: 'Document development procedure – ECCO Group' (10 pages)
-Draft of communication policy (2 pages)
-'ECCO list of abbreviations' (10 pages)
-Announcement from the intranet: 'The foundation must be solid and stable. GOHIO: 'Getting Our House In Order' will be one of the key priorities in 2012' (2 pages)
-Norlyk, Eva Kloch. (2013). *50 years with ECCO. ECCO anniversary book*. Århus: Clemenstrykkeriet A/S. (281 pages)

Publicly available material
-Corporate press kit, http://www.ecco.com/en/Media-center/~/media/Files/Pdf/Corporate_Press_Kit_2012.pdf
-Annual reports 2004-2014, available at http://global.ecco.com/en/company/newsroom/annual-report/previous-reports
ECCO leather. 2013. The history of ECCO leather'. Available at https://ecco-shoes.co.uk/the-history-of-ecco-leather
ECCO. 2015. 'EITE Trainee Programme'. Available at http://global.ecco.com/en/company/career/trainees/3-year-programme/3-year-programme-flip
-Rømø og omegn tourist guide. (2012.) (Danish, English and German version). Skærbæk: BL grafisk.

Appendix 2: Informant information

Informant ID	Job title (at time of interview)	Informant type	Language	Date and duration of interviews/meetings	Recording
ECCO_1	Communication professional	Key	Danish	14.08.12: 90 min (w. ECCO_2)	No
ECCO_2	Communication professional	Key	Danish	14.08.12: 90 min (w. ECCO_1)	No
				04.07.13: 60 min	Yes
ECCO_3	Communication professional	Key	English	09.01.13: 270 min	Yes
				23.08.13: 80 min	Yes
				10.02.15: 25 min (phone)	Yes
ECCO_4	Personal assistant	Key	Danish	05.07.13: 70 min	Yes
ECCO_5	Personal assistant	Role	Danish	23.08.13: 40 min	Yes
ECCO_6	Consultant	Role	English	05.07.13: 60 min	Yes
ECCO_7	Consultant	Role	Danish	05.07.13: 30 min	Yes
ECCO_8	Project manager	Role	English	23.08.13: 30 min	Yes
ECCO_9	Product manager	Role	Danish	23.08.13: 50 min	Yes
ECCO_10	Trainee	Role	Danish	23.08.13: 70 min	Yes
Grundfos_1	Communication professional	Key	Danish	20.09.13: 45 min	Yes
Grundfos_2	Communication professional	Key	Danish	19.09.13: 70 min	Yes
Grundfos_3	Communication professional	Key	Danish	19.09.13: 55 min	Yes
Grundfos_4	Communication professional	Key	Danish	19.09.13: 60 min	Yes
Grundfos_5	Translator	Key	Danish	18.10.13: 50 min (phone)	Yes
Grundfos_6	Personal assistant	Key	Danish	23.10.13: 40 min (phone)	Yes
Grundfos_7	HR manager	Key	Danish	20.09.13: 55 min	Yes
Grundfos_8	Senior vice president	Role	English	31.10.13: 35 min (phone)	Yes
Grundfos_9	Project consultant	Role	Danish	19.09.13: 60 min	Yes
Grundfos_10	Project manager	Role	English	20.09.13: 60 min	Yes
Grundfos_11	Student assistant	Role	Danish	19.09.13: 45 min	Yes
Grundfos_12	Consultant	Role	English	31.10.13: 55 min	Yes
Nordea_1	Translator	Key	Danish	31.08.12: 90 min	No
				07.05.13: 90 min	Yes
Nordea_2	Translator	Key	Swedish	07.11.13: 55 min	Yes
Nordea_3	Translator	Key	Danish	16.05.13: 90 min	Yes
Nordea_4	Communication professional	Key	Danish	21.03.14: 45 min (phone)	Yes
Nordea_5	Communication professional	Key	Danish	23.10.13: 50 min	Yes
Nordea_6	HR manager	Key	English	07.11.13: 60 min	Yes
Nordea_7	HR manager	Key	English	08.11.13: 45 min	Yes
Nordea_8	Project manager	Role	English	11.12.13: 35 min (phone)	Yes
Nordea_9	Business partner	Role	English	08.11.13: 80 min	Yes
Nordea_10	Consultant	Role	Swedish	07.11.13: 55 min	Yes
Saxo Bank_1	Communication professional	Key	Danish	27.09.12: 60 min (w. Saxo Bank_2)	No
Saxo Bank_2	Vice president	Key	Danish	27.09.12: 210 min (60 min w. Saxo Bank_2)	No
				07.11.12: 240 min	No
				22.02.13: 45 min (w.Saxo Bank_5)	No
Saxo Bank_3	Director	Key	Danish	17.01.14: 60 min	Yes
Saxo Bank_4	IT manager	Key	Danish	16.01.14: 60 min	Yes

Saxo Bank_5	HR manager	Key	Danish	12.10.12: 55 min	No
				22.02.13: 45 min (w. Saxo Bank_2)	No
Saxo Bank_6	HR manager	Key	Danish	10.04.13: 60 min	Yes
Saxo Bank_7	Marketing professional	Role	English	27.09.12: 30 min	No
Saxo Bank_8	Consultant	Role	Danish	11.11.13: 80 min	Yes
Saxo Bank_9	Advisor	Role	Danish	07.01.14: 60 min	Yes
Saxo Bank_10	Consultant	Role	English	01.05.13: 60 min	Yes

Table 3 Overview of informants

	Key informants	**Role informants**	**Number of informants (role + key)**	**Number of interviews (role + key)**
ECCO	4	6	10	12
Grundfos	7	5	12	12
Nordea	7	3	10	11
Saxo Bank	6	4	10	11
Total	23	19	42	46

Table 4 Summary of informants

	ECCO	**Grundfos**	**Nordea**	**Saxo Bank**	**All companies**
Number of men	6	7	2	7	22
Number of women	4	5	8	3	20
Average age	35.6	44.4	46.8	43	42.2
Average years of higher education	3.6	3.6	3.5	4.6	3.8
Average years in current position	1.3	6.0	6.6	2	4
Average years in company	5.9	6.8	13.4	4.2	7.5

Table 5 Informant background information

	ECCO	**Grundfos**	**Nordea**	**Saxo Bank**	**All companies**
Danish	7	9	4	8	28
Swedish		1	4		5
Finnish			1		1
Europe outside Nordic region		2		1	3
North America	1			1	2
Asia	2		1		3
Total	10	12	10	10	42

Table 6 Informant origin (nationality)

Appendix 3: Confidentiality agreement (example)

GRUNDFOS Holding A/S
Poul Due Jensens Vej 7
DK-8850 Bjerringbro

Copenhagen Business School
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Department of International Business Communication

Dalgas Have 15
DK-2000 Frederiksberg

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

As a PhD Fellow at Copenhagen Business School (CBS) and project advisor to the PhD project "Language Strategies in Multinational Corporations" (hereafter referred to as the "project") we guarantee for the period wherein we are conducting the project in cooperation with Grundfos Holding A/S, that all confidential and/or proprietary information which may come to our knowledge during the project period will be treated confidentially by us.

