DISCOURSE APPROACHES TO POLITICS, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

69

Identity Struggles

Evidence from workplaces around the world

EDITED BY

DORIEN VAN DE MIEROOP AND STEPHANIE SCHNURR

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Identity Struggles

Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society and Culture (DAPSAC)

ISSN 1569-9463

The editors invite contributions that investigate political, social and cultural processes from a linguistic/discourse-analytic point of view. The aim is to publish monographs and edited volumes which combine language-based approaches with disciplines concerned essentially with human interaction – disciplines such as political science, international relations, social psychology, social anthropology, sociology, economics, and gender studies.

For an overview of all books published in this series, please see
http://benjamins.com/catalog/dapsac

General Editors

Jo Angouri, Andreas Musolff and Johann Wolfgang Unger
University of Warwick / University of East Anglia / Lancaster University
j.angouri@warwick.ac.uk; A.Musolff@uea.ac.uk and j.unger@lancaster.ac.uk

Founding Editors

Paul Chilton and Ruth Wodak

Advisory Board

Christine Anthonissen
Stellenbosch University

Michael Billig
Loughborough University

Piotr Cap
University of Łódź

Paul Chilton
Lancaster University

Teun A. van Dijk
Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelona

Konrad Ehlich
Free University, Berlin

J.R. Martin
University of Sydney

Jacob L. Mey
University of Southern Denmark

Greg Myers
Lancaster University

John Richardson
Loughborough University

Luisa Martín Rojo
Universidad Autonoma de Madrid

Christina Schäffner
Aston University

Louis de Saussure
University of Neuchâtel

Hailong Tian
Tianjin Foreign Studies University

Joanna Thornborrow
Cardiff University

Ruth Wodak
Lancaster University

Sue Wright
University of Portsmouth

Volume 69

Identity Struggles. Evidence from workplaces around the world
Edited by Dorien Van De Mieroop and Stephanie Schnurr

Identity Struggles

Evidence from workplaces around the world

Edited by

Dorien Van De Mieroop
KU Leuven

Stephanie Schnurr
University of Warwick

John Benjamins Publishing Company
Amsterdam / Philadelphia

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences – Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69
Cataloging-in-Publication Data available from Library of Congress:
LCCN 2016058152 (PRINT) / 2017015767 (E-BOOK)

ISBN 978 90 272 0660 2 (HB)
ISBN 978 90 272 6588 3 (E-BOOK)

© 2017 – John Benjamins B.V.
No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

John Benjamins Publishing Company · https://benjamins.com

To Maya and Jasper, and Jan (of course)
D. V. D. M.

To Yaya, who doesn't feature in Chapter 23
S. S.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements xi

CHAPTER 1
Introduction: A kaleidoscopic view of identity struggles at work 1
Stephanie Schnurr and Dorien Van De Mieroop

Part I. Struggling to construct professional competence

CHAPTER 2
Coping with uncertainty: Gender and leadership identities in UK corporate life 21
Judith Baxter

CHAPTER 3
Constructing a "competent" meeting chair: A study of the discourse of meeting chairing in a Hong Kong workplace 39
Angela Chan

CHAPTER 4
Juggling "I"s and "we"s with "he"s and "she"s: Negotiating novice professional identities in stories of teamwork told in New Zealand job interviews 57
Sophie Reissner-Roubicek

CHAPTER 5
Epistemic "Struggles": When nurses' expert identity is challenged by "knowledgeable" clients 79
Olga Zayts and Stephanie Schnurr

CHAPTER 6
Who's the expert? Negotiating competence and authority in guided tours 95
Elwys De Stefani and Lorenza Mondada

Part II. Struggling to (de-)construct in-group membership

CHAPTER 7
You're a proper tradesman mate: Identity struggles and workplace transitions in New Zealand 127
Janet Holmes and Meredith Marra

CHAPTER 8
Indian women at work: Struggling between visibility and invisibility 147
Abha Chatterjee and Dorien Van De Mieroop

CHAPTER 9
The dynamics of identity struggle in interdisciplinary meetings in higher education 165
Seongsook Choi and Keith Richards

CHAPTER 10
Laughables as a resource for foregrounding shared knowledge and shared identities in intercultural interactions in Scandinavia 185
Louise Tranekjær

CHAPTER 11
Workplace conflicts as (re)source for analysing identity struggles in stories told in interviews 207
Marlene Miglbauer

CHAPTER 12
Identities on a learning curve: Female migrant narratives and the construction of identities of (non)participation in Communities of Practice 225
Jonathan Clifton and Dorien Van De Mieroop

Part III. Struggling to combine (sometimes competing) expectations

CHAPTER 13
Managing patients' expectations in telephone complaints in Scotland 243
Bethan Benwell and May McCreaddie

CHAPTER 14
Identity work in nurse-client interactions in selected community hospitals in Kenya 263
Benson Oduor Ojwang

CHAPTER 15
'Even if there were procedures, we will be acting at our own discretion…': General practitioners' struggle about identity 281
Agnieszka Sowińska

CHAPTER 16
A kind of work: Narratives from Canadian indigenous women 299
Maria I. Medved and Jens Brockmeier

CHAPTER 17
Adapting self for private and public audiences: The enactment of leadership identity by New Zealand rugby coaches in huddles and interviews 317
Kieran A. File and Nick Wilson

CHAPTER 18
"I speak French=eh": Multilingualism and professional identity struggles in Luxembourg 335
Anne Franziskus

Part IV. Struggling to define identity boundaries

CHAPTER 19
The discursive accomplishment of identity during veterinary medical consultations in the UK 355
Robin Burrow

CHAPTER 20
Embracing a new professional identity: The case of social work in Botswana 371
Unity Nkateng and Sue Wharton

CHAPTER 21
Identity and space: Discourse perspectives 387
Gerlinde Mautner

CHAPTER 22
Household workers' use of directives to negotiate their professional identity in Lima, Peru 407
Susana de los Heros

CHAPTER 23
'We're only here to help': Identity struggles in foreign domestic helper narratives 427
Hans J. Ladegaard

CHAPTER 24
Epilogue: Identity struggles as a reflection of knowledge, competing norms, and attempts for social change 445
Dorien Van De Mieroop and Stephanie Schnurr

Index 455

Acknowledgements

The idea for this book, and indeed many of its contributions, arose out of a panel that was presented at the *International Pragmatics Conference* in Delhi in 2013. While the focus of the panel was on bringing together western and non-western perspectives on the discursive construction, negotiation and legitimisation of 'valid' identities, during the presentations and subsequent discussions it soon became clear that the identity issues we engaged in were much broader than our initial western/non-western dichotomy seemed to suggest. And so the idea for this collection on identity struggles in workplaces around the globe was born.

We are very grateful to all the participants – presenters and audience – of the initial panel at the conference, who have engaged so actively, and often quite passionately, with our questions around issues of identity. And also to all our contributors, who in their various chapters continue this discussion. We would particularly like to thank our authors for their patience throughout the editing process, and for their encouraging words and enthusiasm along the way.

A very big thank you also to Joelle Loew for helping with the formatting, to Jan Reynders for some expert computer advice and to Isja Conen for patiently and expertly answering all our questions while putting together this volume.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

A kaleidoscopic view of identity struggles at work

Stephanie Schnurr and Dorien Van De Mieroop
University of Warwick / KU Leuven

Introduction

Since people arguably spend most of their time at work, workplaces are one of the most crucial sites for identity construction. In the workplace, individuals create a multitude of different identities for themselves and the people they work with and for. They not only portray themselves as particular kinds of professionals (e.g. as a nurse or a sports coach) but they also draw on and at times even foreground specific aspects of their other social identities (e.g. as a mother, a rugby fan or someone who likes chocolate cake). These various identities are, of course, not constructed in isolation but are closely related and interlinked with the identities of others, and they also respond to and take into consideration the specific context in which an interaction occurs. They need to orient to the norms and expectations not only of the immediate working environment (which can often be described as a community of practice (Wenger 1998)) and the workplace more generally, but they also respond to the norms and expectations associated with the wider socio-cultural context in which an interaction takes place (Holmes et al. 2011).

Due to this complexity and inter-relatedness of professional identities with other identities and the context in which they occur, there is a huge potential for struggle – especially in a workplace context. In particular, since professional identities need to respond to the sometimes competing norms and expectations of the context and ultimately need to be accepted and legitimised by other interlocutors, the construction of a professional identity is often quite challenging. These identity struggles are typically carried out in and through discourse.

However, in spite of an increasing interest by recent discourse analytical research on the workplace as a site for identity construction (e.g. Richards 2006; Angouri and Marra 2011), the topic of 'identity struggles' at work is often overlooked and remains a relatively under-researched area of enquiry. Although individual studies exist which explore more specific issues relating to the struggles,

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.01sch
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

challenges and conflicts that individuals may experience when constructing their identities in the workplace (Holmes et al. 2011; Schnurr et al. 2014; Schnurr 2008; Van De Mieroop and Clifton 2012), to date there is no systematic collection demonstrating the relevance as well as diversity of this research. This edited volume aims to address these gaps by bringing together cutting-edge research on a range of different 'identity struggles' revolving around the issues of professional competence, in-group membership, (sometimes competing) expectations and identity boundaries. The various chapters in this volume provide case-studies of these different kinds of 'identity struggles' in a wide variety of workplaces around the world, including medical, educational and relatively traditional white-collar business settings, as well as largely under-researched blue-collar workplaces and non-traditional contexts such as the domestic workplace, and the sports arena. They illustrate not only that identity construction is a crucial aspect of workplace interactions but also that it is not always a harmonious process and that people often have to deal with different kinds of struggles in their everyday working lives, relating to their various identities, both in and outside the workplace.

Together, these case studies address the following broad, overarching questions about identity struggles at work:

- What kinds of identity struggles do people encounter in their workplaces?
  - Are these struggles workplace specific or are there similarities among different workplaces in different socio-cultural contexts?
- How do interlocutors experience these struggles and make sense of them?
  - What discursive tools and processes do they draw on to negotiate their own and each other's identities in these struggles?
- How do we, as researchers, make sense of these identity struggles?
  - What methodological and analytical tools can be used to investigate this topic?
- What insights can be gained from these explorations for identity research more generally?
  - In particular, what can be learned from studies in non-mainstream, marginalised, and often non-western, workplace contexts?

These questions are explored in relation to four specific areas of identity struggles in workplace contexts, which we briefly outline in the next section, and which provide the main ordering principle according to which the individual contributions in this volume are grouped together.

A shared approach, centered around several overarching themes

By bringing together a variety of perspectives and case studies on identity struggles, we aim to provide a kaleidoscopic view on this important topic and to generate new insights into the complexities of identity construction. All contributions focus on one or more of the following overarching themes of the book.

Struggling to construct professional competence

Constructing professional identities is closely related to portraying oneself as being competent in a particular profession. This may pose particular challenges for those people who have not (yet) acquired the governing norms and practices that characterize their workplaces and the wider context in which they are embedded, such as novices. However, it may also pose a challenge to members of minority groups for example, who may have to fight against a set of prejudices and stereotypes in order to ascertain their position and construct themselves as competent professionals in their workplace. This struggle around constructing professional competence is the focus of the chapters by Baxter, Chan, Reissner-Roubicek, Zayts and Schnurr, and De Stefani and Mondada.

In a study of a female senior leader in a UK company, Baxter demonstrates some of the struggles that leaders may face in relation to maintaining a professionally competent identity when negotiating bad news with their team. As Baxter argues, these challenges may be particularly pronounced for women who act in a business world that remains inhospitable to female leaders. A similar struggle around establishing and demonstrating professional competence is shown in Chan's case study of a relatively senior manager in a small family business in Hong Kong. In the regular meetings with the senior management team and the CEO of the company, this senior manager has to constantly demonstrate his professional competence by negotiating different views of effective meeting chairing with the CEO.

Another perspective on these professional struggles is provided by Reissner-Roubicek who focuses on identity struggles in job interviews. She demonstrates how through the interviewers' questions interviewees are often put in a difficult situation where they have to find effective ways of demonstrating their professional competence and constructing their professional identities as "employable" and "ideal employee". Interactionally this is achieved by choosing different pronouns and promoting their own achievements while at the same time portraying themselves as integrated members of a team.

In contrast to these chapters, in which the challenges to interlocutors' professional identities are issued by other professionals (or gate-keepers), in the other two chapters in this section, these challenges are posed by lay people. The chapter by Zayts and Schnurr focuses on identity struggles in consultations between nurses and mothers of newborns, and scrutinizes the discursive negotiation of interlocutors' epistemic rights and authority. They discuss the epistemic struggles that occur during telephone consultations between specialist genetic nurses and so-called "knowledgeable" mothers who have some prior experience with or knowledge of the condition with which they newborn child has been diagnosed. In these encounters, "struggles" around epistemic knowledge and authority are closely related to questions of professional identities.

Similar challenges and struggles are experienced by the professional guides analysed in De Stefani and Mondada's chapter. Like the nurses in Zayts and Schnurr's study, the guides also struggle for epistemic authority when they are being challenged by the displays of epistemic autonomy or even superiority by those whom they guide. Zooming in on the sequential positions of such challenges, as well as on the variety of the guides' responses to these claims, the authors demonstrate how epistemic challenges are key for reconsidering identity on the basis of participants' actions.

Struggling to (de-)construct in-group membership

Being part of a professional in-group, talking the group's language and following the norms negotiated among members of a particular community of practice (Wenger 1998) is essential to being and becoming an integrated member of an organization. However, sometimes professionals experience difficulties in aligning with a particular in-group, and establishing their in-group membership. The chapters by Holmes and Marra, Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop, Choi and Richards, Tranekjær, Miglbauer, and Clifton and Van De Mieroop explore this kind of identity struggle in more detail.

These chapters describe identity struggles around membership in different in-groups. These struggles may relate to the transitions that professionals may experience when they make the transition from outsider to insider in their workplace (as two case studies of newcomers in New Zealand workplaces by Holmes and Marra show), or they may relate to the (gendered) norms of a particular workplace (like in Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop's chapter). In their case study of a female employee in a male-dominated workplace in India, they illustrate some of the struggles that women regularly experience in the largely patriarchal workforce in India, and how they struggle to overcome the various gender-based boundaries that they experience in their everyday work-lives.

Different boundaries and the group memberships they signal are discussed in Choi and Richards' chapter on interdisciplinary research teams in the context of UK Higher Education. The authors demonstrate how the struggles of these groups over identity claims are closely related to questions of epistemic status of the different disciplines to whom members belong. The findings of their study illustrate that while there is assumed parity of disciplinary entitlement, in practice, members tend to invoke the power of the dominant discipline in order to establish epistemic precedence.