In this connection we undertake the following obligations:

1. We will only use information in connection with accomplishing the project. No information will be used, copied or reproduced for commercial purposes, or any other purposes outside the scope of the PhD project.

2. We guarantee that all confidential information received from Grundfos Holding A/S will be stored and treated in a way that no third party can get possession of this information.

3. No personal information will be disclosed without permission, and individuals participating in the project will be offered anonymity.

Date: 12.09.2013

Guro Refsum Sanden

Guro Refsum Sanden, PhD Fellow

Lisbeth Verstraete-Hansen, Associate Professor, PhD

Appendix 4: Informant consent form

Copenhagen
Business School
HANDELSHØJSKOLEN

Department of
International Business
Communication

Dalgas Have 15
DK-2000 Frederiksberg

CONSENT FORM

I hereby give my consent to participate in the PhD project "Language Strategies in Multinational Corporations" (working title), and the permission to record my participation.

I understand that:

1. My identity will be protected, and no personal information will be disclosed without permission. Job title or name of department/business unit may be included and referred to in the study, if relevant.

2. Any recordings, notes, documents, etc. taken during the course of my participation will be used solely for academic research purposes. No information will be used, copied or reproduced for commercial purposes, or any other purpose outside the scope of the PhD project.

3. Recordings and other confidential material will be stored and treated in a way that no third party can get access to or possession of this information.

Date: _____

_____
Signature

Appendix 5: Interview guides (examples)

Appendix 5a

From: Guro Refsum Sanden [mailto:grs.ibc@cbs.dk]
Sent: 8. august 2012 18:49
To: [redacted]
Subject: Møte om ph.d-prosjekt «Language strategies in multinational corporations»

Kjære[redacted]

Jeg håper du har hatt en god sommer.

Vi har en avtale om å møtes d. 14 august kl. 14 for å snakke om bruken av språk i ECCO, og deltagelse i mitt ph.d.-prosjekt om språkstrategier i multinasjonale virksomheter. For å gi en indikasjon på hva jeg ønsker å snakke med deg om, håper jeg blant annet at vi kan komme innom følgende punkter:

-Litt generelt om konsernkommunikasjon og språkbruk internt i selskapet; hvilke måter kommuniseres det på, og gjennom hvilke kanaler?

-Hvordan ECCO's organisasjonsstruktur er bygget opp, og hvilke konsekvenser det har for den interne kommunikasjonen i selskapet – hvem kommuniserer med hvem (og særlig på tvers av landegrenser) ?

-Hva din enhet Group Communications arbeider med, og hvilke områder dere kommer til å fokusere på fremover

-Om det finnes noen retningslinjer for språkbruk i ECCO; er det for eksempel tatt noen formell avgjørelse i forhold konsernspråk, eller utarbeidet en form for språkpolitikk?

-Hvorvidt man har tatt i bruk språklige verktøy, eller om det finnes tilgjengelige språklige hjelpemidler eller tilbud for ansatte, som for eksempel språkopplæring eller lignende.

Forhåpentligvis gir det en pekepinn på hva jeg håper å diskutere med deg, og så ser jeg frem til å besøke deg og ECCO i Bredebro neste uke. Mitt mobilnummer er 2970 6500 hvis du skulle ha behov for å kontakte meg.

Venlig hilsen | Kind Regards

Guro Refsum Sanden
PhD Fellow

Department of International Business Communication

Copenhagen Business School
Dalgas Have 15, DK-2000 Frederiksberg
Tel.: (+45) 3815 2959 | Mob.: (+45) 2970 6500 | grs.ibc@cbs.dk

Think before you print

Appendix 5b

Fra: Guro Refsum Sanden
Sendt: 1. november 2013 11:54
Til: [redacted]@nordea.com'
Emne: Interview for PhD project on language strategies in multinational corporations

Dear [redacted]

My name is Guro Sanden, and I'm a PhD Fellow at the Dep. of International Business Communication at Copenhagen Business School (please see attached file for details about my project). I was referred to you by [redacted] as I am looking to interview an HR consultant in Nordea who work specifically with recruitment.

I wonder if it would be possible for you to meet at Friday 8 November, from 9 to 10, in [redacted]? (I have scheduled another meeting in Regeringsgatan from 10-11).

Furthermore, in order to give you an indication of what I would like our meeting to cover, please find a list of questions below.

Best regards,
Guro Sanden

Questions

-How is the recruitment process run in Nordea? What part of the company do you cover (cf. global?) ?

-Who is responsible for what in the process, i.e. job advertisements, interviews, contracts, etc.? Who decides on the language choice in these situations?

-Are there any language requirements for new employees (English or local language(s)?) If so, how do you make sure the candidate is qualified (e.g. certificates, tests, etc.?)

-Do you offer any support for employees who wants to improve their language skills, either in English or local language(s)? If so, how?

-Are you familiar with Nordea's language policy, and if so, how does it affect your everyday work (personally, professionally, in your department, in contact with other departments/offices/countries, etc.) ?

-What are normal practices in regards to job rotation, expatriation/inpatriation, etc.? Any language or communication challenges associated with this?

Venlig hilsen | Kind Regards

Guro Refsum Sanden
PhD Fellow

Department of International Business Communication

Copenhagen Business School
Dalgas Have 15, DK-2000 Frederiksberg
Tel.: (+45) 3815 2959 | Mob.: (+45) 2970 6500 | grs.ibc@cbs.dk

Appendix 5c

Intervjuguide CSR

1) Hva er dine typiske arbeidsoppgaver?
2) Hvordan er avdelingen organisert?
3) Hvem kommuniserer du typisk med i forbindelse med ditt arbeide?
4) Hvor viktig er kommunikasjon for ditt arbeide?
5) Hvordan påvirker språkpolitikken ditt arbeidsområde (CSR) ? På hvilken måte (hvis noen) er språkpolitikken en del av ditt daglige arbeide?
6) Det finnes CSR materiale i virksomheten (Code of Conduct) som er publisert på 10 språk; hva/hvilke avveininger ligger bak dette?
7) Har du fått tilbud om språkopplæring? Eller andre tilbud/hjelpeverktøy i forhold til språk?
8) Vil det være noe krav til språkkunnskaper når avdelingen ansetter nye medarbeidere?
9) Er det noe du vil tilføye, som kan være relevant i forhold språk og kommunikasjon i selskapet?

Appendix 5d

Interview guide international employee

1) What are your typical job tasks?
2) How were you recruited to this position?
3) Were you aware of the language policy before applying/starting in the company? If so, how was this communicated to you?
4) Do you work in a predominantly Danish or international team?
5) Have you experienced any language problems in relation to your work, i.e. Danish/Swedish language environment? E.g. documents, emails, formal or informal knowledge sharing, meetings, etc.?
6) Have you been offered language courses? Or any other language-related initiatives?
7) Do you have any contact with foreign subsidiaries? If so, what is your experience when communicating with them?
8) Anything else that could be relevant with regard to language or communication in the company?

Appendix 6: Information for participants

Information for participants in the PhD project "Language Strategies in Multinational Corporations"

Contact information
Guro Refsum Sanden, PhD Fellow
Dep. of International Business Communication
Copenhagen Business School

Dalgas Have 15, DK-2000 Frederiksberg, Denmark
Tel.: +45 2970 6500, Email: grs.ibc@cbs.dk

About the project

The PhD project is a study of internal language strategies in Scandinavian multinational corporations (MNCs). The purpose of the study is to examine how multilingualism and linguistic diversity affects the administrative and operational performance of MNCs, and how MNCs may satisfy their language needs through different types of language regulation.

Interviews and other types of qualitative data are essential in order to get a comprehensive picture of language use in the corporations participating in the study. All individuals who agree to participate in the project will be anonymous. Recordings of the interviews and written material will only be used and treated by me and my supervisor, Lisbeth Verstraete-Hansen, Associate Professor, PhD, who also has signed the confidentiality agreement.

The collected data will be used solely for academic research purposes, as part of the PhD thesis as well as in articles and presentations in regards to research dissemination. No information will be used, copied or reproduced for commercial purposes, or any other purposes outside the scope of the PhD project.

Appendix 7: Interview protocol

Interview protocol

Date: _____

Company: _____

Location: _____

Name of interviewee: _____

Interview code: _____

What is your current job title?

_____

How long have you been in your current job?

_____

How long have you been in this company?

_____

Have you had any other position in this company prior to your current job?

_____

Have you worked in any other countries while being employed in this company?

_____

Male/female? _____

Which year were you born? _____

What is your highest educational qualification?

_____

What is your nationality?

_____

What is your mother tongue?

_____

Do you speak any other languages (fluent/conversational level)?

_____

Appendix 8: Overview of nodes

Overview of nodes

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Background information

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
Background info (4)	Brilliant quotes	Well-formulated statements (miscellaneous), cf. Pratt's (2008) power and proof quotes	*Hvis ikke de kan engelsk, jamen, så vil det være at give dem en badehætte på hvor de ser hvad der sker, men de kan ikke høre hvad der bliver sagt.* If they don't speak English, it will be like putting a bathing cap on them where they can see what is happening, but can't hear what is being said.
	Comments about interview situation	Interviewees' comments on the interview situation	*Nu taler jeg stille og roligt, det kan godt være jeg sætter farten op, men det er mere så du kan forstå det bagefter.* I'll talk slowly now, I may speed up a bit, but it's so that you are able to understand what I'm saying afterwards.
	Comments about interviewer	Interviewees' comments about the interviewer (GRS)	You probably don't know anything about the auditing profession, do you?
	Informant info	Interviewees' background information, cf. 'Interview protocol'	I started in the branch, serving customers, and then I moved on to the international payment area.

Research question 1

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
Communication department (6)	Annual report	Statements about the company's annual reports, quarterly reports, and other similar types of reports (e.g. annual CSR report)	This year it's been written in English, but previously it was also written in Danish and translated [into English].
	Communication department facts	Factual information about the communication department	*Vi er en corporate afdeling, men vi er ikke globalt funderet, vi har ikke afdelinger ude lokalt, vi har kun her i Bjerringbro.* We are a corporate department, but we are not globally based, we don't have any branches locally, we are only here in Bjerringbro.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Communication department operations	Statement about how the communication department works, areas of responsibility, etc.	*Hver dag da har vi et redaktionsmøde, hvor vi snakker om hvilke historier er der, hvad sker der, hvad har vi hørt, hvad er der på vej, hvad skal laves, og hvorfor.* We have an editorial meeting every day, where we talk about the stories we have, what is happening, what we have heard, what is coming up, what we have to do and why.
	External language and communication cooperation	Key informants' statements (i.e. employees' working with language and communication issues) about cooperating with external parties	*To af os fra gruppen har faktisk været ude og holdt foredrag om sprogpolitik på uddannelsesinstitutioner og også i andre firmaer som vi har været i erfa-grupper med.* Two of us from the group have actually held presentations about language policy at educational institutions and also in other companies, with which we have been in 'experience sharing'-groups.
	Intranet	Statements about the company's intranet, used for internal communication purposes	Our intranet exists in actually all languages I think, but primarily now that we're talking about the Nordic space, the same intranet site exists in Norwegian, Swedish, Danish and Finnish.
	Newsletter and company magazine	Statements about the company's newsletter and/or company magazine used for internal communication purposes	*Ja, vi laver en dansk version først, og så på bagrund af den laver vi syv sprogversioner.* Yes, we make a Danish version first, and on the basis of that we make seven language versions.
Communication patterns (7)	Communication channels	The use of various channels for internal communication purposes (excluding intranet and employee magazine)	*I Hong Kong har de fantastisk telefonforbindelse, og i Indien har de forfærdelig. Altså, det gør så meget forskel.* Hong Kong has a fantastic telephone reception, and the one in India is terrible. It really makes such a difference.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Communication mode, oral vs. written	Statements about oral vs. written communication. Previous studies have demonstrated that written communication may be easier to understand than oral communication (e.g. Charles and Marschan-Piekkari, 2002)	*Passwords og sådan noget, send dem på en sms, fordi hvis man har et password på 12 karakterer med store og små bogstaver, er det 99 % chance for at man aldrig kan give det over en telefon til en der ikke kan engelsk særlig godt.* Passwords and things like that, send it as a text message, because if you have a password with 12 characters with lower and upper case letters, there is a 99 % chance that you won't be able to communicate it over the phone to somebody who doesn't speak English very well.
	Communication style	Statements about different styles of communication not related to company or sector-specific language, cf. Williams and Spiro 1985: 'Style is the synthesis of content, code, and communication rules into unique and infinite combinations.'	*Jeg tror det er sådan et cirkus-engelsk i forretningsverdenen [latter], som ikke hører til [latter] nogle steder, men som dog gør at man kan tale sammen.* I think there's a sort of circus English in the business world [laughter], which doesn't belong anywhere [laughter], but which nevertheless enables us to talk to each other.
	Company-specific language – company speak	The use of company-specific terminology or jargon, cf. Welch, Welch and Piekkari 2005.	*Altså, for eksempel, vi kalder vores individuelle sko for SKUs, ikke, som står for Stock Keeping Unit, som er sådan meget ECCO-specifik.* So for example, we call our individual shoes SKUs, which stands for Stock Keeping Unit, which is very ECCO-specific.
	Language use employee level English	The use of English at the front-line level, irrespective of the company's official language policy	I mean very few Danes, Norwegian and Swedes know Finnish for instance, so if it is a meeting with a Finn, then it is, well, I would say 99 % of the meeting will be in English, if the Finn doesn't know Swedish, but normally it is done in English.
	Language use employee level multiple	The use of languages other than English at the front-line level irrespective of the company's official language policy	*Jeg gider jo heller ikke for eksempel, at sidde og skrive på engelsk med min danske kollega, når vi skal sidde og skrive sammen, hvis vi skal skrive 15 mails i løbet af en dag, så kan jeg ikke se hvorfor skulle vi skrive på engelsk*