Further exploring the role of epistemics in relation to identity construction, Tranekjær explores the use of laughables as a resource for establishing in-group membership and identity construction in a range of different workplaces in Denmark and Norway. In her chapter she argues that laughables assist interlocutors to foreground (or background) the relevance of shared identities and to signal in-group membership.

The remaining two chapters in this section focus on another kind of in-group, namely that of joining a new workforce in a new country. As the contributions by Miglbauer, and Clifton and Van De Mieroop illustrate, migrant workers in the EU often encounter significant identity struggles – for example related to becoming a fully accepted and integrated member in their new workplaces and the countries they have moved to. Although both chapters discuss different case studies and take slightly different analytical perspectives, in both cases the authors show how these immigrants talk about and try to solve their identity struggles and how they try to gain in-group membership and to "fit in" – both in relation to the norms of their new workplaces and the "new" countries they have immigrated to.

Struggling to combine (sometimes competing) expectations

Since each professional identity entails a certain set of expected competencies, rights and obligations (although these are, of course, under constant negotiation), people across workplaces and professions may find themselves struggling to combine these (sometimes opposing) sets of expectations. For example, healthcare professionals have to find ways of balancing the expectations of their patients with the professional ethos attached to their roles, which, in turn, may evolve dynamically in a changing context. These kinds of struggles are illustrated in the contributions by Benwell and McCreaddie, Ojwang, Sowińska, Medved and Brockmeier, File and Wilson, and Franziskus. Interestingly, most of these chapters focus on identity struggles in healthcare and social care contexts and emerge in encounters between professionals and lay people.

In the first chapter in this section, Benwell and McCreaddie analyze the identity struggles that emerge during complaint calls to the National Health System

in the UK. In this highly face-threatening context both the caller and the operator need to negotiate a range of challenges and struggles in relation to the construction of their own and each other's identities. These challenges and struggles are closely related to interlocutors' different expectations about what constitutes effective and appropriate patient care, which provides the context in which they claim and construct, as well as legitimize and challenge their own and each other's various identities.

Similar observations about the impact on different expectations about appropriate behaviours on identity construction are made in Ojwang's chapter. His chapter illustrates some of the struggles that the nurses in a Kenyan community hospital regularly face when trying to juggle and combine the different expectations and rights of their patients with the nurses' attempts to adhere to specific institutional practices which are associated with the nursing profession, and societal considerations of politeness. These nurses often struggle to strike a balance between these competing expectations and to construct their professional identities in ways that respond to and meet all of these expectations.

The role of emotions in this context and their impact on identity construction are discussed in the chapters by Sowińska, and Medved and Brockmeier. In her study of general practitioners (GPs) in Poland, Sowińska demonstrates how these professionals often struggle with constructing and upholding their professional identities when dealing with patients with Medically Unexplained Symptoms. A particular focus of this chapter is on how these GPs construct and negotiate their professional identities in relation to their emotions, while at the same time struggling with the barriers in the Polish healthcare system where the field of family medicine is relatively new.

Emotions also feature in Medved and Brockmeier's contribution which analyses the identity struggles of women living and working in First Nation reserves in Canada. While these indigenous women often face a "double burden" of being devalued both as an indigenous person and as a woman, through their work as healthcare and social workers they are able to regain status within their community. However, due to the blurring of boundaries between work and social spheres and the expectations of their clients and community members, they often struggle to strike a balance between their professional and their social identities.

The remaining two chapters in this section focus on identity struggles around combining sometimes competing expectations in rather different kinds of professional contexts, namely the sports arena (File and Wilson) and a supermarket and IT company (Franziskus). However, in spite of these differences in the professions concerned, both chapters, like the other chapters in this section, provide interesting insights into identity struggles that professionals may experience largely due to facing (and having to find ways of combining) different expectations.

In their case study of professional rugby coaches in New Zealand, File and Wilson show how these professionals skillfully maneuver through a struggle that they regularly face around having to play two very different roles, namely a public, outwards facing role in which they represent the team to the outside world – usually via televisual media – and a more private, inside facing role in which they are the leaders of the rugby team. Meeting and combining the specific expectations that are associated with each role is often challenging and the coaches sometimes struggle in striking a balance.

In the final chapter in this section, Franziskus focuses on the impact of a multilingual context and the expectation of speaking several languages on the construction and negotiation of professional identities. She illustrates how staff members may struggle to construct a coherent professional identity in the multilingual context of Luxembourg and how they draw on their multilingual resources in their attempts to achieve this, as well as to sometimes challenge established power relations in the workplace, and to challenge the identity claims of others (which are often linked to expectations of using the 'right' or 'wrong' language).

Struggling to define identity boundaries

The notion of professional identity is highly contested, and questions like 'what exactly is a profession?' and 'what does it mean to be (a particular) professional?' are not always easy and straightforward to answer. Especially in relatively new or marginalized professions, members have to deal with these issues on a daily basis, and they have to find ways of constructing and enacting a professional identity while at the same time creating and negotiating the very boundaries of the profession which functions as the backdrop against which this identity construction is taking place. This struggle is further discussed in the chapters by Burrow, Nkateng and Wharton, Mautner, de los Heros, and Ladegaard. Although these chapters describe identity struggles in a range of very different professions, including veterinary work, social work, higher education and domestic work, there are considerable overlaps in the observations they make regarding the construction and negotiation of identities by the professionals involved in these contexts

In a case study of vets, Burrow explores some of the identity struggles that these professionals regularly encounter when interacting with their patients (i.e. animals) and their owners. He shows how in these consultations various different (and often closely related) identities are created for the vet, the owner, and the pet/patient. In assigning and negotiating specific identities to those three parties, the vets not only construct and enact their own professional competence but also accomplish, negotiate and manage the boundaries of their profession.

Similar work on defining (the boundaries of) their profession is undertaken by the social workers described in Nkateng and Wharton. Since social work is a relatively young but rapidly developing profession in Botswana, where their case study is located, those who are actively doing this work often struggle with the question of what exactly Social Work is in this socio-cultural context, which also impacts the construction of their own professional identities.

Taking a more literal approach to struggles around defining identity boundaries, Mautner's chapter focuses on the role of space and explores how identity struggles are manifested in space and the discourse surrounding it. Using the new campus of a university in Vienna as a case study, she describes some of the complex ways in which identity struggles are linked to very concrete and physical boundaries. Her chapter shows how by focusing on the *back*ground, otherwise unnoticed issues regarding organizational identity and power differentials may be brought to the *fore*.

That space plays an important role for identity construction also comes out in the last two contributions in this section, as they both zoom in on the household as a relatively atypical workplace, in which domestic helpers struggle to define their professional identities. Questions of what it means to be (good) domestic worker, which surface in both case studies, are closely linked to identity struggles. In her chapter on domestic workers in Peru, De los Heros explores the identity struggles faced by many of these professionals and analyses their use of directives in task oriented situations. As a typical indexical marker of power, the use of directives contributes to the construction of a professional identity while at the same time challenging the power relationship with their employers. Through their use of directives, the domestic workers actively claim expertise power and position themselves in non-subordinate roles, thereby asserting their knowledge and creating their professional identity (and by implication their profession) as more skilled and powerful than it is often perceived.

Similar struggles around describing the profession of domestic work and those undertaking it are discussed in Ladegaard's chapter on foreign domestic helpers in Hong Kong. He specifically explores how these professionals conceptualize the notion of domestic work and how they construct their professional identities – in relation to their employers and the context in which they work. The women who participated in this study choose among a set of different professional identities that are available to them and construct themselves as submissive servants, obedient daughters and wives, and sacrificial mothers but also as proud professionals who provide an essential service to their employers. They thereby also construct the profession of domestic helper.

Although these struggles provide the ordering principle according to which we have structured the book, it is important to emphasize that they should not

be regarded as distinct categories which are neatly separable from each other. On the contrary – as the various case studies in the subsequent chapters illustrate, there is often a considerable overlap between these different kinds of struggles and interlocutors may be faced with challenges that could fall under several of the struggle categories described above. This is particularly true for the chapters by Medved and Brockmeier, de los Heros, and Franziskus, which describe case studies that relate to several of the identity struggles described above. This complexity and interrelatedness of the various kinds of struggles once more shows the omni-presence and thus relevance of this topic for identity construction at work.

Conceptualising identity

So what, then, is identity? While a myriad of theories on identity exist, which are largely related to the different research traditions which, in turn, are often associated with different paradigms in which researchers work, the contributors to this edited volume all take a social constructionist perspective on identity, viewing it as a "process", rather than a "product" (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006: 2) that is actively constructed in collaboration (although not necessarily in harmony) among interlocutors as an interaction unfolds.

In contrast to essentialist understandings of identity, social constructionism conceptualizes identity as socially constructed in the context in which an interaction takes place. Identity is thus understood as something people actively and dynamically *do* rather than as a static attribute or "mental products or sets of properties" which exist outside and prior to discourse (De Fina 2010: 207; see also Benwell and Stokoe 2006; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Hall et al. 1999; Jenkins 2008). As a consequence of this dynamic and emergent nature, identity construction and negotiation are often described as never-ending processes (Hall 1996).

However, not only is identity construction a dynamic process that is constantly taking place throughout an interaction, but often interlocutors also enact more than one identity simultaneously. For example, they may portray themselves not only as the leader of a particular team and perhaps an expert in a particular matter but they could at the same time also construct their gender identity. However, as some of our contributors in their subsequent chapters show, this simultaneous enactment of different identities may not always be in harmony but can often lead to potential conflict – especially when the expectations associated with the different identities clash. So, rather than assuming that each agent 'has' an identity, this conceptualization of identities as plural acknowledges the complexity and dynamic nature inherent in the processes of *doing* identity.

Moreover, identities are not created in isolation – rather, they are constructed and constantly negotiated in relation to a multitude of other identities on different levels. In the workplace context, this relates to the macro-level as well as the micro-level. On the macro-level, as Jenkins (2008: 35) notes, "the individual and the collective are routinely entangled with each other", and thus individual identities are influenced and shaped by the norms and practices that characterize a particular group (such as a specific company, a project team within that company, or even an entire profession). This process is also reciprocated and these group norms and practices are, in turn, equally influenced and shaped by the enactment of the individual identities of their members. This interrelationship and interdependence of identities is also reflected on the micro-level where individual identities are created and negotiated in relation to other identities. For example, the professional identity of a rugby coach is typically constructed and negotiated in relation to the professional identity of rugby players, and a specific rugby team, and the professional identity of a nurse tends to be created in relation to the identity of a patient. In this sense, these different, and closely inter-related, identities "cannot be separated in an institutional context but have to be regarded as mutually dependent" (Hall et al. 1999: 295)

However, the processes involved in constructing and negotiating various identities in relation to other identities on the macro- and the micro-level do not necessarily take place in harmonious collaboration (e.g. Richards 2006: 47), and often professional identities are created in a "tension between the individual and the collective level" (Van De Mieroop and Clifton 2012: 1), which may give rise to a variety of different identity struggles. It is the aim of this edited volume to explore this tension and the resulting struggles in more detail, and to analyze, by ways of conducting a series of case studies in different workplaces around different struggles, the specific discursive processes through which these struggles are enacted, negotiated and sometimes solved.

A framework to study identity construction

Although different approaches to analyzing identity exist within the social constructionist paradigm, we focus here on just one particularly comprehensive framework proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005). This framework, in which the authors extensively draw on previous identity research, underlies and informs, more or less explicitly, many of the chapters in this edited volume. It proposes five principles of identity construction: the emergence principle, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle and the partialness principle. The perhaps most important principles for the contributions to this

volume, and from the angle of identity struggles, are the indexicality principle and the relationality principle.

The indexicality principle captures some of the processes and mechanisms through which identities are constructed. More specifically, it states that interlocutors are constantly involved in identity work and position themselves and each other. One of the discursive processes through which this takes place is indexicality. The notion of indexicality, as introduced by Ochs (1993: 341), describes how through their use of language interlocutors index particular stances which in turn are associated with certain roles or identities. For example, interrupting others and dominating talking time are discursive behaviours that typically evoke a powerful stance, which may in turn be associated with certain professional identities, such as a leader identity. However, there is clearly no one-to-one relationship between any linguistic form or discursive practice (such as interrupting) and a particular identity. Rather, these forms and practices are implicitly associated with certain identities via the interactional stances that they evoke (e.g. Ochs 1992; 1993). Moreover, as we have mentioned above, any linguistic form or discursive practice may, of course, contribute to constructing various different identities – sometimes even simultaneously.

The relationality principle is firmly based on the assumption that "identity is a relational phenomenon" and that identities "are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598). This principle, which lies at the heart of Bucholtz and Hall's framework, thus captures some of the ideas outlined above around the observation that identities are never constructed in isolation but are always to some extent a conjoint (although not necessarily harmonious) process which is enacted among multiple interlocutors in close relation to the context in which the interaction occurs. Among the specific, "often overlapping, complementary relations" through which identities can be constructed are the following: similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 598). These relations describe how interlocutors may position themselves (and each other) in relation to each other and the wider context in which their interaction occurs, and how they react to identity claims made by other interlocutors. For example, the second pair of intersubjective identity relations, genuineness/artifice, captures how the identities that interlocutors claim or set up for themselves are perceived by others, and in this case whether they are interpreted (and thus responded to) as being genuine or artificially crafted and false.

The other principles are also based on the theorizations of identity outlined above. More specifically, the emergence principle reflects the conceptualization of

identity as emerging from discursive practices rather than being a pre-determined category that impacts on how people use language. The positionality principle describes how through their use of language interlocutors position themselves and each other – in relation to the context in which their exchange takes place – thereby claiming and constructing identity categories for themselves and each other. Lastly, the partialness principle draws on the post-structuralist notion of identity as fragmented and fractured and emphasizes that identity construction is not always fully rational and intentional but may also be habitual, and is located in a specific situational and ideological context. Identities are thus "constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts." (Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 606)

Although the contributors to this edited volume all share this conceptualization of identity as a discursive process, and although to some extent their analyses, more or less explicitly, draw on some of the aspects captured in the five principles proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), the authors take a range of different methodological approaches when researching the specific identity struggles that form the topic of their contributions.