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
			sammen når vi begge to er danskere, altså. I can't be bothered to write in English with my Danish colleague when we are corresponding, if we need to write 15 emails during one day, I really can't see why we should write in English when we're both Danish.
	Sector-specific language	The use of sector-specific terminology or jargon (i.e. financial sector vs. manufacturing sector) (cf. Welch, Welch and Piekkari 2005)	*Der er jo mange fagudtryk indenfor vores verden, og vi skal selvfølgelig være bedre til at skrive [til kunder] så det ikke er fagudtryk.* There are a lot of technical terms in our world, and we should of course be better at avoiding such technical terms when we write [to customers].
Company background (11)	Case company facts	Factual information about the case companies	*Vi er jo en af Europas største banker i dag, og når vi sammenligner vores, altså på markedsværdi, så er vi jo helt deroppe.* We are one of the biggest banks in Europe today, and when you compare [us with other European banks] in terms of our market value, we are right at the top.
	Company history	Information about the company's historical background	*I 1945 da var det en mand der lavede en pumpe, i dag er vi 18 500 der laver 16 millioner pumper, det er en fantastisk historie.* In 1945 one man made one pump. Today we are 18,500 [employees] that make 16 million pumps. That is an amazing history.
	Company organisational structure and operations	Information about the company's organisational structure and operational processes	In all these - Retail Banking, Wholesale Banking, Wealth Management and Group Corporate Centre, and Group Risk and Management – they have their own communication group, so in each division or business area they coordinate their own communication.
	Corporate culture	Statements about how interviewees experience the	*Jeg synes vi har sådan en lidt en konsensuskultur i Nordea, altså at man*

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
		corporate culture of the company	*lytter til hinanden og man sikrer at vi forstår hinanden.* I think we have a kind of consensus culture in Nordea, where we listen to each other and make sure we understand each other.
	Corporate identity	Statements about how interviewees experience the corporate identity of the company	It's an international Danish company.
	Corporate politics	Statements about how interviewees experience the 'political climate' of the company	It is a very political policy, and the wording was critical, every sentence, we needed to be very precise in what we meant.
	Integration	Statements about integrative functions and processes in the company	*Saxo Privatbank er ligesom blevet integreret mere i, hvor vi før var et adskilt datterselskab.* Saxo Bank has become more integrated, whereas we used to be a separate subsidiary.
	Internationalisation of firm	Statements which describe increased internationalisation/globalisation of the administrative and operational processes	*I takt med at ECCO bliver mere og mere internationale, jamen, hvorfor skulle en uddannelse som det her være kun til danskere?* As ECCO becomes more and more international, why should an education like this be for Danes only?
	Legal requirements	External legal requirements which affect language use and choice	*Allt som måste finnas på lokalspråk av olika juridiska skäl [översätts], till exempel årsredovisningen måste finnas på svenska,[och] kvartalsrapporterna måste översättas åtminstone till svenska och danska och finska eftersom banken er börsnoterad i dom länderna.* Everything that has to be in the local languages due to legal requirements must [be translated], for example the annual report must be available in Swedish, [and] the quarterly reports must be translated into Swedish and Danish and Finnish as the company is listed in these countries.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Location of headquarters	Statements about the physical location of the company's headquarters	As you know, Bjerringbro, it can be a nightmare to get international visitors coming in and out.
	National culture	Statements about different national cultures and issues related to cultural differences (excluding cultural problems)	*Vi synes for eksempel i Danmark, det er rigtig, rigtig fint, hvis vores direktør han tager slipset af, og er lidt loose, han tager jakken af og sådan noget, men i Japan så vil de synes det er en katastrofe, at vores CEO, han står der, næsten bar mave.* We here in Denmark for instance think that it's great if our director takes off his tie and looks more informal, he takes off his jacket and things like that, but in Japan, they will think it's a disaster that our CEO stands there, almost topless.
Employee collaboration and communicatio n (5)	Internat empl language experience	International employees' experience of working in a Scandinavian company, specifically in relation to language and communication issues	They have a general meeting, it's called by Carsten Bjerg or one of the really top management, where they give information about Grundfos, the actual results etc., and it's always in Danish [laughter].
	Internat empl general experience	International employees' experience of working in a Scandinavian company, not directly related to language and communication issues	There are a lot of colleagues also from the HR department who are helping us a lot, as I told you, I have a husband without a job, so they also offer help, try to find a job for my husband.
	International cooperation	Cross-border cooperation, often due to the composition of international teams/units, i.e. team members are located in different geographical areas (cf. Hinds, Neeley, and Cramton 2014)	*Det är ju många projekt i banken som drivs på nordisk nivå, IT projekt och allt mögligt, och där ska man ju samarbeta över landsgränserna då.* There are lots of projects in the bank that are run at a Nordic level, IT projects and all sorts of things, and in those cases you have to cooperate across borders.
	International work environment	International work environment, i.e. the cooperation between employees of different national origin located in the same place, usually headquarters	We have a lot of consultants, and they come from all over the world, so we have to speak English.
	Language	Quotes which may demonstrate	If I have, I don't know, a technical

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	clusters	the occurrence of language-based clusters (cf. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch, 1999b)	question or a technical problem that I know one of my ex-Hungarian colleagues knows the answer to, of course I'll contact them.
HR issues (8)	Career prospects	The importance of language skills for career advancements, and other comments related to careers	*Hvis du vil blive senior leder, jamen, så er sproget rigtig vigtigt, meget vigtigt, fordi at du skal kunne interagere med stakeholders rundt om fra hele verden.* If you want to become a senior leader, language is very important, highly important, because you have to be able to interact with stakeholders from all around the world.
	Employee mobility	General statements (i.e. not language-specific, see expat/inpat as language intermediates) about staff mobility and relocation	*Vores medarbejdere har ikke været særlig mobile, men de er heller ikke blevet opfordret til det tidligere.* Our employees have traditionally not been very mobile, but in the past they weren't really been encouraged.
	FIN employees – branch	Statements about financial sector employees working in branch functions	*Jeg tror bare hvis jeg skal vurdere sådan nøgternt på om [Saxo Privatbank] personalet havde haft mulighed og overskud til at håndtere det, så vil svaret være nej. Det ville de ikke.* I just think that if I had to make an honest evaluation as to whether the staff [in Saxo Privatbank] would have the capacity and energy to deal with it, the answer would be no. They wouldn't.
	FIN employees – corporate	Statements about financial sector employees working in corporate functions	I work for a group function, and in my role as a group function employee, I must speak English, otherwise I will not be able to conduct the responsibilities of my position at all.
	MAN employees – blue collar	Statements about manufacturing sector employees working with production, i.e. blue-collar workers	I think it will be that way for a long time in these units, we will not have that many people who speak English fluently. So we're going to have to communicate corporate information through the local language.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	MAN employees – white collar	Statements about manufacturing sector employees holding administrative/managerial positions, i.e. white-collar workers	*For white collar [ansatte] må det næsten være en forventning, ikke, hvis du er ansat i en white collar funktion, så taler du engelsk.* It must almost be expected for white-collar [employees], right, if you are employed in a white-collar position, you [are able to] speak English.
	Recruitment process	Information about the recruitment process, e.g. job advertisements, interviews, etc.	The interview started with three English sentences, and then we talked in Danish [laughter].
	Trainee programmes	General and language-specific statements about the company's trainee programme, including trainees' own experiences	*Det er indenfor et nyt område du ikke kender noget til, så du starter på scratch hver gang, ikke også, både sprogmæssigt hvis du ender et nyt sted hele tiden, men også fagligt at jeg aldrig kender noget til det område.* It is within a new area you don't know anything about, so you start from scratch every time, right, both language-wise if you end up in a new place all the time, but also professionally in the sense that I never know anything about that area.
Language and communicatio n areas (9)	CSR	Language and communication practices within the area of corporate social responsibility	*Jeg kunne godt tænke mig at konceptet skulle hedde 'Happy thoughtful Thursday', fordi det klinger rigtig godt på engelsk, jeg synes der er nogle gode signaler og sådan noget når vi bruger det på engelsk, og det bliver rigtig svært at skulle oversætte, og da har vi lige nu en diskussion i gang, om vi bare kan kalde det 'Happy thoughtful Thursday' i Danmark også.* I would like the concept to be called 'Happy thoughtful Thursday' [code switching], because it sounds really good in English, I think it sends some good signals when we say it in English, and it is really difficult to translate, so now we are discussing whether we can just call it 'Happy thoughtful Thursday' [code switching] in Denmark as well.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	External communication	Statements about how the company communicates with external parties, e.g. customers, partners, etc. (excluding language and communication cooperation)	*De fleste har i virkeligheden oplevelsen af at deres hverdag, den er 95 procent dansk, eller 98 procent dansk.* The majority [of employees] experience that 95 % or 98 % of their everyday life is in Danish.
	Headquarters language use	Statements about how interviewees experience language use and communication in the company's headquarters	*Man kommer ikke så langt med dansk i sådan store virksomheder. Jo her i huset, i headquarters gør man måske til dels, ja, selv om vi har mange udlændinge.* You won't get far with Danish in these big companies. Maybe in this building, at headquarters maybe to an extent, even though we have many foreigners [here].
	Headquarters-subsidiary/factory communication	Statements about language use and communication between headquarters and subsidiaries/factories (i.e. vertical communication)	We haven't been communicating with them at all. The closest we come to that is through the portal, the intranet page, but that's very limited, and very limited number of people have access to a computer or to the internet.
	Internal communication	General statements about the communication that takes place inside the company, i.e. exchange of information between various units, departments, or divisions	*Nordea har gjort enormt meget ud af at have fokus på den interne kommunikation, og det har nok også meget at gøre med at man er en fusionsbank.* Nordea has focused a lot on internal communication, and that is probably because we are a merged bank.
	IT	Language and communication practices in relation to IT and IT support.	*Det er sådan når en af dem har et problem som de skal ringe til Indien om for at få hjælp til, så sidder de fem mand omkring telefonen, og prøver at forstå hvad det er inderen siger.* Every time one of them has a problem that they need to call India about, five of them group together around the telephone trying to understand what the Indian is saying.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Professional communication	Statements about language and communication that takes place for professional purposes	*Hvis vi havde snakket om biler eller børn eller kogeopskrifter, så ville vi være fulstændig koblet af samtalen, men de fik så lært de tekniske termer der skulle til, til at de kunne have en kvalificeret diskussion om et fagligt emne indenfor området.* If we had been talking about cars or children or food recipes, we would have been completely disconnected from the conversation, but they managed to learn the technical terms that were needed in order to carry out a qualified discussion about a professional topic within the area.
	Sociable communication	Statements about language and communication that takes place for social purposes	The team leader, she kind of notices everybody speaks in Danish, I'd be having lunch, we all sit together but I might just be eating my lunch quietly, then she'd say 'speak in English'.
	Subsidiary/factory language use	Statements about language use and communication in the company's subsidiaries/factories	*På operationsniveau er det alt sammen på indonesisk, fordi de er alle sammen indonesere, og i folkene i sylinien er også indonesere.* At the operative level it is all in Indonesian, because they are all Indonesians, and the people in the sewing line [part of the test production] are also Indonesians.
Leadership and management (6)	Company ownership	Statements about the ownership structure of the company	The company isn't listed, this has a lot of influence on the communication because they feel that the annual report doesn't have to be traditional, because it's not a listed company.
	Corporate governance	Statements which indicate the degree of corporate control and governance in the company	*Vi har jo politikker for politik, og politikker og templates og guidelines for ufattelig mange ting.* We have policies for policies, and policies and templates and guidelines for an incredible number of things.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Financing language management activities	Statements about costs and monetary considerations associated with financing different types of language management tools	*Argumentationerne for at lægge det [oversættelsen] ud er at man så ikke har en eller anden overhead omkostning i forhold til at have en stabs-funktion siddende.* The argumentation for outsourcing it [translation], is that you don't have the overhead expenses of having a staff function in-house.
	Management team	Statements about middle managers and members of the top management team	*Jeg synes det er problematisk at vores koncerndirektion taler så dårligt engelsk som de gør, fordi det synes jeg giver et forkert signal.* I think it is problematic that our executive board has such poor English skills because I think it sends a wrong signal.
	Power play	Statements about how interviewees experience power dynamics in the company (including non-language-related statements)	So it's like a kind of – there are also kind of hierarchy differences, we are working for them, because it is the headquarters.
	Strategy and policy development	Statements which say something about how strategies and policies are typically developed in the company	*Det er nok typisk vores måde at arbejde på, at man laver en projektgruppe og så får man noget nedfældet på skrift.* That is probably how we typically work, we establish a project group and then we write something down.
Linguistic, communicative, and cultural challenges (7)	Accents	Language and communication difficulties due to different accents, at a communicative level	*Jeg kan huske jeg sad i de første to dage i introduktionen og kunne simpelthen ikke forstå hvad de sagde, fordi arbejderne har ekstrem kinesisk accent på deres engelsk.* I remember during the first two days of the introduction, I simply could not understand what they were saying, because the workers have an extremely strong Chinese accent when they speak English.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Communicatio n problems due to linguistic diversity	Language and communication difficulties owing to various reasons (excluding accents), at a communicative level	Every time I'm going down Denmark, they are saying 'can we take it in Scandinavian language?', and I'm saying 'no' [laughter], so no, I'm not good at Danish at all.
	Cultural problems	Various challenges related to cultural differences	*Vi arbejder jo på forskellige måder, i nogle dele af verden har man jo ikke samme uddelegering af opgaver og ansvar som vi har i den her del af verden.* We work in different ways, in some parts of the world it's not so common to delegate tasks and responsibilities as in this part of the world.
	Gatekeepers	Language nodes (see language intermediates) in gatekeeping positions, i.e. individuals who are potentially able to influence, filter, and/or distort influence language/communication practices. (cf. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999)	Often the HR manager and the director's secretary are those two people who know English the best, so if we're going to communicate with that unit at all, no matter what the topic is, we need to get in contact with these two people.
	Geographical differences incl. time zone	Statements about the challenges related to being physically located in different geographic locations	*Hvis man skal have fat i dem alle, er det svært på telefon, for der er sådan set 12 timer i tidsforskel mellem Hong Kong og Boston, så det er den største udfordring*. It can be difficult to contact all of them [international colleagues] over the phone, because there is a 12-hour time difference between Hong Kong and Boston, so that is the biggest challenge.
	Linguistic diversity – no problem	Statements where informants dismiss language/communication problems due to linguistic diversity	At this [hierarchical] level we don't have any communication problems at all, we use English in all written communication, English in all meetings and discussion and so on as well, so I don't see any problems with that.
	Linguistic diversity problems	Severe problems related to language and communication issues, i.e. problems beyond the communicative level	*Det kan godt være at engelsk er koncernsproget, men så bliver vi ineffektive. Folk kommer ikke til at arbejde lige så let som de har gjort før, og folk bliver irriteret i deres hverdag over noget som egentlig ikke er*