Researching identity struggles at work

Identity research has a relatively long tradition and has attracted scholars from different disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, social psychology, organization sciences, and discourse studies. Perhaps not surprisingly, this diversity has also led to a multitude of different methodological and analytical approaches which have been employed to address questions of identity. This diversity in approaches is also reflected to some extent in the various contributions to this edited volume. More specifically, the subsequent chapters approach identity struggles from slightly different perspectives and are based on different types of data. However, overall, two broad strands can be discerned, namely on the one hand, studies that draw on recordings of naturally occurring data. They often, but not always, use (tools from) conversation analysis (CA), sometimes supplemented by other approaches. On the other hand, some other studies in this collection are based on interview data, which then tend to be scrutinized from an ethnographical or narrative perspective. These two strands are of course not neatly separated, as discursive analyses are often characterized by a combination of approaches, and so it is not surprising that there are also perspectives that cut across some of these studies, as for example the Community of Practice (CofP) concept (Wenger 1998), which occurs in many of the chapters in this volume, both based on spontaneous interactions and interview data.

In line with the first strand, the following studies draw on audio- or video recordings of naturally occurring data. The data in Burrow's chapter comes from a collection of authentic veterinary consultations which have been video- and audio-recorded in their full length. Burrow uses CA-tools for his analysis. Choi and Richards also use CA for their analysis of audio-recorded meetings of different interdisciplinary scientific research groups. In particular, they draw on Heritage's (2012) work on epistemics in talk. A similar approach is followed by Tranekjær in her study of common sense laughables in student counseling sessions and internship interviews; as well as by De Stefani and Mondada in their study of guided tours in Italy, France and Switzerland. They also use video-recordings, which they exploit to the fullest by incorporating a multimodal level in their analyses. Furthermore, Zayts and Schnurr focus on epistemic 'struggles' in audio-recorded telephone conversations between nurses and new mothers, but they take a broader discourse analytical perspective to the data. Ojwang's chapter is also based on audio-recorded interactional data, supplemented with observations, and he uses Politeness Theory (Brown & Levinson 1987) as analytical framework to describe and make sense of the identity struggles of the nurses in the Kenyan hospitals where he collected data.

Benwell and McCreaddie also use CA and combine this with ethnomethodology and Membership Categorization Analysis to interpret their data, which consists of a corpus of transcripts of telephone calls to and from the Patient Relations department of the National Health Service authority in Scotland. These analytical approaches, according to the authors, facilitate and "enable a microscopic and reflexive focus on the way in which complaints and complaint responses are formulated." (Benwell and McCreaddie, this volume, 247). Chan, in her chapter on audio- and video-recordings of authentic business meetings recorded in a small family business, combines CA with CofP analytical tools, and bases her analyses on these interactional data, as well as on interviews with meeting participants, workplace observations and questionnaires. Franziskus also bases her analyses on a combination of recorded spontaneous interactions and interviews, and while she also uses the concept of the CofP, she complements this with an interactional sociolinguistic and linguistic ethnographical perspective on her data, which focuses on the indexical force of multilingual resources for the construction of identity. Furthermore, de los Heros uses audio-recordings of naturally occurring interactions between household workers and employees and scrutinizes how power is talked into being through the use of directives, thus relying theoretically on the principle of indexicality as well. Finally, Baxter audio-recorded the meeting data on which her chapter is based, and these data are complemented by field notes on various contextual factors, and are further supplemented by follow-up interviews with the female leader and some of her colleagues. The identity struggles in this

data set are then analyzed using Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis, an approach which according to Baxter "specializes in identifying the range of discourses at play within varying social contexts in order to ascertain the intertextualised and competing ways in which such discourses structure speakers' experiences of power relations" (Baxter, this volume, 26; see also Baxter 2003). And lastly in this strand, Holmes and Marra take a social realist stance and use a similar methodological approach to analyse their data, which consists of recorded authentic workplace interactions followed and/or preceded by participant observations.

Falling under the second strand outlined above, there are many chapters in this volume in which the researchers have taken a more active role in the generation of the data, namely by interviewing participants or organizing focus group discussions. Such data should be approached with a critical eye, in the sense that these interviews or focus groups should themselves be regarded as interactional events (De Fina 2009) in which "the interviewer cannot suspend completely his [sic] own personal presentation of self" (Cicourel 1964: 91), and so these studies incorporate the role of the interviewer in the construction of meaning.

For example, File and Wilson employ linguistic ethnography in which they do participant observation and ad hoc interviews with professional rugby coaches and various players in their team, which they discuss in relation to official (and mediatised) interviews that the coaches gave to reporters at half-time during matches. These data are analyzed using a bottom-up approach in which the authors identify some of the specific discursive practices these coaches draw on when constructing their various identities. A similar approach is taken by Nkateng and Wharton who have conducted interviews with social workers in Botswana. They analyse these data through directed and inductive content analysis.

Sowińska uses focus group discussions in her study on Polish doctors, and she selects and analyses salient linguistic and semiotic categories to detect how the interlocutors communicate socio-cognitive representations of social actor groups (Koller 2012). Mautner's study on discursive perspectives on identity and space is inspired by three research traditions – Critical Discourse Analysis, linguistic landscape and organizational space research. Drawing on these different approaches, this chapter questions more traditional notions of context.

Finally, there is a series of chapters that rely on – some form of – narrative analyses. In Ladegaard's chapter on interviews with foreign domestic helpers, a narrative perspective is taken to analyze interviews with these professionals in which the author combines attention to linguistic detail (Toolan 2001) with a therapeutic component typical for narrative research (e.g. Brown and Augusta-Scott 2007) and by also drawing on the ethnography-of-communication approach (Saville-Troike 2003), the crucial role of contextual information in interpreting the data is emphasized as well. Also drawing on extra-textual background information

and taking a cultural psychological and anthropological approach, Medved and Brockmeier analyze gendered themes in the workplace narratives of female care workers obtained through interviews. These themes are also central in Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop's study of one interview with a female professional. They complement their narrative approach with insights from Lewis and Simpson's (In) visibility Vortex (2012) to interpret the identity struggles of their interviewee. In the last two chapters under this strand, narrative analysis is also central. In Clifton and Van De Mieroop's chapter on interviews with migrant workers, this approach is supplemented with the CofP-concept in order to interpret these migrant workers' stories about participating and becoming a member in their workplace or their working team. Finally, Miglbauer addresses a similar topic with a similar approach, but in her contribution, Positioning Theory (Bamberg 1997; Deppermann 2013) is the central theoretical framework on which the analyses are based.

Towards a kaleidoscopic approach to identity

This volume brings together contributors who come from a range of different disciplines (including, for example, various fields of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, Management and Organizational Behaviour, Psychology, Business Communication, Social and Cultural Anthropology, and Health Studies) and research that builds on different methodological and analytical approaches (including Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, Conversation Analysis, Multimodal Analysis, Feminist Poststructural Discourse Analysis, Membership Categorization, Linguistic Ethnography, Positioning Theory, and Politeness Theory), thus providing a kaleidoscopic view of identity struggles. Bringing together these different approaches under the umbrella of one volume is particularly important as it helps breaking down disciplinary silos. Since identity construction is typically a topic which has been widely researched and is of interest to researchers across disciplines, any attempt at a comprehensive analysis calls for multi- and inter-disciplinary dialogue and approaches. Thus, in this volume, within the broader frame outlined above, each of these methodological and analytical approaches explores a specific aspect of identity struggle, focuses on different issues, and provides different answers to the various questions outlined above. Taken together the various chapters thereby illustrate the benefits (and sometimes pitfalls) of drawing on specific methodological tools for researching identity. The various case studies of the different chapters thus produce a complex and multi-facetted picture capturing a myriad of aspects and ways of making sense of the various processes involved in identity construction.

However, in spite of this methodological and analytical diversity across chapters, all contributions draw on authentic data collected in workplace settings; and they provide insights into a wide diversity of different professional and socio-cultural contexts, in Australasia, Asia, Africa, South America, North America and Europe. Moving away from a focus on Western contexts, as is characteristic of most previous scholarship on identity construction in professional contexts, this volume specifically aims to incorporate and integrate multiple perspectives on identities drawn out from case studies of different professions in different socio-cultural contexts thereby contributing and significantly expanding current scholarship on identity construction in professional contexts.

Bringing together contributions from different socio-cultural contexts written by scholars from different academic disciplines is just one of the aspects, we believe, that make this volume particularly interesting, and that contribute towards creating a kaleidoscopic view of identity. This kaleidoscopic view is also a first step towards moving away from a more traditional (and often restrictive) focus on business, medical and educational settings mostly in Western countries, and to break new grounds by exploring identity issues in largely under-researched contexts and in less typical workplaces. By building on and contributing to the substantial body of already existing research on identity in the workplace, this volume thus aims to fill a gap by capturing relatively traditional as well as largely under-researched perspectives on this topic with the aim of starting a productive dialogue.

Reading through the various contributions in this volume, we hope, will make clear not only the vast diversity of research on identity in professional contexts – e.g. in relation to methodological and analytical approaches, and also regarding different kinds of workplaces in very different socio-cultural contexts – but it will also highlight a wide range of commonalities – especially with regards to the kinds of questions asked and the insights that can be gained about the processes involved in negotiating identity struggles in the different case studies (for an extensive discussion, see the epilogue of this volume). As such, we hope that this volume contributes to starting a fruitful dialogue among identity researchers who traditionally work and think in the silos of their own disciplines and within their own methodological and analytical frameworks. Such an endeavour is not only timely and important, but, we believe, also constitutes a promising way to advance research on identity – in the workplace context and beyond.

References

Angouri, Jo and Meredith Marra (eds.). 2011. *Constructing Identities at Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230360051

Bamberg, Michael. 1997. "Positioning between structure and performance." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7: 335–342. doi:10.1075/jnlh.7.42pos

Baxter, Judith. 2003. *Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave doi:10.1057/9780230501263

Benwell, Bethan and Elizabeth Stokoe. 2006. *Discourse and identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Brown, Catrina, and Tod Augusta-Scott (eds.). 2007. *Narrative Therapy: Making Meaning, Making Lives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall. 2005. "Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach." *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614. doi:10.1177/1461445605054407

Brown, Penelope, and Stephen Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Cicourel, Aaron V. 1964. *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. New York: The Free Press.

De Fina, Anna. 2009. "Narratives in interview – The case of accounts; For an interactional approach to narrative genres." *Narrative Inquiry* 19(2): 233–258. doi:10.1075/ni.19.2.03def

De Fina, Anna. 2010. "The negotiation of identities." In Interpersonal Pragmatics, ed. by Miriam Locher, and Sage Graham, 205–224. Berlin: De Gruyter.

De Fina, Anna, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg. 2006. "Introduction." In *Discourse and Identity, Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics* 23, ed. by Anna De Fina Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 1–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deppermann, Arnulf. 2013. "Editorial: Positioning in narrative interaction." *Narrative Inquiry* 23(1): 1–15. doi:10.1075/ni.23.1.01dep

Hall, Stuart. 1996. "Introduction: Who needs 'identity'?" In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. by Stuart Hall, and Paul du Gay, 1–17. London: Sage.

Hall, Christopher, Srikant Sarangi, and Stefaan Slembrouk. 1999. "The legitimation of the client and the profession: Identities and roles in social work discourse." In *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation and Management Settings*, ed. by Srikant Sarangi, and Celia Roberts, 293–322. Berlin: De Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208375.3.293

Heritage, John. 2012. "The epistemic engine: Sequence organization and territories of knowledge." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45 (1): 30–52. doi:10.1080/08351813.2012.646685

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Jenkins, Richard. 2008. *Social Identity* (3rd ed.). Abingdon: Routledge.

Koller, Veronika. 2012. "How to analyse collective identity in discourse – textual and contextual parameters." *CADAAD Journal* 5 (2): 19–38.

Lewis, Patricia, and Ruth Simpson. 2012. "Kanter Revisited: Gender, Power and (In) Visibility." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 14(2): 141–158. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2370.2011.00327.x

Ochs, Elinor. 1992. "Indexing gender." In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, ed. by Alessandro Duranti, and Charles Goodwin, 335–358. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ochs, Elinor. 1993. "Constructing social identity: A language and socialization perspective." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26(3): 287–306. doi: 10.1207/s15327973rlsi2603_3

Richards, Keith. 2006. *Language and Professional Identity: Aspects of Collaborative Interaction*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. doi: 10.1057/9780230505049

Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication* (3rd edition). Oxford: Black well. doi: 10.1002/9780470758373

Schnurr, Stephanie, Dorien Van De Mieroop, and Olga Zayts. 2014. "Positioning oneself in relation to larger collectivities in expatriates' workplace narratives." *Narrative Inquiry* 24(2): 386–407. doi: 10.1075/ni.24.2.11sch

Schnurr, Stephanie. 2008. "Surviving in a man's world with a sense of humour: an analysis of women leaders' use of humour at work." *Leadership* 4(3): 299–319 doi: 10.1177/1742715008092363

Toolan, Michael. 2001. *Narrative Analysis: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Van De Mieroop, Dorien, and Jonathan Clifton. 2012. "The interplay between professional identities and age, gender and ethnicity; Introduction." *Pragmatics* 22(2): 193–201. doi: 10.1075/prag.22.2.01mie

Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511803932

PART I

Struggling to construct professional competence

CHAPTER 2

Coping with uncertainty

Gender and leadership identities in UK corporate life

Judith Baxter
Aston University

Within corporate contexts, senior leaders must construct credible leadership identities if they are to demonstrate effectiveness in achieving business goals. This is a particular challenge for women, who have struggled historically to gain senior leadership positions. This chapter explores the identity struggles experienced by Karen, a woman Human Resources director within a management meeting as she delivers bad news about 'company restructuring' to her colleagues. Using Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA), I show how this leader struggles to maintain a professionally competent identity as she negotiates the bad news. The analysis reveals that despite the demands of her role, Karen demonstrates extraordinary linguistic competence in managing her team within a turbulent business world that continues to remain inhospitable to female leaders.

Keywords: leadership, gender, feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis, subject positioning, discourses

Introduction

Within an increasingly globalised business world, coping with change and uncertainty has become endemic within senior leadership practices. Indeed, according to leading business and management scholars such as Kotter (2001: 65), "What leaders do is prepare organizations for change and help them cope as they struggle through it". As the range of norms, expectations and practices within leadership contexts are constantly shifting, business leaders are routinely challenged to respond with ever more sophisticated discursive strategies in order to manage their senior teams effectively. Around the world, women continue to remain in the minority at senior level (Sealy et. al., 2016), and are a relatively rare presence in the boardroom. Scholars of gender in organisations suggest that this is because leadership is still viewed as a distinctly masculine construct (e.g. Eagly and Carli

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.02bax
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

2007)), which continues to define itself on the basis of a person's presumed gender. Women are still viewed as outsiders in the business world, who are perceived to aspire inappropriately to the privileges of a male-dominated business world (Kanter 1993). Thus, "gender" as one distinguishing aspect of professional identity (Holmes 2007) is made strongly relevant as a topic of research within the context of business leadership in the workplace.