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
			nødvendigt. English may be the corporate language, but that will make us inefficient. People are not going to work as effortlessly as they did before, and people are going to get annoyed in their everyday lives about something that is not really necessary.
Perspectives on language (4)	Benefits of effective communicatio n	Statements about the potential benefits of effective internal communication	I think you could argue that inclusion for example, making the employees, through communication, making the employees feeling connected to their company, feeling like they are a part of the company makes them more loyal, you'd get more work out of them, you'd get low employee turnover, they won't quit as often if they feel loyal and connected to the company.
	Instrumental dim of language	Statements which demonstrate an instrumental understanding of language and communication (i.e. the instrumental vs. symbolic divide, e.g. Kraus 2008)	*Sproget for os er ikke noget der har med politik at gøre, det noget der sikrer vi, vi kan samarbejde. Om det så er engelsk eller hvad det er for et sprog, det er vi ligeglad med, bare at man kan forstå hinanden.* Language to us is not something that is related to policies, it is something that enables us to cooperate. Whether it is English or another language, we don't care, as long as we can understand each other.
	Language needs	Statements which indicate a need for language and/or communication-related measures in the company	*Da vi fusionerede, så var det jo ret klart at vi var fire nordiske virksomheder, eller lande repræsenteret, hvor det ene var finsk, så det ville sige, vi kunne ikke forstå hinanden sprogligt, så man blev nødt til at have et sprog man skulle tale sammen.* It was clear that we were four Nordic companies when we merged, or that four countries were represented, one of which was Finnish, which meant that we could not understand each other, language-wise, so we had to have a common language.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Symbolic dim of language	Statements which demonstrate a symbolic/expressive understanding of language and communication (i.e. the instrumental vs. symbolic divide, e.g. Kraus 2008)	*Den der sprogbarriere, den betyder så meget. Jeg mister meget af min egen identitet ved at være i Kina, men i Europa ser jeg ikke noget problem, og det var rigtig rart at komme til USA, fordi at jeg kunne kommunikere på et helt almindeligt niveau med alle.* The language barrier means a lot. I lose a lot of my own identity when I'm in China, but I don't experience any problems with it in Europe, and it was great to come to the US because I could communicate at a normal level with everybody.

Research question 2

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
Emergent language management tools (4)	Collegial language tools	Informal, ad-hoc language help from colleagues (cf. Lønsmann, 2011)	We had a deadline to choose the Christmas gift, then our colleagues were warning us 'please be sure that you …', because it's in Danish.
	Emergent technological solutions	Technological solutions that employees make use of without the approval of a language manager, e.g. Google Translate.	If I receive something from Denmark, and it's written in Danish [laughter] and I have no clue about what it says, Google Translate works very well.
	Other informal language tools	The use of other emergent/informal language tools (miscellaneous).	*Vi har en værktøjskasse på vores intranet, med forskellige værktøjer som kan bruges i forskellige kommunikationsdiscipliner, og især når det bøvler, men det kan også være for de som er projektledere på de store projekter.* We have a toolbox on our intranet with different tools that can be used for different communication purposes, and especially in difficult times, but it can also be used by the managers of the large projects.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Proofreading	Proofreading, editing, and revising at an informal level	We do that to get all the facts right, especially tax issues can be – if we have interpreted it in the wrong way as compared with the English version, it may be costly or bad for the employees, so it's important that it's correct in the local versions as well.
Language and communicatio n policies (8)	CCL ELF formalised	The use of a common corporate language, English as a lingua franca, formalised by a language policy	*Så koncernsproget, sprogligt; når man taler på koncernens vegne, internt eller eksternt, så er det engelsk som bliver brugt.* So the corporate language, language-wise; when you communicate on behalf of the corporation, internally or externally, then English should be used.
	CCL ELF non-formalised	The use of a common corporate language, English as a lingua franca, without an explicit language policy	*Jeg tror ikke vi har en politik der står at alle skal kunne engelsk, men der er en politik der hedder at alle dokumenter og notater og minutes og sådan noget fra møder, hvis det på nogen som helst måde kan nå en medarbejder som ikke snakker dansk, så skal det skrives på engelsk.* I don't think we have a policy that states that everybody has to be able to speak English, but there is a policy in that all documents and notes and minutes etc. from meetings must be written in English if there is even a remote possibility that it might reach an employee who does not speak Danish.
	CCL multiple formalised	The use of multiple corporate languages, formalised by a language policy	*Hvis det [kommunikationen] er indenfor landegrænserne, så foregår det på lokalsprog, lige så snart du har noget grænseoverskridende, altså cross-border, så foregår det på engelsk.* If it [the communication] is within borders of the country, it will be conducted in the local language, but as soon as you have something outside the borders, i.e. cross-border, it will be conducted in English.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	CCL multiple non-formalised	The use of multiple corporate languages, without an explicit language policy	They tried to make an ECCO dictionary and translated [it] into three languages, German, French, and they had started on a Chinese, I think.
	Communication policy	Statements about the company's communication policy, formalised or non-formalised (cf. Bergenholtz and Johnsen 2006)	*Hvis du læser i forordet [i sprogpolitikken], så tror jeg faktisk der står refereret til vores kommunikationspolitik.* If you read the preface [of the language policy] I think it refers to our communication policy.
	English standards	Statements about the use of different English standards	What's the point of insisting that our material is in British English if our largest market is in fact the US?
	Language policy de facto vs. de jure	Situations where language and communication practices (de facto) deviate from the company's formalised or non-formalised language policy (de jure)	*Reglen hedder der må ikke tales tysk til møder, men altså, men hvis den øverste chef snakker tysk, den næst øverste snakker tysk, CEOen snakker tysk, min chef snakker tysk, designeren snakker tysk og den anden designer er østriger, altså, så mødes de, så kan det godt være der sidder en mand der ikke snakker tysk, men det er de så ligeglade med.* The rule is that we're not allowed to talk German at meetings, but I mean, if the top manager speaks German, the second top manager speaks German, the CEO is German, my manager speaks German, the designer speaks German and another designer is Austrian, then if they meet and there's one guy there that doesn't speak German, they don't care.
	Style and writing guidelines	Statements about the company's style and writing guidelines	I wrote some guiding principles for our language communication internally and externally, which should be followed, and within that for example we speak about clarity and tone of voice, that's one of the guiding principles.
Language competence and training (10)	Employees' age difference	Statements about the relationship between age and language competences	Earlier we said that we have to communicate [in local languages], because we have so many people employed in Nordea who were born during the 40s, and they are not that good at English.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Employees' English competence	Statements about employees' English language competence (company-wide)	I've also tried to contact Indonesia and gotten a telephone number, and tried to speak directly to a person who they said was the best in English they could find, and I… I could barely understand her.
	Employees' foreign language competence	Statements about employees' language competence in a language other than English and/or Scandinavian (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish)	*Det vil nok mere være i privat regi, ikke arbejdsmæssigt, fordi på fabrikkerne vil jeg altid kunne gå til nogen der kan snakke engelsk og få dem til at forklare det, så det er ikke et must for mig [at tale indonesisk].* I think it will primarily be for personal use, not professional use. In the factories I will always be able to approach somebody who speaks English and get them to explain, so it's not a necessity for me [to speak Indonesian].
	Employees' Scandinavian language competence	Statements about employees' language competence in a Scandinavian language, i.e. Norwegian, Swedish, and/or Danish	*I mit job ville man skulle tale dansk, fordi jeg sidder jo også og skriver. Der vil man skulle kunne skrive på dansk, men vi har jo masser af IT folk som ikke taler dansk – men det er klart, for eksempel på regnskab, så kommer rigtig mange af fakturaerne også på dansk.* In my job you have to be able to speak Danish, because I also produce texts. Then you have to be able to write in Danish, but we have lots of IT people who do not speak Danish – but obviously, for instance in the accounting [department], a lot of the invoices are in Danish.
	Language training – English	English language training for employees	*Vi havde en lærer der kom her på stedet, og så havde vi to timer om ugen i otte uger, tror jeg det var.* We had a teacher who came here [in the office], and then we were taught two hours a week, for about eight weeks I think.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Language training – other	Foreign language training for employees, i.e. language training in a language other than English and/or Scandinavian (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish)	*Det var en del af arbejdstiden, så to gange om ugen brugte jeg en time af arbejdstiden sammen med en indoneser der lærte mig sproget.* It was during work hours, so twice a week I spent one hour of my working hours together with an Indonesian who taught me the language.
	Language training - Scandinavian	Scandinavian language training for employees (Norwegian, Swedish, and/or Danish)	For example now I'm working here in Denmark, and we also got the chance to learn Danish, so we also have the possibility to improve our Danish [laughter], or try to learn Danish [laughter].
	Training other than language	Corporate training and development other than language training	*Human Resources har – det finns en sådan sida på intranätet med bankens utbud av alla kurser då, allt från [Microsoft] Office-paketet till kundemöten och så här olika certifieringskurser för rådgivare och allt annat liksom.* Human Resources has – there is a site on the intranet where one can find all the courses offered by the bank, everything from the [Microsoft] Office package to customer meetings and various certification courses for customer advisors and everything else.
	Register of employees' language competence	Statements on whether the company keeps a record of their employees' language competences	*Jeg ved vi har trukket nogle lister på et tidspunkt omkring hvor mange sprog der er repræsenteret blandt andet, og også hvor mange forskellige nationaliteter, men det er ikke et krav at folk går ind og registrerer deres nationalitet i systemet.* I know at one point we extracted of the number of languages represented among other things, and also how many different nationalities, but it is not mandatory for employees to register their nationality in the system.

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
	Language tests	Statements on whether the company tests the language skills of employees, usually in relation to recruitment	We have a provider called SHL, they have recently changed their name to SUB, I think [laughter], and they are provider of all our different tests, and, and then we could use their test as well in English.
Language intermediation (4)	Expats and inpats	The use of expats/inpats as language intermediates (cf. Marschan et al., 1997; Feely & Harzing, 2003; Harzing, Köster & Magner 2011)	*Jeg kunne ikke forestille mig at en medarbejder fra [Saxo Bank] AS ville blive udstationeret til Frankrig, og håndtere franske kunder hvis ikke han kan fransk i forvejen, altså, vi laver jo aftaler om udstationering hvis der er nogen der er ansatte i banken i forvejen, så er det fordi det giver mening rent arbejdsmæssigt.* I cannot imagine that an employee from [Saxo Bank] AS would be relocated to France and handle French customers if he didn't speak French to begin with, I mean, we arrange to relocate staff if there is somebody who is already employed in the bank [and we do so] if it makes sense work-wise.
	Language nodes and key communicatio n people	The use of language brokers/mediators/key communication people as language intermediates (cf. Marschan-Piekkari, Welch and Welch 1999, Feely and Harzing 2003, Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011)	*Jeg er så heldig at have en kontakt der, altså, en der ligesom har overordnet ansvar for det derude [in Kina], så min kommunikation går mest gennem ham, også hans assistent.* I am very fortunate in having a contact there [in China] who has the overall responsibility out there, so I mainly communicate through him and his assistant.
	Native English speaker	The use of native English speakers as language intermediates (cf. Harzing, Köster and Magner 2011; bridge individuals)	They just don't have the resources internally and they didn't want to spend the money externally, so you just find a native speaker and 'here, you write, you write my strategy for me!' [laughter]
	Recruitment as language management tool	Recruitment of language-skilled employees, i.e. selective recruitment (cf. Peltokorpi and Vaara, 2014)	*Med mit team, der vil jeg sige, der skal folk kunne det [engelsk] når de bliver ansat. Der vil vi ikke tilbyde det [sprogundervisning] ekstra.* In my team I would say that people have to master it [English] when they are