Constructing professional identities is closely related to portraying oneself as being competent in a particular profession. This is a particularly pertinent issue for women business leaders within international companies. Not only do they have to deal with a climate of chronic and unpredictable change as they manage the daily, working lives of their subordinates, but as women in minority positions as leaders, they may have to fight against a set of prejudices and stereotypes in order to ascertain their positions and construct themselves as competent professionals in the competitive world of international business (see Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop, this volume).

In this chapter, I will argue that women in very senior positions are faced with a double challenge that manifests itself in the form of "identity struggles" with their senior management teams in meetings. The first challenge is the chronic demand to manage change and uncertainty in terms of organisational structures, staff changes, policies and practices. The second challenge is to enact authority in appropriate ways so that women leaders accomplish drastic and often unpopular changes, whilst preserving solidarity with their colleagues and subordinates. I consider the case of Karen, a woman Human Resources (HR) director within a large UK national company that is facing privatisation. Using Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA; Baxter 2003), I analyse a series of meeting interactions between the leader and her team in which she struggles simultaneously to preserve a persona of professional competence and sense of authority (see Chan, this volume). FPDA is ideally suited as a method to show how, during the course of a stretch of interaction, an individual speaker tends to shift between positions of relative powerfulness and powerlessness as they struggle to enact a credible leadership identity. This shifting of subject positioning occurs in relation to a range of competing discourses that are invoked by different speakers within the context of senior meetings. At times, a speaker may appear to be "in control" of the preferred identity they are enacting, but at other times, they may struggle to maintain an authoritative and credible presence, and thus, lose power. In the case of Karen, she uses the interactional strategy of "double-voicing" to negotiate and manage relationships with her team. Double-voicing means that "when a person speaks, they have a heightened awareness of, and responsiveness to the concerns and agendas of others, which is then reflected in the different ways in which they adjust their language in response to interlocutors" (Baxter 2014: 3). I argue that this is a clear

index of the identity struggles in which she is engaged with her team. The chapter will demonstrate that the chronic corporate uncertainty which leaders have to negotiate with their teams adds a further pressure on senior women such as Karen to develop approved and credible leadership identities within a masculinised business world. The chapter's significance is that it supplements the limited literature on the role of discourse in leadership identity struggles *at the most senior level* in business organisations (i.e. Main Board and the level below). The chapter is original in deploying FPDA to analyse how *global uncertainty and change* permeate women's interactions on a daily, moment-by-moment basis, and at times, holds them back from performing senior roles as effectively as they and colleagues would like.

Women in leadership

Within gender and language research on business leadership, three broad perspectives remain influential, all of which theorise the identity challenges women experience in "doing leadership". The first is that leadership is pervasively viewed as a masculine construct; the second is that women and men have differently gendered (but potentially complementary) leadership styles; and the third is that gendered identities are discursively constructed through the process of leadership interactions. The first perspective – that business leadership is intrinsically masculine – assumes that an "effective" leader should have many attributes stereotypically coded as masculine: the ability to be authoritative, assertive, confrontational, competitive, task-focused and single-minded (e.g. Sinclair 1998). As women leaders rarely appear to fit this stereotype (or are castigated if they do), they are marked as "the other", a deviation from the male norm and therefore considered less professional and competent (Kanter 1993, Schnurr 2009).

The second perspective is one that has been adopted enthusiastically by scholars of organisational studies rather than gender and language theorists, although there have been a few early exceptions (e.g. Coates 1995, Tannen 1995). Gender and organisation theorists such as Helgesen (1990) argue that to be really effective, leaders need to combine the complementary styles of "transactional" or goal-orientated leadership with "transformational" or change-orientated leadership based on personal respect, openness, mutual trust and social responsibility. According to this perspective, women should have a distinct advantage over men because they prefer, and are far more competent in the use of, transformational styles and practices. While organisational theorists perceive transformational leadership as conferring a "female advantage" upon women, Eagly and Carli (2007: 810), argue that this has often not benefitted senior women in male-dominated environments. This is because women and men tend to be evaluated differently and unequally for

using the same leadership skill-set. So for example, a senior man who is listening, supportive and open is regarded as "emotionally intelligent" or having excellent "people skills", whereas a woman may be seen merely as conforming to the nurturing stereotype and therefore, insufficiently tough-minded (Vinnicombe and Singh 2002). Conversely, when a man is being tough, this is to be expected of a "strong" leader, whereas when a woman takes tough decisions, there are numerous derogatory terms (such as "scary", "ruthless" and "bossy") to describe and undermine her (Baxter 2012). As a consequence, Holmes (2006) has argued that women leaders are subject to the "double bind" whereby they are either assessed as too direct and assertive, or as too indirect and tentative. Women simply cannot "win" as leaders in the workplace.

The third, social constructionist perspective that leadership identities and practices are discursively constructed is a challenge to the notion of differently gendered leadership "styles". For example, Holmes (2006) contests the view that there is a dichotomous binary relation between the social categories of men and women, arguing that actions are gendered not people. She has shown that "effective" men or women leaders can draw expertly on a repertoire of linguistic strategies stereotypically coded both "masculine" and "feminine". However this is not entirely a free choice; leaders are also positioned by whether they work in a masculine or feminine "community of practice" (CofP) (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1998, Schnurr 2009). Building on this idea, Mullany (2007) found various examples in her studies of management meetings whereby men use relational language in CofPs such as Human Resources (HR) departments that tend to be "feminised", whereas women use transactional language in CofPs that are more "masculinised" such as Operations. Mullany (ibid) further argues that theorists should take greater account of corporate discourses, in order to achieve a more finely-grained linguistic understanding of how business communities "do leadership". She posits that women are systematically disempowered by gendered discourses in the workplace such as "emotionality/irrationality" and "motherhood and family". Likewise, I argue (Baxter 2010) that gendered discourses often position women in multiple and competing ways enabling some limited forms of agency. In this way, women are never uniformly powerless but can always (re)negotiate their subject positions to resist or overturn gendered discourses in the workplace. In my view, it is the social constructionist perspective that best theorises the multiple, intricate ways in which women business leaders struggle to assert their professional identities in times of corporate change.

A case study of Karen: A woman business leader

The aim of the case study was to learn more about the relationship between gender and the discursive construction of leadership identities in both private and public sector companies. Karen's case was part of a UK government funded project involving seven leading private and public sector, international companies from a range of business sectors including retailing, logistics, insurance and engineering. This larger study sought comparative data of the leadership practices used by both senior women and men to chair and lead senior management meetings across different sectors (Baxter 2014).

This chapter focuses on just one of the seven companies from that study, R-Distribution (a pseudonym), an international UK business, and specifically, the case of one woman leader, Karen (also a pseudonym). The study used semi-ethnographic, qualitative methods in order to gather a rich and detailed picture of the subject (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995), including spending time at research sites, extensive observation, taking field notes, and conducting interviews with participants. Senior management meetings were the primary site of investigation, firstly because senior people spend much of their professional lives in such meetings, and secondly because these are the key forums in which business people enact leadership through linguistic interaction with their colleagues (Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997). Of course it is also the case that leadership is constructed and enacted within many other contexts, but for reasons of confidentiality these tend to be less accessible to researchers (Boden 1994).

In this chapter, I analyse two extracts from a routine monthly HR team meeting chaired by Karen. I opted for a 'judgement' rather than a 'random' selection of extracts (Deumert and Mesthrie 2000) because, within the qualitative case study paradigm, I wished to generate richness of insights rather than typicality upon which generalisations can be made. Thus, I chose two extracts that offered a heightened sense of the overall character of the interaction. While this meeting was routine, the agenda focused on the controversial topic of organisational restructuring, with serious implications for the posts of the HR team and other members of the company. With a research assistant[1], I attended and audio-recorded the meeting, during which we made field-notes on a range of contextual and paralinguistic features such as body language, prosody and seating arrangements. With respect to "the observer's paradox" (Labov 1966), the participants were certainly aware of our presence at the start of meetings as we had to introduce ourselves and the

1. I wish to thank Dr Surinderpal Kaur now of the University of Malaya who worked as a research assistant on my ESRC project Leadership Talk and Gender in Senior Management Meetings in the UK (2010–12).

purpose of our research, but as both meetings lasted up to half a day, the participants soon appeared to forget our presence. As an HR team, the participants were well used to being observed by visitors from other companies or from other parts of R-distribution. We followed up our meetings with one-to-one interviews with the women leader and several of her colleagues, which allowed us to elicit their perceptions on how Karen had performed in order to achieve the meeting's stated business objectives. This enabled us to assess whether or not HR team members valued and approved of Karen's approach to leading the controversial agenda. The meetings were transcribed in full using a basic Conversation Analysis (CA) transcription method (Jefferson 2004).

In order to analyse the meeting data, we used FPDA, a self-reflexive, pragmatic methodology with a discursive approach to analysis, and a critical focus on gender (Baxter 2003). FPDA is a method of discourse analysis that has been used increasingly by gender and language scholars in recent years (e.g. Castañeda-Peña 2008, Kamada 2010, Sauntson 2012). It is based on the premise that ideas, concepts, identities, practices and relationships are never fixed and their meaning is constantly changing according to "subject positioning" and context. FPDA specialises in identifying the range of discourses at play within varying social contexts in order to ascertain the intertextualised and competing ways in which such discourses structure speakers' experiences of power relations. FPDA has the following guiding principles:

1. *The synchronic-diachronic dimension*: the "synchronic" dimension involves identifying critical moments in conversation where subject positioning or power shifts may occur. The "diachronic" dimension is concerned with analysing the language of individuals as they interact over time, and ascertaining the norms and practices of the communities to which they belong. This is achieved by longer term, ethnographic methods.
2. *Denotative-connotative analysis:* Denotative analysis identifies the more obvious, literal meaning of an interaction at its micro-linguistic level. On the basis of this relatively descriptive evidence, connotative analysis identifies how speakers shift between competing macro-level discourses within a single or a series of interactions.
3. *Intertextuality*: This involves the analysis of interwoven and competing discourses and how these "subject position" speakers as relatively powerful or powerless within interactions.
4. *Supplementary*: FPDA can supplement its approach with other approaches to discourse analysis (see below) in order to capture the richness, complexity, ambiguity and detail of naturally-occurring interaction.

On the micro-linguistic level, I analyse meeting talk, both monologic (Extract 1) and interactive (Extract 2; see below). At this denotative level, I use Interactional Sociolinguistic Analysis (ISA; e.g. Gumperz 1982, Holmes 2006, Schiffrin 1994) as the primary tool, which aims to describe how participants speak and interact at the micro-level of lexical and grammatical features, turn-taking, prosody and paralanguage. These features provide descriptive, linguistic information about speakers by means of "contextualisation cues" (Gumperz 1982), which index locally enacted aspects of macro-social identities such as gender, class, ethnicity or status (Ochs 1992). I also refer expediently to concepts from pragmatics and politeness theory (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987) where these provide technical insights at the micro-linguistic level. Thus the micro, denotative level analysis provides an evidential platform for the connotative level analysis. The ISA of the two extracts enables me to identify evidence of the presence of corporate and gendered discourses in the transcripts. Clearly, the use of an approach that infers the existence of macro-level discourses from micro-level linguistic interactions must be viewed as interpretive, provisional and partially a result of scholarly co-construction. However, in its favour, the approach can yield rich and valuable insights as it helps me to identify the gendered and other discourses that variously position Karen and her colleagues in the context of this HR directors' meeting. Analysing discourses using FPDA can offer fresh descriptions and explanations about a woman leader's struggles to enact a professionally competent identity within a challenging business context.

The analysis

Denotative analysis

As Board Director of Human Resources (HR) for R-distribution, Karen is the line manager for 18 Regional HR Directors (nine men and nine women), who meet together on a monthly basis to discuss a range of strategic management issues. The key topic for this half-day meeting is the major restructuring of the company, involving a significant number of staff changes and potential job losses at the most senior levels. The purpose of the meeting, which Karen chairs, is to brief colleagues about these changes at Board level and within the HR Group by means of a PowerPoint presentation. Karen has occupied her role for two years, and has just explained that she herself is about to be "moved sideways" within the company, and that her HR post will be advertised externally. This extract represents the start of the meeting and just prior to this, everyone has "checked in", which is noteworthy because a few participants appear not to know each other, even though the context is that of a regular directors' meeting forum.

Extract 1. Key: K= Karen; John= Chief Executive Officer ('CEO'; not present); Steve, Chris = Board Directors, (not present), same level of seniority as Karen; A=Alan, an HR colleague and subordinate; ER=external relations; IR=internal relations; W=place to which Karen is moving.

```
1 K: We'll do a general check-in even though we are behind (.) it's er
2    it's important to work around the table and to check in (.) I will
3    stay with me er if I may and um (.) just say that Steve and Chris
4    spoke and got together and the announcement about myself has gone out
5    around the business (.) so er (.) thank you all for the
6    conversations I've had all the little notes (.) er I have had an
7    absolute and am having an absolute fabulous time partnering
8    operations (.) um it really is where the action is at and it's a
9    privilege to work with you and er shape (.) you know getting things
10   right for the regions? (.) so um I am off to er W. which is
11   supply chain and logistics as probably many of you will have heard of
12   them (.) it's a kind of a space that we are in (.) and um that's
13   where I'll be from the first of February (2) so er what will happen?
14   um to this role? um: they are going to recruit externally (.) I'm
15   sure John will talk openly about it if people are interested or or
16   want to ask him but er they um: will (.)John will recruit externally
17   er: for both the Group ER and IR role and when we look at structures
18   in a minute I can remind ourselves of the er the ones there are
19   vacancies (1) hmm hmm: (.) there needs to be sort of arrangements put
20   in place for any kind of gap really which I think we'll work through
21   during the month of January (3) um so I've taken up a long time to
22   check in but I thought that was important to er reference and refer
23   to really (1) um (tsk) everybody else knows each other can I check?
24   Anna would you like to um: check that everybody knows yourself (.)
25   I've sort of said hello on your behalf
26A: yeah ok
27K: lovely (.) and what we'll do is we'll check in going around that way
28   you know just a few minutes what you er (.) how you're doing and er
29   anything else you want to share going on in your world? or you
30   want to get up to date or if you indeed need to sort of dive out or
31   or leave or are distracted for various other reasons (cheery voice)
32   (.) um and need to focus on external things (.) Louise?
```

Immediately obvious from the lay-out of the first extract is that this is largely a monologue, punctuated by the odd elicitation of agreement from other participants (line 26), rather than interactional talk. This is unsurprising given that the initial purpose of the meeting is a one-way briefing rather than a question and answer session, although this latter purpose is anticipated in lines 28–9 ("er anything else you want to share going on in your world?").

In line 1, Karen uses a series of framing and reframing markers to prepare the ground for the important announcement that she goes on to make – that she is leaving her position as HR Director and moving to another post in the organisation. She uses metalinguistic devices to enact her double role as both Chair of the meeting and a participant within it. First, she briefly explains and justifies

the check-in procedure, then, drawing upon the authority of her position as head of the team, she steps within that frame to be the first to check in. Second, she rather elaborately invokes the superior authority of her peers on the board of directors (Steve and Chris), apparently to legitimise her announcement. Third, she uses positive and complimentary lexis ("thank you all for the conversations I've had all the little notes (.) er I have had an absolute and am having an absolute fabulous time partnering operations (.) um it really is where the action is at and it's a privilege to work with you"), which serve the relational function of showing appreciation to her colleagues and their contributions. Karen makes the announcement quite indirectly ("so um I am off to er W."), which indicates a desire to downplay the news. She provides some detail about the nature and attractions of the new post but quickly moves to anticipate the possible questions her team might have in response to her impending departure. The rather protracted nature of the lead-up to her announcement suggests that Karen is trying to mitigate the impact of the news upon her colleagues, which might be potentially threatening or upsetting to them.

By holding the floor as both Chair and participant, Karen is able to pre-empt questions, discussion and possibly, criticism from her colleagues. Using "double-voicing" (Baxter 2014) in lines 13–14, she asks the question that she predicts her team members might be thinking ("so er what will happen? um to this role?"), and then proceeds to answer it on their behalf. In effect, this takes away the audience's right to question, because she has enacted the dialogue for them. Karen constructs an imaginative dialogue between her colleagues' assumed questions and her own response as a leader, making actual interaction redundant. This has the effect of distancing her from giving a direct or factual answer to her audience's assumed questions, which might conceivably be about who will take over in her absence and whether they or any internal candidate has the right to apply for the post. Karen invokes the authority of John, her CEO, to indicate that the decision to recruit externally has been taken at a higher level than her (lines 14–16). She follows this with a sketchy explanation of other job losses in lines 18–21 ("and when we look at structures in a minute …put in place for any kind of gap really"), which hints at the real subject of the day's meeting: that is, a major restructuring involving redundancies throughout the company.

In line 27, Karen uses framing markers to step out of her role as team participant and to resume her authoritative role as director of the team and chair of the meeting. To achieve this, she once again devotes considerable "relational work" (Holmes 2006) to show control of the process of the meeting (the checking in), but also to attend to the positive face needs (Brown and Levinson 1987) of her team members. She not only justifies the checking in process for a second time but she

also uses further double-voicing to anticipate the diverse needs of her team and to demonstrate that she is taking their interests and concerns seriously ("and er anything else you want to share….are distracted for various other reason"). The attention Karen devotes to preparing the ground for the meeting is perhaps an indicator of her concern that the topic is likely to be a difficult, sensitive and contentious one.

Extract 2. Key: K= Karen; A=Alan: an HR colleague and subordinate; D=Dale, another Board Director; L=Lily, Karen's Personal Assistant; G=Gail, a member of the HR team.

```
1 K:                                [yeah okay (.) so I knew that I wouldn't
2     be able to provide real an- you know clarity and all the answers
3     today but I thought it was wrong to delay it any longer bringing it
4     alive (.) on Monday the 13th [of December is our full
5 A:                               [oh no no no (holds head in hands)
6 K:  day workshop (.) er with John (.) and Dale in the room but also all
7     the rest of the HR group lead team where we we batten them down so
8     er Lily you've [obviously
9 A:                 [brilliant (sarcastic tone)
10 K: captured that point but I've captured all of the others that you've
11    been sending me in (.) whether it's a a you know and it's great
12    please continue to do so (.) Gail had a another one late last night
13    (.) er and you know in some ways they seem quite small but er with
14    the er modernization programme our part time recruitment form isn't
15    fit for purpose (2) I know some of you are sitting there saying
16    recruitment? recruitment? bloody hell we're doing the opposite
17    (cheery voice) (.) but there are some regions that are having to
18    change their mix and are clearly needing to do some part time
19    recruitment (.) so there's some effects like that and they're coming
20    in thick and fast (.) so please continue with them (.) um then I will
21    do a session in January where we go through those answers and ideally
22    bring group HR lead team in to bring their bit as well
23    (10 seconds of silence; some fidgeting and coughing)
24 A: it would be good wouldn't it after you've done that session with Dale
25    to have another meeting like this where each of the owners of these
26    organizations describes it to us because it's kind of mission
27    critical that we ah understand how to er [interact?
28K:                                           [yeah
29A:                                           [with it and I think (.)
30    on a flat piece of paper it's quite difficult isn't it? we need to
31    bring it to [life a little bit?
32K:              [yeah indeed
```

This extract is from a later part of the meeting during which Karen has given a long presentation on the detail of the restructuring, followed by some interactive talk clarifying the key changes and questioning the rationale for these changes. As the HR team, it is their job to understand these changes and interpret them for the rest of the workforce, but there are also consequences for the team's job roles as well.

In Karen's first extended utterance (lines 1–4), she appears to admit that she may not have done the best job in explaining the huge number of changes involved in the restructuring and her tone is somewhat defensive. This tone is indicated by her use of negatively charged phrases such as "I knew that I wouldn't….", stuttering sounds, false starts ("to provide real an- you know clarity…"), the need to rationalise her decision to explain the restructuring to the team ("and I thought it was wrong to delay it any longer…"), and her use of a "let-out clause" in the shape of a further meeting with the board of directors.

One of her team, Alan then reacts negatively at two points in the exchange (lines 5 and 9), where he repeats the word "no" and utters the term "brilliant" sarcastically as if to imply its opposite. It is not clear why Alan makes these responses as he does not go on to explain and Karen gives him no linguistic space in which to react. Rather, she continues to speak almost seamlessly. We could infer from Alan's suppressed responses that either (1) he feels that yet another meeting is excessive and/or (2) he does not agree with the way Karen is leading this process. In the rest of this extended utterance (lines 10–22), Karen completes her explanation of a continuing feedback process on the restructuring that HR is conducting with the top team, offering a justification of its value, and exhorting team members to contribute to the process ("so please continue to do so"). While Karen has overridden Alan's responses, her use of double-voicing in lines 15–17 ("I know some of you are sitting there saying recruitment? recruitment? bloody hell we're doing the opposite"), could indicate that she is anticipating some dissent among her team. She could be predicting criticism of the apparent contradiction between a restructuring policy that makes some people redundant while creating a need to recruit new people.

The evidence that Karen's extended utterance is received negatively by the team is indexed by the long pause of ten seconds, an unusual feature within any leadership team meeting (Baxter 2014), in which people fidget and cough. Finally in lines 29–31, Alan steps in to articulate his concerns. He uses a statement followed by a tag question indexing certainty (Holmes 2001), which seems to have the force of a criticism, to propose a supplementary approach to Karen's: that another meeting should be set up with the HR team itself to build relationships. His proposition appears to be spoken sarcastically as he juxtaposes a hedged, yet strong evaluative statement ("it is kind of mission critical..") with a statement of the obvious ("that we ah understand how to er [interact?"). It is difficult to gauge whether Alan's interventions are simply an expression of displeasure with Karen's policies or amount to a challenge to her authority. To interpret more fully, we would certainly need more detailed prosodic cues or longer term ethnographic evidence. However, Alan's concern that his comments might threaten Karen's "face"

are indexed by his use of disfluency markers ("ah…er") followed by a question to elicit her response.

Karen accepts Alan's implied criticism with her monosyllabic response ("yeah"). Alan then makes good his advantage by further criticising the presentation Karen has just given ("on a flat piece of paper it's quite difficult isn't it? we need to bring it to [life a little bit?") only muted by his use of a compound question seeking her agreement. In this extract, Karen works hard to build a sense of solidarity among her team and to encourage them to "buy into" her plan for managing the restructuring process, yet with Alan at least, her linguistic efforts appear to be unsuccessful.

Connotative analysis

In conducting the (denotative) ISA of these two extracts, I gained textual evidence to support and identify interwoven, corporate discourses that underlie Karen's struggles to achieve a competent and authoritative leadership identity in relation to her colleagues. For the purposes of this chapter, I call these: *uncertainty and change; relational practices*, and *organisational hierarchy*. All three discourses compete to "subject position" Karen as powerful at certain moments and less powerful at other moments in the two extracts.

The connotative analysis initially suggests that Karen is more powerfully subject positioned by the discourses of organisational hierarchy and relational practices, but less powerfully positioned by the discourse of uncertainty and change. Despite the negative and controversial nature of the main agenda item – staff changes and possible redundancies – Karen's role positioning within *organisational hierarchy* as Chair, line manager and board member, support her construction as an authoritative leader. In the first extract, she also achieves this discursively through her use of long, uninterrupted, monologic utterances that convey her superior right to speak. This is further reinforced by references to her fellow board members, Steve, Chris and John, which help to authorise her announcement of various job changes and index that a collective authority is overseeing the restructuring process. In both extracts, Karen positions herself in competing ways as both *in charge of* the changes (the exclusive use of the pronoun "we" as one of the key decision-makers), but also *not wholly responsible* as she is just one of a board of high-ranking colleagues who have reached these decisions.

Karen's powerful positioning within *organisational hierarchy* is supplemented by her positioning within *relational practices*. Rather than using traditional, "command and control" techniques to assert her authority, Karen deploys a range of relational techniques to maintain solidarity and trust with her team. The denotative

analysis conveyed how prolific her range of relational techniques were, such as her use of anticipative double-voicing, framing comments, praise, thanks and hedging. These techniques were appreciated by Karen's colleagues in the past as evidenced by her reference to their responses to her impending departure ("thank you all for the conversations I've had (.) all the little notes"). Her doubly-powerful positioning within *organisational hierarchy* and *relational practices* means that she can construct herself as an authoritative manager, yet also portray herself as a well-liked member of the team.

However, Karen's doubly powerful subject positioning is severely undercut by her weaker positioning within the discourse of uncertainty and change. In Extract 1, Karen reminds her team that not only are they about to lose their leader, but also that there are to be further job changes. The elaborate discursive techniques she uses to "prepare the ground" for this news could index that she is fearful of her team's reactions to the staff changes. Karen's double-voiced use of a question-and-answer technique signifies that she is both highly anticipative of her audience's concerns, but also that she needs to regulate any threat to her authority by not allowing her team a direct response. Because this anticipative technique is strongly balanced by her use of positive politeness expressing concern for her team, this helps to ward off the risk factor to her competence and authority.

Extract 2 sees a considerable shift in Karen's discursive positioning from a relatively powerful positioning within *organisational hierarchy* and *relational practices* to the more weakened one within *uncertainty and change*. She appears much more "on the back foot", using more defensive, double-voicing techniques (Baxter 2014). In lines 1–8, she uses extended double-voicing to show that she is aware of the criticisms her team might make, thus pre-empting the need for further criticism to be expressed. However this time the technique does not work well as she receives a sarcastic response from Alan. Throughout the rest of the extract, Karen harnesses her subject positioning within *relational practices* in order to maintain her leadership credibility. However, whereas this positioning apparently worked in the first extract, she struggles to do so in the second. Here, her positioning seems to acquire a gendered aspect: scholars have traditionally viewed relational practices as indexing weaker, more diffuse leadership because these practices do not match the masculine style of direct and decisive transactional leadership (e.g. Sinclair 1998, Fletcher 1999). Karen's relational work during this extract does not convince Alan, who challenges her proposals. This might be because he senses that her relational techniques are covert: co-opted for the managerial purpose of gaining policy acceptance from the team, rather than directly supporting their actual needs as regional directors. Overall, we see that Karen constantly struggles to construct a competent and authoritative leadership identity to meet the

conflicting needs of both senior management and her own team. However, the imperative to manage corporate uncertainty and change conflicts with certain team members' (possibly gendered) expectations of effective leadership: to be direct and decisive.

Identity struggles in women's leadership

The analysis has shown that Karen experiences a series of momentary identity struggles – that may be further complicated by her gender – in order to achieve her leadership objectives. She has to demonstrate professional competence in delivering bad news to her team about company restructuring, and in devising a policy to address it. In so doing, she has to combine different professional expectations of her role as a leader by maintaining team motivation and solidarity, while preserving her authority as a decisive leader. I suggest that the linguistic choices she makes in order to negotiate her identity are shaped by the relatively limited range of discursive options available to women leaders without incurring censure (Mullany 2007).

In order to manage the possible threat to her own authority, Karen utilises interactional resources associated with the discourse of relational practices (Fletcher 1999: 89). Fletcher argues that because relational practices are more commonly associated with women at work, masculinised organizations have traditionally ignored and devalued such practices, rendering them into "disappearing acts" as women are simply *expected* to use them. However Fletcher (1999: 123) also proposes that such practices can become a force for "empowering others and creating allies". Karen attempts to do exactly this by utilising a range of relational practices to divert attention from the "real" purpose of the company restructuring, which is to create a number of job losses. However, she seems partially disempowered by her use of these practices as she fails to allow sufficient space for her colleagues to express their concerns. Karen's gendered use of "double-voicing" (Baxter 2014) indexes a certain linguistic expertise as a leader in that her use of discursive strategies protects her from being directly criticised by her team, and thus, appearing professionally incompetent or lacking in authority. Arguably, she avoids a more direct approach ('this is the problem; how do you think we should manage it?') because she is insecure about handling the management of bad news with this transient team. The analysis indicates that Karen and her team are not able to speak frankly to each other without fear of upset and offence.

The identity struggles Karen experiences as a leader are signified in the analysis by the ways in which she moves between competing subject positions. She is

weakened by her positioning within a discourse of uncertainty and change, but strengthened by her positioning within a discourse of organisational hierarchy. While Karen is powerfully positioned within the higher echelons of the organisation, having access to confidential information that she can choose to impart to subordinates, she is less powerfully positioned in terms of her ability to manage the negative team responses to that information. Her capacity to harness a discourse of relational practices proves insufficient as a means of resolving her struggle between these diverging identity positions.