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
			hired. We will not offer them anything extra [language training].
Technological solutions (3)	Company dictionary	The existence and use of a company-specific dictionary (see also Company specific language – company speak)	*Vi har vores Grundfos dictionary som vi kalder den, som ligger på vores interne netværk, tilgængelig for alle i, i hele koncernen, over hele verden.* We have our Grundfos dictionary as we call it, which is available on our intranet, and everybody in the entire group can use it, all around the world.
	Dictionary other than company dictionary	The use of dictionaries other than company-specific dictionaries	*Vi har Gyldendals elektroniske ordbøger, dansk-engelsk, engelsk-dansk, og tysk-dansk, dansk-tysk, og fransk og spansk og så videre.* We have Gyldendal's electronic dictionaries, Danish-English, English-Danish and German-Danish, Danish-German, and French, and Spanish and so on.
	Machine translation and technical solutions	The use of computer-based systems, either company-specific or non-company specific, to translate text from one language into another	*Når jeg er færdig med, eller min kollega er færdig med at korrekturlæse, og få godkendt den engelske mastertekst, så bliver den konverteret til et xml-format også bliver den uploadet på vores Webtranslate, som er det vores oversættelsesprogram hedder.* When I or my colleague have finished proofreading and approving the English master text, it is converted to an xml-format [extensible markup language used for encoding documents] and uploaded on our WebTranslate, which is the name of our translation program.
Translation and interpretation (4)	Translation and interpretation activities	Statements about issues related to translation and interpretation activities, i.e. the translation/interpretation process as such	*Så i den der oversættelsesproces, det er nogle gange så får du faktisk præciseret nogle ting, og det vil sige, det sker faktisk også at når du så har oversat noget og du får læst det igennem, af dem som har lavet den engelske, så er det nogle ting der også bliver lavet om i det engelske på baggrund af oversættelsen.* So in that translation process you actually sometimes clarify things, and

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
			sometimes also when you [a translator] have translated something and have it checked by those who wrote the English version, then certain things are also changed in the English [version] based on the translation.
	Translation and interpretation external	The use of external language bureaus and agencies for translation and interpretation purposes	*Vi har simpelthen et bureau til at oversætte fra dansk, også mener jeg der er seks af vores sprog, de bliver oversat fra dansk til det pågældende sprog, og så er der så to sprog som så først bliver oversat til engelsk, og så derfra til det lokale sprog.* We have [hired] a bureau to translate from Danish, I think six of our languages are translated from Danish into the relevant language, and then there are two languages that are first translated into English and from there into the local language.
	Translation and interpretation internal	The use of the company's in-house translation unit for translation and interpretation purposes	*Mycket handlar om interna nyheter, pressmedelanden, för externt bruk då förstås, instruktioner och manualer av olika slag, undervisningsmaterial, då kommer det i regel från Human Resources, vi gör också mycket uppdrag for bankens fond och private banking värksamhet i Luxembourg.* A lot of it has to do with internal news, press releases, obviously for external use, instructions and various manuals, educational material, which usually come from Human Resources, and we also do many assignments for the bank's Fund and private banking business in Luxembourg.
	Translation department	Factual and operational information about the company's in-house translation department	*Vi har förstås ett nära samarbete med kollegor i Köpenhamn och i Helsingfors, för en stor del av dom texter som vi arbetar med, skal ju översättas till alla nordiska språk, och då blir det liksom nordiska projekt.* We do of course work closely with colleagues in Copenhagen and in Helsinki, because a large number of the

Level 3	Level 2	Description	Example
			texts we are working on need to be translated into all Nordic languages, and that means they turn into Nordic projects.

Appendix 9: Overview of key findings

Appendix 9a

	Nordea	Saxo Bank	Grundfos	ECCO
Company history	Merger of several retail banks across the Nordic region. Previous unsuccessful LP.	Born global bank with local retail banking operations.	Gradual international expansion over time.	Gradual international expansion with accelerated growth in recent years.
Organisational structure and operations	Party centralised decision making processes. Decentralised retail banking. Core business: Retail banking.	Centralised. Core business: Online trading.	Centralised decision making processes, but also some degree of subsidiary autonomy. Product line: pumps and pump units.	Centralised. Controls the entire value chain from 'cow to shoe' . Product line: shoes and leather.
Corporate culture and identity	Inclusive, consensus culture.	Performance culture.	Comfortable, low hierarchy.	Down to earth, introvert.
Corporate governance and control	High degree of corporate governance; managerial control, policies and standards.	Fast and uncomplicated decision-making processes.	High degree of corporate governance; policies and standards as 'guidelines'.	Value based leadership; favours unwritten rules. Change management programme implemented in 2012.
Financing of language management activities	Well-established and recognised (decentralised) resource allocation schemes for translation and partly language training.	No dedicated resources for language management activities.	Well-established cooperation with external translation agency and (decentralized) language training schemes.	Centralised language training budget. Otherwise limited resources for language management activities.
Communication channels	Meetings, intranet, email, phone, video conference.	Meetings, intranet, email, phone.	Meetings, intranet, social media, email, phone, video conference, established employee magazines.	Meetings, intranet, email, phone, video conference, newly launched employee magazine.
Language choice and communication patterns	English and to some degree local languages in HQ, local language in the branch offices.	English and to some degree local language in HQ, local language in the branch offices.	English and local language in HQ, local language in the production.	English and local language in HQ, local language in the production.
Communication style	Company-specific and industry-specific terms and abbreviations	Company -specific and industry-specific terms.	'Grundfos English'. Limits of language: common use of visual material to production units.	Much company- and industry specific terminology. Limits of language: trying to accommodate production workers.

Table 7 Overview of company-specific findings RQ 1(a+b)

Appendix 9b

	Nordea	**Saxo Bank**	**Grundfos**	**ECCO**
Corporate language policies	Formalised language policy: Common corporate language British English + use of Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish. Company-specific style guide.	Semi-formalised language policy: Common corporate language English. Communication manual with company-specific style guide.	Formalised language policy: Common corporate language British English + use of local language (not specified). Language policy includes company-specific style guide.	Non-formalised language policy: Common corporate language English.
Translation	In-house decentralised translation department. Use of external translation agencies when needed.	Sporadic use of external translation agencies.	Close cooperation with external translation agencies. (In-house translation department for external communication.)	Occasional use of external translation agencies. Interpretation in employee assemblies/meetings
Technological solutions	Company-specific, industry-specific and generic online dictionaries. Translation department: translation memory system.	Generic online dictionary.	Company-specific and generic online dictionaries. (Translation department: translation memory system.)	Company-specific dictionary not in use.
Language training	Offered through external subcontractors based on individual need.	No established training scheme, may be offered on individual basis.	Offered to all employees in-house, both individuals and departments.	Offered to all employees in headquarters. Mandatory for international trainees.
Selective recruitment	Formal language requirements depend on position. Often English in headquarters position; local language in the branch area.	Formal language requirements depend on position. Often English in headquarters position; local language in the branch area.	Formal language requirements depend on position. Often English in headquarters position.	Formal language requirements depend on position. Often English in headquarters position.
Language intermediates	Limited use of language intermediation as a corporate level language management tool.	Frequent use of language intermediates for translation purposes.	Frequent use of language intermediates for smaller translation tasks and proofreading purposes. Previously: language ambassadors.	Frequent use of language intermediates for translation purposes.
Emergent solutions front-line	Collegial support, online language tools, etc.	Collegial support, online language tools, communication mode, etc.	Collegial support, online language tools, communication mode, etc.	Collegial support, online language tools, communication mode, etc.

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