To conclude, at a time when there is a global lack of women at senior management level, women leaders like Karen have to carry out intricate identity work in order to negotiate leadership practices that must be approved by both their colleagues and higher management. Women leaders are still venturing into the unknown, and potentially creating new versions of leadership. Karen as HR Director uses relational practices as an apparently empowering strategy, but these are insufficient to negotiate the chronic change and uncertainty required to appear professionally competent as a leader. Understandably, with a team whose composition is constantly changing, the threat of using direct or confrontational language more associated with a masculine interactional style is too great. In times of uncertainty, women leaders such as Karen might not feel sufficiently empowered to run the risk of using more masculinised linguistic strategies that may endanger their self-construction as competent professionals in the workplace. Yet, despite the clear demands of her role, Karen shows extraordinary linguistic competence in managing her team within a turbulent business world that continues to remain inhospitable to female leaders. Future research in this field might continue to study other types of institutions where global uncertainty and change permeate women's interactions on a daily moment-by-moment basis, and potentially hold them back from performing senior roles as effectively as they would like.

References

Bargiela-Chiappini, Frances, and Sarah Harris. 1997. *Managing Language: The Discourse of Corporate Meetings*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.44

Baxter, Judith. 2014. *Double-voicing: Power, Gender and Linguistic Expertise*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9781137348531

Baxter, Judith. 2012. 'Women of the corporation: a sociolinguistic perspective of senior women's leadership language in the UK.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 16 (1): 81–107. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9841.2011.00520.x

Baxter, Judith. 2010. *The Language of Female Leadership*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Baxter, Judith. 2003. *Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. doi:10.1057/9780230501263

Boden, Deirdre. 1994. *The Business of Talk: Organisations in Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
Brown, Penelope, and Levinson, Stephen. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge University Press
Castañeda-Peña, Harold. 2008. "Interwoven and competing gendered discourses in a pre-school EFL lesson". In *Gender and Language Research Methodologies*, ed. by Kate Harrington, Lia Litosseliti, Helen Sauntson, and Jane Sunderland, 256–68. Palgrave: Macmillan.
Coates, Jennifer, 1995. "Language, gender and career." In *Language & Gender: Interdisciplinary perspectives*, ed. Sara Mills London: Longman.
Deumert, Andrea, and Mesthrie, Rajend. 2000. "Language, variation and change". In *Introducing Sociolinguistics*, ed. By Rajend Mesthrie, Joan Swann, Andrea Deumert and William Leap. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
Eagly, Alice, and Carli, Linda. 2007. *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth about how Women Become Leaders*. Boston, US: Harvard Business School Press.
Eckert, Penelope, and McConnell-Ginet, Sally. 1998. "Communities of practice: where language, gender and power all live." In *Language and Gender: A Reader*, ed. by Jennifer Coates. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 484–94.
Fletcher, Joyce K. 1999. *Disappearing Acts: Gender, Power and Relational Practice*. Massachusetts: MIT
Gumperz, John. 1982. *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Hammersley, Martin, and Atkinson, Paul. 1995. *Ethnography*. London: Routledge.
Helgesen, Sally. 1990. *The Female Advantage: Women's Ways of Leadership*. New York, US: Doubleday/Currency.
Holmes, Janet. 2007. "Social constructionism, postmodernism and feminist sociolinguistics." *Gender and Language* 1 (1): 51–56. doi:10.1558/genl.2007.1.1.51
Holmes, Janet. 2006. *Gendered Talk at Work*. Oxford: Blackwell. doi:10.1002/9780470754863
Holmes, Janet. 2001. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. London: Longman.
Jefferson, Gail. 2004. "Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction." In *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*, ed. by George H. Lerner, 13–23. Philadelphia, US: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.125.02jef
Kamada, Laurel. 2010. *Hybrid Identities and Adolescent Girls*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1993. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. 2nd edn. New York, US: Basic Books.
Kotter, John. 2001. "What leaders really do." *Harvard Business Review. Special Issue on Leadership* 79 (11): 85–96.
Labov, William. 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Centre for Applied Linguistics.
Mullany, Louise. 2007. *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave. doi:10.1057/9780230592902
Ochs, Elinor. 1992. "Indexing gender." In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, ed. by Alan Duranti and Christopher Goodwin, 335–358. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Sauntson, Helen. 2012. *Approaches to Gender and Spoken Classroom Discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Schiffrin, Deborah. 1994. *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Schnurr, Stephanie. 2009. *Leadership Discourse at Work. Interactions of Humour, Gender and Workplace Culture*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Sealy, Ruth, Doldor, Elena, and Vinnicombe, Susan. 2016. *The Female FTSE Board Report*. Cranfield University: Cranfield Centre for Women Leaders.

Sinclair, Amanda. 1998. *Doing Leadership Differently: Gender, Power and Sexuality in a Changing Business Culture*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 1995. *Talking from 9 to 5*. London: Virago.

Vinnicombe, Susan, and Singh, Valerie. 2002. "Sex role stereotyping and requisites of successful top managers." *Women in Management Review*, 120–130.

CHAPTER 3

Constructing a "competent" meeting chair

A study of the discourse of meeting chairing in a Hong Kong workplace

Angela Chan
City University of Hong Kong

This chapter investigates how an inexperienced manager struggles to construct or not to construct himself as a (competent) meeting chair in face of his boss's criticism on his meeting chairing skills. It draws on video-recordings of business meetings collected at a small company in Hong Kong and employs a combination of conversation analysis, social constructionism, and the Community of Practice theory as its analytical tool. The analysis reveals that discrepant views on effective meeting chairing and orientations to meeting conventions can become sources of identity struggles. This study demonstrates that the construction of a meeting chair identity is complex and involves collaboration and negotiation among meeting participants. It also suggests that identity struggles may not necessarily be interpreted negatively.

Keywords: identity construction, meeting chairing, business meetings, Hong Kong, Cantonese

Introduction

This chapter examines how an inexperienced manager struggles to construct or not to construct himself as a (competent) meeting chair in face of his company director's criticism on his meeting chairing skills. It draws on interaction taking place in formal meetings. Conventionally a formal meeting is scheduled and has predetermined participants and a prearranged agenda; it is comprised of a series of activities including declaring the meeting start, enumerating the agenda, going through the agenda items in order, and adjourning the meeting; and speakership is often allocated by the designate meeting chair (Asmuß and Svennevig 2009; Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 1997; Boden 1994; Holmes and Stubbe 2015;

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.03cha
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Svennevig 2012). All these distinctive features make meetings an identifiable event (Cuff and Sharrock 1985; see also Angouri and Marra 2010; Boden 1994).

Studies from discourse analytic perspectives have revealed that meeting chairing tasks (such as opening/closing a meeting, allocating speakership, and moving from one item to another) can be performed in a range of fashions and involve constant negotiation between the meeting chair and other meeting participants (e.g., Angouri and Marra 2011; Asmuß and Svennevig 2009; Boden 1994; Chan 2008). As this chapter argues later, while participants tend to follow the general meeting conventions, they may hold different perceptions of effective meeting chairing and such discrepant views can become sources of identity struggles.

Given the complex nature of meeting chairing, constructing and maintaining the chair identity (Angouri and Marra 2011) poses great challenges to a meeting chair. It becomes more difficult when the meeting chair is a manager who is considered incompetent by his boss, the company director, and when the company director who sees himself as a mentor to this manager is also present in the meetings and actively engages in meeting chairing activities. By employing a combination of conversation analysis, social constructionism, and the Community of Practice theory, this chapter examines how this relatively inexperienced manager struggles to construct himself as a competent chair in front of his boss who seems to have a different opinion about what constitutes effective meeting chairing. It provides an in-depth investigation into the discourse of the manager, the director, and other participants in relation to meeting chairing activities, which can be regarded as indexical of meeting chairing (Angouri and Marra 2010; Pomerantz and Denvir 2007; Svennevig 2012).

The next section reviews previous studies of identity construction in the context of Hong Kong in which this study is situated.

Identity construction in Hong Kong workplaces

Like the other chapters in this volume, this paper takes a social constructionist perspective on identity, viewing identity construction as a process (rather than a product) which is bound in an actual interaction and the wider social and cultural contexts that the interaction is embedded in. During the process, participants construct/co-construct/de-construct and maintain/repair their and others' identity or identities as the interaction proceeds (See the Introduction to this volume).

Through the use of language, an individual can construct different aspects of his/her professional identity at different points of an interaction (Baxter this volume; Franziskus this volume; Holmes and Stubbe 2015; Poncini 2002, 2007;

Schnurr 2009). Within the Hong Kong context, Ho (2010), for instance, examined request emails from two department heads to their team members in an educational institute. Ho reports that different aspects of these department heads' leader identities are constructed in different contexts and the construction is manifested through their use of linguistic strategies. For example, interrogatives with explanations are used when a superior attempts to construct herself as a rational leader while imperatives are employed to construct herself as an authoritative leader. Focusing on spoken discourse, Schnurr and Chan (2011) investigated how leaders and co-leaders do face-work and construct their professional identities in disagreement. The authors argue that the identities of leaders and co-leaders are "fluid and are constantly negotiated among interlocutors in the [co-leadership] constellations" (Schnurr and Chan 2011: 190). Drawing on data collected from multicultural workplaces in Hong Kong, Schnurr and Zayts (2011, 2012) explore how a newly promoted team leader (2011) and three UK expatriates whose subordinates are mainly local Chinese (2012) construct their leader and cultural identities. They reveal that the processes of identity construction are not always harmonious. Construction and deconstruction, acceptance and rejection, as well as challenge and remedy are intertwined throughout the interaction between the leaders and their team members. Stereotypes and expectations have significant impact on the construction of one's identities and may cause struggles.

Despite Schnurr and Zayts's contributions, the literature on identity struggles from a discourse analytic perspective is still limited as pointed out in the introduction to this volume. Moreover, much of the existing literature on workplace interaction in Hong Kong draws on English data (e.g., Bilbow 1997; Ho 2010; Schnurr and Zayts 2011, 2012) instead of Cantonese, the most commonly spoken language in Hong Kong (Bacon-Shon, Bolton and Luke 2015). In view of this, the present study aims to fill the gap by employing naturally-occurring data collected from a Hong Kong workplace which consists of local Chinese only and the language of daily interaction is Cantonese.

The rest of the paper consists of four sections. Section 3 provides a brief overview of the data examined in this study. Section 4 demonstrates with two examples the manager's competence in meeting chairing while Section 5 presents another three examples in which the manager's chairing abilities are questioned and criticised. Finally, Section 6 discusses and concludes findings yielded from this study.

Data

This study draws on data collected from a small paint manufacturing company in Hong Kong, pseudonymed Rainbow.[1] The database consists of 14 hours of audio and video recordings of five authentic business meetings and a set of supplementary data which consists of interviews, workplace observations and questionnaires.

The meetings recorded are called the Production and Sales Meeting which took place regularly during the period of data collection. While the meetings primarily focused on issues related to production and sales, they were attended by managers of several departments including production, sales and accountancy, as well as the company director, Mr Liu (hereafter 'Liu').[2] The language of the meetings is Cantonese which is the native language of all of the participants.

The meetings recorded were chaired by Anthony, Manager of the Production Department. The rationale behind the arrangement was two-fold as Liu explained in an interview after data collection. Firstly, issues involved in the meetings were primarily related to product production and development. It thus seemed natural to require the head of the Production Department to chair the meeting. Secondly, Anthony was assigned to chair the meetings for the purpose of developing his confidence at work. With a relevant master's degree, Anthony was well qualified for his position. However, according to Liu, he was laid-back, not authoritative and had little management experience. Through making Anthony the chair, Liu hoped that Anthony would become "less gentle and soft" and eventually grow into the more responsible role of a manager (see also Schnurr and Chan 2011).

The analysis of the data draws on three discourse analytic frameworks, namely, conversation analysis (Sacks 1992; Schegloff 2007), social constructionism (Holmes 2003), and the Community of Practice framework (Wenger 1998) to scrutinize the data at different levels. Conversation analysis pays special interest to the sequential organisation of talk-in-interaction. Social constructionism and the related Community of Practice framework examine how interlocutors construct their social and professional identities in relation to the broader and immediate contexts in which an interaction takes place. The three frameworks have been repeatedly used individually or in combinations as effective tools for analysing language use in various contexts and in identity construction (e.g., Angouri and Marra 2011; Boden 1994; Chan 2005, 2008; Clifton 2006; Holmes and Stubbe 2015; Schnurr and Chan 2011). A combination of these three frameworks enables

1. Pseudonyms are used throughout the paper to protect participants' identities.

2. At Rainbow, except the company director, the meeting participants addressed each other by first name. The company director was addressed by his last name with a title. These practices are reflected in the pseudonyms given to them.

in-depth analysis of spoken data and can bring new insights into identity construction in workplace settings.

Seeing himself as a mentor to Anthony, Liu often interrupts the meetings and gives feedback on Anthony's behaviour particularly when it appears unsatisfactory to him. However, close analysis of the meeting data suggests that Anthony may actually not be as incompetent as Liu describes him in the interview. This chapter explores these different views and the struggles that arise out of this discrepancy over Anthony's identity construction. In the following section, I analyse and discuss two scenarios in which Anthony struggles to claim and construct the identity of a meeting chair against the backdrop of Liu's views. In the first scenario Anthony is able to construct himself as a competent meeting chair without being challenged while in the second scenario Anthony's time management skill is questioned and he is portrayed as an incompetent meeting chair.

Successful construction of a competent meeting chair

It is usually the meeting chair who opens and closes a meeting, introduces agenda items, and monitors turn allocation (Asmuß and Svennevig 2009). This is also the case in the Rainbow meetings where Anthony typically takes the initiative to perform these activities, as demonstrated in Example 1. Transcription conventions are provided in the appendix.

(1)

```
1                (4.0)
2   Anthony:     仲有冇呢?
                 'Anything else?'
3                (2.5)
4   Anthony:     如果冇呢就通過上次嘅會議記錄. (0.3)
5                嗰啊去到今(.)日 (1.1) 嘅:
6                首先係報告嘅時間. 嗰啊首先
7                係生產部嘅報告啦.
                 'If none, then let's approve the minutes from our last
                 meeting. (0.3)
                 And then we move on to to(.)day's: (1.1)
                 First is the reports.
                 And the production department will go first.'
```

At Rainbow, the minutes of a production and sales meeting are usually circulated via email soon after the meeting. In the beginning of the subsequent meeting, the minutes are read and discussed before being approved. Example 1 occurs near the end of such a session when participants have read and discussed issues arising from the minutes from the previous meeting. A 4-second pause occurs in

line 1, which is considered as a good place to close the discussion because in line 2, Anthony asks *zung jaumou ne* 'anything else?'. Expressions like this, when being used at the end of a discussion, often function as a pre-closing (Boden 1994). The place following the question allows the participants to bring up additional issues/comments on the minutes if there are any. The pause in line 3 signals that no one intends to take the floor and make further comments on the minutes. Anthony continues in line 4 to first *approve the minutes from the last meeting*, and then draws the participants' attention to *the meeting agenda today* (line 5), pointing out that the first item on the agenda is *the reports* (line 6), and that the first department to give a report is *the production department* (line 7).

In this example, it is clear that Anthony constructs himself as the one in charge of the meeting. He provides the participants with an opportunity to discuss the agenda item under discussion (line 2), brings the discussion to a close at an appropriate point (line 4), moves on to the next agenda item (lines 5–6), and allocates the floor to the next speaker (line 7). All of these are typical tasks that are assigned to a meeting chair as stated in many managers' handbooks (e.g., Connell, Chatfield-Taylor and Collins 2002; Parker and Hoffman 2006), and are regarded as indexing the identity of a meeting chair (Angouri and Marra 2011). In this example, Anthony successfully manages to portray himself as a meeting chair and his construction of this professional identity is in no way challenged or questioned by any of the participants.

Example 2 is another example which demonstrates Anthony's competence in meeting chairing. Preceding this example Anthony was reporting on the issues related to product production and development.

(2)

```
1  Anthony:   嗰啊嗰暫時去到喺到啦.
2             其他: eh: 有關嘅報告呢: (0.4) 會:
3             就番今日- eh: 之後嘅議題呢,
4             嗰再報告-番喇.
              'Then my report ends here for now.
              Additional eh: issues will be reported (0.4)
              when the related discussion items are
              brought up in the meeting today- eh: later.'
5  Daniel:    好
              'Okay'
6             (2.1)
7  Anthony:   嗰跟住呢: 去到營業部報告.
              'The next item: is the Sales Department's report.'
8             (1.4)
9  Richard:   好. eh: 第一個報告: ((Richard continues))
              'Okay. eh: The first thing is:' ((Richard continues))
```

In lines 1–4 he indicates the end of his report and points out that additional information will be reported later. After Daniel's acknowledgement (line 5) and a short pause during which none of the participants take the floor to add further comments (line 6), Anthony continues in line 7 and states that the Sales Department is the next department to give a report. His utterance simultaneously allocates the speaking turn to the manager of the Sales Department (Richard) and specifies the content of the next turn: it has to be matters related to the Sales Department. Through this utterance, Anthony shifts his professional identity from the Production Manager to the person who has the right to allocate turns in the meeting, i.e., the meeting chair. In line 9 Richard takes the turn and starts giving the report on the Sales Department. By doing so, Richard shows his compliance with Anthony's assignment, displays his recognition of Antony's legitimacy as the meeting chair, and thus collaboratively and harmoniously co-constructs Anthony's identity as the meeting chair here.

Examples 1 and 2, and other examples found in the data set, show how Anthony successfully constructs his professional identity as a meeting chair by taking the initiative to perform various tasks that are associated with meeting chairing. He gives the participants sufficient opportunities to express their views, provides background information on the item under discussion if needed, and guides the discussion by following the agenda. In most cases, as illustrated in Examples 1 and 2, these claims for the chair identity are successful and are supported by his colleagues. However, in the next section I will look at three examples in which Anthony's attempts to construct this identity are challenged and undermined by his boss.

Negotiating struggles over identity construction

As mentioned in Section 3, Liu, the company director, frequently comments on Anthony's behaviour in the meetings and provides suggestions on how to improve his meeting chairing skills. Although clearly well-meant, these criticisms pose challenges to Anthony's attempts to portray himself as the one in charge of the meeting. The examples below demonstrate these struggles over identity and some of the ways in which Anthony manages to negotiate these challenges by his boss.

Example 3 is taken from the opening stage of one of the meetings.[3] All participants are in the meeting room, Anthony is the last person to enter the room and the closing of the door of the meeting room suggests that the participants are ready for the meeting to start (line 1).

3. Example 3 is analyzed from a different perspective in Chan (2005, 2008).

(3)

```
1                ((door closes))
2                (13.1) ((paper flipping, Anthony looks though the
                 documents in front of him, Liu, sitting on the left hand
                 side of Anthony, looks at Anthony. As soon as
                 Anthony stops, Liu starts speaking))
3  Liu:          你嚟定我嚟呀
                 'You or me?'
4                (0.7)
5  Anthony:      huh?
6                 (0.6) ((Liu slightly points his hand towards Anthony))
7  Anthony:      ((smiles)) 我嚟喇梗係.=
                 ((smiles)) 'Me of course.='
8  Liu:          =好
                 '=Okay'
9  Anthony:      ((moves a sheet of paper in front of Liu toward him and
                 places it between Liu and him while speaking))
                 但係印少咗一張嘢.
                 '=But one page is missing.'
10  Liu:         印少咗一張?
                 'One page is missing?'
11  Anthony:     係.
                 'Yes'
12               (1.5) ((Anthony moves himself towards Liu))
13  Liu:         你- 你講先.
                 'You- you start first.'
14               (2.4) ((Anthony scans through first the front page of the
                 paper between Liu and him and then the first page of the
                 papers in front of him))
15  Anthony: ((louder)) 好嘞.  嗰就首先呢: 就:
16               大家睇吓手上嘅議程  ((Anthony continues))
                 ((louder)) 'Okay. So first of all:
                 everybody takes a look at the agenda.' ((Anthony
                 continues))
```

The long pause occurring in line 2 provides further evidence for the participants' readiness for the meeting to start: as shown in the video, during this period no participant is engaged in conversation; rather they are reading the documents in front of them or looking around the room. Anthony is looking through the documents before him (which produces the noise of paper flipping while Liu is looking at him (line 2)). It appears that all members, except Anthony, are waiting for the meeting to start.

As soon as Anthony stops reading Liu asks him a rather vague question, '*You or me?*' (line 3). As suggested by the pause in line 4 and the repair initiator *huh*

in line 5, Anthony has problems understanding the question. Given the fact that the participants are waiting for the meeting to start, and that it is normally the chair's duty to declare the meeting open, the opening of the meeting seems to be of direct and immediate relevance. This is further cued by Liu's hand movement (line 6). Anthony's answer '*me of course*' (line 7) indicates that he understands Liu's implied message. In line 8, Anthony informs Liu that *one page is missing* from the pile of documents before him and moves a sheet of paper in front of Liu towards him (he is sitting on the right hand side of Liu), suggesting the sheet is the one he is looking for (line 9). In line 13, Liu instructs Anthony to start the meeting, '*you-you start first*'. After scanning though some documents, in line 15 Anthony raises his volume to officially start the meeting by drawing the participants' attention to the meeting agenda.

In this example, Liu's involvement in the opening of the meeting is evident. When Anthony does not immediately open the meeting, Liu reminds him to get started (line 3). This could be seen as an implicit criticism of Anthony not performing his duty as the meeting chair. When this implicit prompt does not show the intended effect, Liu gets more concrete and instructs Anthony to open the meeting (line 13). He thereby questions Anthony's chairing abilities and also deconstructs his chair identity.

Anthony's response to Liu's involvement is interesting. His answer in line 7, '*me of course*', indicates that he considers the opening of the meeting as his duty and thereby also claims his chair identity. Upon Liu's implicit criticism, he provides an explanation for his delay: one page is missing from the pile of documents before him (line 9). In response to Liu's explicit instruction to open the meeting, Anthony, instead of showing immediate compliance, first scans through the documents (line 14) and then opens the meeting (line 15), thereby signalling that he is the one in control of the meeting and the one to decide the appropriate time to start the meeting. Thus, in spite of some initial struggles over who is the one in charge, in the end Anthony manages to successfully open the meeting and thereby to reinstate his chair identity.

Example 4 is another illustration of how Anthony reacts to Liu's criticism. Like Example 1, it takes place after the participants have read and discussed the minutes from the previous meeting.

(4)

```
1                (11.6)
2  Anthony:      有冇問題.
                 'Any questions?'
3                (5.3)((noise of paper flipping))
```

```
4  Liu:        ((low volume)) >下次再快啲啠.<  (0.4) 喀.
               ((low volume)) '>A bit faster next time.< (0.4) yeah.'
5  Anthony:    ((low volume)) >我看吓冇冇反應嘛<.
               ((low volume)) '>I wanted to see if there were any
               responses.<'
6              (0.3)
7  Liu:        huh?=
8  Anthony:    ((louder)) =大家覺得冇問題嘅話呢,嗷啊
9              通過今- eh 上次嘅會議記錄㗎嘢
               ((louder)) 'If nobody thinks there's a problem, we'll
               approve the minutes from this- eh last meeting.'
```

Line 1 of Example 4 shows a pause of about 12 seconds after the completion of the previous turn, suggesting that no one intends to make further comments on the item under discussion. In line 2, Anthony asks for *any questions* which is closing implicative (Boden 1994), showing his intention to bring the item to a close. The pause following his question provides an opportunity for the participants to take the floor if they wish (as explained in line 5). In line 4, Liu instructs Anthony to act *a bit faster next time*. Although Liu shows his attempt to mitigate the impact of his comment through delivering the comment in a low volume and at a fast speed, the utterance is audible to the other participants and therefore may pose a potential threat to Anthony's identity as the chair. Being interrupted and instructed in front of the other meeting participants about how to do the task better in the future, Anthony is to some extent portrayed as an incompetent meeting chair. He responds to this in line 5 where he gives an account for his behaviour (i.e., waiting for responses), suggesting that he is in disagreement with Liu's judgment: the pauses are results of his intention to provide sufficient opportunities for the participants to say something if they intend to do so, rather than a reflection of his poor time management skill. By disagreeing with Liu and by providing alternative explanations, Anthony defends himself (signalling that he knows what he is doing), demonstrates his competence in chairing meetings, and repairs the potential damage caused by Liu's criticism. He thus reclaims his chair identity and (re)instates himself as the one in charge.

However, it should be noted that both of Liu's and Anthony's utterances in lines 4 and 5 are produced quickly and softly, suggesting they are not intended to be heard (clearly) by the other participants. It appears that the exchange is constructed as side talk and that the interlocutors intend to diminish the impact that this interruption may have caused on the meeting progress. One more example (Example 5) is discussed here to show how this struggle over identities can sometimes be more aggravated and result in the de-construction of Anthony's identity as the meeting chair.

Example 5 occurs about five minutes into the meeting. Prior to the example the participants were asked to read through the meeting minutes from the previous meeting. Three participants (including Anthony and Liu) have finished reading the document and are waiting for the others. Anthony sits on the left hand side of Liu.

(5)

```
1   Liu:      ((stretches out his left hand towards Anthony))
2   Anthony:  嗷大家- =
              So everyone- =
3   Liu:      ((waves his right hand to Anthony))
              =通常時間呢, (0.5) 就譬如 假設呢,
4             你喺自己睇完之前就要停㗎嘢
              '=Usually, (0.5) say for example, suppose,
              before you finish reading, you should stop.'
5   Anthony:  Mm
6   Liu:      你就唔好話呢:
7             就你自己睇完仲要等人.
              'You shouldn't say:
              after you have finished reading, you still wait for the
              others.'
8             ((Transcripts of 24 seconds omitted, during which Liu
              tells Anthony how much time should be allowed for
              reading in the meeting and why. Anthony smiles, nods,
              and utters 'mm' from time to time throughout Liu's
              utterances))
9    Liu:     啱唔啱?
              'Is it correct?'
10   Anthony: 好.
              'okay'
11   Liu:     嗰
              'Yeah'
12   Anthony: Okay.
13   Liu:     好唔好啊?
              'Is it okay?'
14            (0.5)((Anthony turns his face to the others and is about
              to speak))
15   Liu:     嗷我: 我就要- eh:個個: 提出就係 …
              'So I: I want to- eh: propose that…'
              ((Liu continues to raise a question on the minutes))
```

In line 1, Liu signals to Anthony with his left hand that it is time to resume the meeting. However, at almost the exact moment when Anthony starts speaking (line 2), Liu waves his right hand to stop him (line 3). Liu then produces an extended turn in which he comments on the time management aspect of Anthony's

chairing skills – being too slow and leaving the others too much time to read the documents. He continues to advise Anthony how to better manage the time in the future and why. Towards the end of the example, Liu asks '*Is it correct?*' (line 9) which should not be perceived as a genuine question that invites assessment of the correctness of his feedback. Rather it signals the end of his feedback. This interpretation is supported by Anthony's answer in line 10, '*okay*', which is a typical response to show compliance to a directive (Chan et al. 2015). In line 11 Liu produces *yeah* to self-confirm his opinion (Zhang and Chan 2012) and Anthony's *okay* in line 12 reconfirms his compliance.

Compared to Example 4, Liu's behaviour in this example appears rather intrusive. Liu interrupts the meeting and comments on Anthony's time management skill openly in front of the other meeting participants which clearly challenges Anthony's identity as a competent chair. However, unlike in Examples 4 and 5, Anthony does not justify or challenge Liu in an attempt to reconstruct his professional identity. Instead, he smiles, nods and utters '*mm*' throughout Liu's turn (line 8), suggesting that Liu's instructions are welcome and well received. It seems that he interprets Liu's behaviour not as disruptive criticism but rather as constructive teaching which he perceives to be beneficial to him. This interpretation is further supported by the interview with Anthony where he stated that "*I can learn from Mr Liu. If he's willing to teach me, I have more chances to learn*" (translated from Cantonese). It is thus reasonable to conclude that in this example, by challenging Anthony's identity as the meeting chair, Liu at the same time constructs himself as a teacher while portraying Anthony as a learner.

Another point of interest in this example is in lines 14–15. By turning his face away from Liu to face the other participants and by showing that he is about to speak (line 14), Anthony indicates his intention to resume the meeting. Based on my knowledge of the meeting routine, it is likely that at this point Anthony is going to invite participants to give comments on the minutes or point out issues arising from the minutes. However, in line 15 Liu self-selects to raise an issue on the minutes. While the content of Liu's utterance is relevant to the agenda item under discussion, his action appears to deprive Anthony of the right to invite participation and open the speaking floor. He thereby deconstructs Anthony's identity as the meeting chair. Interestingly, the data shows that in spite of this challenge Anthony remains silent until a few turns later when Liu's proposal is accepted. Throughout the example, Anthony shows no attempt to repair the damage that may have been caused by Liu's challenge to his chair identity – instead, he contributes to and collaborates with Liu's attempt to construct him as a learner.

Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has examined some of the interaction processes through which a less experienced manager constructs himself as the meeting chair. The data shows that the company director who is also present in the meetings often evaluates the manager's chairing abilities, not only making the manager's chairing work very difficult but thereby also challenging and at times undermining his attempts at constructing his identity as the meeting chair. In many instances (such as Examples 1–2), Anthony is able to successfully construct himself as a competent chair without being criticised or challenged while in many other examples (such as Examples 3–5), his chairing abilities are questioned and challenged and he is portrayed as an incompetent chair or a learner who requires additional guidance. In response to Liu's criticism, at times Anthony attempts to reconstruct or maintain his chair identity through contending, defending and explaining (Examples 3–4). However, at other times he adopts a learner's role and complies with Liu's criticism (Example 5).

Middle managers often experience identity struggles when they find their perceptions of their role are different from those of their superiors or team-members (e.g., Hay 2013; Pullen 2006; Schnurr and Zayts 2012; Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003). This study adds a layer of depth and complexity to prior research by pointing out that perceptions and expectations of effective meeting chairing can be sources of struggles. In Rainbow, Liu repeatedly comments on Anthony's meeting chairing skills and expects the meetings to be run in a faster pace. However, as Anthony explains in Example 4, he deliberately waits for responses in order to provide other participants with sufficient opportunities to express their views. Maintaining a good meeting tempo and allowing sufficient discussion time both can be considered as aspects of effective meeting chairing (e.g., Rae 1994). However, it seems that Liu and Anthony place emphasis on different aspects and their discrepancies may result in Liu's negative evaluation of Anthony. Arguably, the discrepancies in their perceptions of effective meeting chairing may constitute a source of identity struggles for Anthony (and perhaps Liu). This finding shows that the actual construction of the meeting chair identity is not as straightforward as many meeting handbooks seem to suggest (e.g., Adler and Elmhorst 2002; Connell, Chatfield-Taylor and Collins 2002; Parker and Hoffman 2006).

Another noteworthy point is that in a meeting context, participants are often bound by meeting conventions which may also become a source of identity struggle. As pointed out in the beginning of this paper, business meetings are an identifiable workplace event and possess "commonsensically" known formats (Cuff and Sharrock 1985: 158). It is evident in the literature that business professionals are generally familiar with meeting conventions and are willing to orient to them (Chan 2005, 2008; Boden 1994; Svennevig 2012). This also seems to be

the case for the participants in Rainbow. For instance, they acknowledge that meeting openings should be enacted by the chair as shown in Example 3. In the beginning of the example, all the participants other than the chair are ready for the meeting to start. However during the long pause in line 2, no one intends to start the meeting except the company director. Liu's question '*you or me*' implies that only he, who has the highest status in the group, and Anthony, the assigned meeting chair, have the right to open the meeting. The fact that Liu does not open the meeting straight away and that Anthony answers '*me of course*' suggests that both of them orient to this particular convention regarding meeting openings: it is normally the chair who declares the meeting open. Previous studies of meeting talk have shown that in a meeting the participants with high hierarchical status may construct their leader identities through getting involved in meeting chairing activities (Angouri and Marra 2010, 2011; Schnurr and Chan 2011). Interestingly, this study reveals that orientations to meeting conventions can become a source of identity struggles for leaders such as Liu. It is not uncommon to see in the Rainbow data that Liu abandons an on-going action which is indexical for meeting chairing (such as allocating turns, bringing an item-under-discussion to a close) and then explicitly hands over the speaking right to Anthony. In these instances, Liu acknowledges that he has overstepped the boundaries of being an ordinary meeting participant and then he deconstructs himself and at the same time constructs Anthony as the chair of the meeting.

This study also has implications for research of identity struggles in professional contexts. Most of the previous studies of identity struggles come from the field of management studies (e.g., Hay 2013; Mantere 2008; Pullen 2006; Sveningsson and Alvesson 2003). This body of literature typically draws on self-reported data through, for example, interviews and questionnaires, which is potentially biased and may not reflect actual practices (Drew and Heritage 1992). By examining the discourse through which various meeting chairing tasks are achieved, this study provides an in-depth analysis of the struggles that an inexperienced manager faces.

While identity struggles may be interpreted negatively (Hay 2013; Mantere 2008; Pullen 2006; Schnurr and Zayts 2012), this study suggests that this is not necessarily the case. As pointed out in Section 3, Anthony was made the chair of the meeting for professional development purposes and this initiative was appreciated by Anthony who regarded Liu's challenges and teaching in the meetings as learning opportunities (see also Holmes and Marra's and Clifton and Van De Mieroop's discussion of learning opportunities in this volume). In fact, at Rainbow, professionalism was highly valued and the company was willing to provide support and resources on employees' professional development; the participants

generally enjoyed working in the company and saw it as a big family and Liu as the father of the family (Chan 2005). It seems evident that within this Community of Practice, Liu's behaviour was acceptable and appropriate to the participants and his challenges to Anthony's chair identity were not perceived negatively but as contributing to his professional development and thus indirectly to the formation of his professional identity as a competent manager. This finding appears to demonstrate another side of identity struggles that sometimes struggles may be productive especially when they are aimed at professional development and this seems worth further investigation.

Acknowledgements

This project was partially supported by the Seed Funding Programme for Basic Research, the University of Hong Kong (No.: 201303159002). I thank Li Sze Sze for her research assistance. I am also grateful to the participants for allowing me to record their interaction.

References

Adler, Ronald B., and Jeanne M. Elmhorst. 2002. *Communicating at Work: Principles and Practices for Business and the Professions* (7th Edition). Boston: McGraw-Hill.

Angouri, Jo, and Meredith Marra. 2010. "Corporate meetings as genre: A study of the role of the chair in corporate meeting talk." *Text & Talk* 30(6): 615–636. doi:10.1515/text.2010.030

Angouri, Jo, and Meredith Marra. 2011. "'OK one last thing for today then': Constructing identities in corporate meeting talk." In *Constructing Identities at Work*, eds. by Jo Angouri, and Meredith Marra, 85–100. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230360051

Asmuß, Birte, and Jan Svennevig. 2009. "Meeting talk: An introduction." *Journal of Business Communication* 46(1): 3–22. doi:10.1177/0021943608326761

Bacon-Shone, John, Kingsley Bolton, and K. K. Luke. 2015. *Language Use, Proficiency, and Attitudes in Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: Social Sciences Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.

Bargiela-Chiappini, Francesca, and Sandra Harris. 1997. *Managing Language: The Discourse of Corporate Meetings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.44

Bilbow, Grahame. 1997. "Spoken discourse in the multicultural workplace in Hong Kong: Applying a model of discourse as 'impression management'." In *The Language of Business: An International Perspective*, eds. by Francesca Bargiela-Chiappini, and Sandra Harris, 21–48. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Boden, Deirdre. 1994. *The Business of Talk: Organizations in Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Chan, Angela. 2005. "Opening and Closings in Business Meetings in Different Cultures." PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

Chan, Angela. 2008. "Meeting openings and closings in a Hong Kong company." In *It's the Dragon's Turn*, eds. by Hao Sun, and Daniel Kadar, 181–229. Bern: Peter Lang.

Chan, Angela, Wei Zhang, Olga Zayts, Mary Tang, and W. K. Tam. 2015. "Directive-giving and grammatical forms: Mitigation devices in a medical laboratory setting." *Chinese Languages and Discourse* 6(2): 133–161. doi: 10.1075/cld.6.2.02cha

Clifton, Jonathan. 2006. "A conversation analytical approach to business communication: The case of leadership." *Journal of Business Communication* 43(3): 202–219. doi: 10.1177/0021943606288190

Connell, Barbara, Cathy Chatfield-Taylor, and Martha Collins (eds). 2002. *Professional Meeting Management* (4th Edition). Chicago: Professional Convention Management Association Education Foundation.

Cuff, E. C., and W. W. Sharrock. 1985. "Meetings." In *Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Vol.3), ed. by Teun A. van Dijk, 149–159. London: Academic Press.

Drew, Paul, and John Heritage. 1992. "Analyzing talk at work: An introduction." In *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*, eds. by Paul Drew, and John Heritage, 3–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hay, Amanda. 2013. "'I don't know what I am doing!': Surfacing struggles of managerial identity work." *Management Learning*, 1350507613483421.

Ho, Victor. 2010. "Constructing identities through request e-mail discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 2253–2261. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2010.02.002

Holmes, Janet. 2003. "Social constructionism." In *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Vol. 4, 2nd Edition), eds. by William J. Frawley, and William Bright, 88–92. New York: Oxford University Press.

Holmes, Janet, and Maria Stubbe. 2015. *Power and Politeness in the Workplace: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work*. London: Routledge.

Mantere, Saku. 2008. "Role expectations and middle manager strategic agency." *Journal of Management Studies* 45(2): 294–316.

Parker, Glenn, and Robert Hoffman. 2006. *Meeting Excellence: 33 Tools to Lead Meetings that Get Results*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Pomerantz, Anita, and Paul Denvir. 2007. "Enacting the institutional role of chairperson in upper management meetings: The interactional realization of provisional authority." In *Interacting and Organizing: Analyses of a Management Meeting*, ed. by François Cooren, 31–52. London: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Poncini, Gina. 2002. "Investigating discourse at business meetings with multicultural participation." *IRAL* 40(4): 345–373. doi: 10.1515/iral.2002.017

Poncini, Gina. 2007. *Discursive Strategies in Multicultural Business Meetings*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Pullen, Alison. 2006. *Managing Identity*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rae, Leslie. 1994. *Let's Have a Meeting: A Comprehensive Guide to Making Your Meetings Work*. London: McGraw-Hill.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511791208

Schnurr, Stephanie. 2009. "Constructing leader identities through teasing at work." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41: 1125–1138. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2008.10.002

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Angela Chan. 2011. "Exploring another side of co-leadership: Negotiating professional identities through face-work in disagreements." *Language in Society* 40(2): 187–209. doi: 10.1017/S0047404511000030

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Olga Zayts. 2011. "Be(com)ing a leader: a case study of co-constructing professional identities at work." In *Constructing Identities at Work*, eds. by Jo Angouri, and Meredith Marra, 40–60. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230360051.0008

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Olga Zayts. 2012. "'You have to be adaptable, obviously': Constructing professional identities in multicultural workplaces in Hong Kong." *Pragmatics* 22(2): 279–299. doi:10.1075/prag.22.2.05sch

Sveningsson, Stefan, and Mats Alvesson. 2003. "Managing managerial identities: Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle." *Human Relations* 56(10): 1163–1193. doi:10.1177/00187267035610001

Svennevig, Jan. 2012. "Interaction in workplace meetings". *Discourse Studies* 14(1): 3–10. doi:10.1177/1461445611427203

Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511803932

Zhang, Wei, and Angela Chan. 2012. "A discourse analysis of reactive token *haak6* in spoken Cantonese." Presentation at the Workshop on Epistemicity, Evidentiality, and Attitude in Asian Languages, Hong Kong, 3–5 September, 2012.

Appendix

Transcription conventions

(.)	Untimed brief pause
(n)	Timed pause where "n" indicates the interval measured in seconds
:	Lengthened sound
-	Sudden cut off
=	The second utterance is latched onto the first one, i.e., no gap between the two utterances
.hh	Audible inhalations
>word<	Word uttered at a faster pace
(( ))	Paralinguistic features

Abbreviations in the glosses

ASP	Aspect marker
CL	Classifier
GEN	Genitive
LP	Linking particle
PRT	Utterance particle

CHAPTER 4

Juggling "I"s and "we"s with "he"s and "she"s

Negotiating novice professional identities in stories of teamwork told in New Zealand job interviews

Sophie Reissner-Roubicek
University of Warwick

Teamwork is perennially among graduate employers' most wished-for competencies, and how candidates respond to teamwork questions can be pivotal to success or failure. This chapter addresses novice interviewees' struggles to construct professional competence in line with the normative expectations of the competency framework. Drawing on a corpus of 30 graduate interviews collected in New Zealand, the analysis highlights the discursive struggle to balance individual and team identities in orienting to achievements and difficulties, explored in terms of Bamberg's (2011) three identity dilemmas: sameness/difference, agency/control, and constancy/change. It reveals how identities are talked into being in the tension between the "we" and the "I", in attributing blame and in acknowledging a learning outcome, which are crucial to constructing an employable identity.

Keywords: teamwork stories, identity dilemmas, professional identities, graduate employers, competency framework

Identity struggles in job interviews

Job interviews epitomize the kind of high-stakes gatekeeping encounter where identity struggles occur – indeed, they are characterized by such struggles. The dynamic aspect of identity as "an interactional problem" (He 1995) is particularly visible in job interviews in that participants have to negotiate conflicting goals. Merman and McLaughlin (1982) put this rather starkly in their advice to interviewees, stating that the candidate's goal is to prove that they fit, but the interviewer's goal is, conversely, to prove that they do not. Interviewers themselves may frame their work as finding out about "fit" in more candidate-friendly ways, for example, describing it as a "matching process", and with metaphors, "because

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.04rei
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

it really is a marriage when a person comes into the company" (Reissner-Roubicek 2010: 182). What they are doing can regardless be analysed as scrutiny and ratification/non-ratification of identity claims.

The clash of goals seemingly inherent in the selection process may be compounded by a clash of expectations regarding the means interviewers might adopt to ratify identity claims. These relate specifically to the kinds of narratives that candidates are required to produce. Novice interviewees may express surprise at the questions they were asked – or rather not asked; for example:

> I was actually expecting "What sort of person are you?" or "Tell me a bit about you", but there was nothing in relation to that sort of question, they were mostly, I would say, "When have you been part of a team?" or "When have you solved any problems?", or "When have you come across a tough situation and worked your way through it?" (Reissner-Roubicek 2010: 132)

The contrast invoked above does not just point to narratives as a site of identity struggle in selection interviews, it additionally highlights the requirement for "behavioural" stories, or narratives that index professional identities through indicators of competencies in the experiences reported.[1] According to Bamberg (2003: 155), "the main function of narratives is to reveal how what is said – and behind this [how] the 'I' and performer of the story – ought to be understood" – in this case, as professionally competent. Personal narratives in job interviews as discussed by Akinnaso and Ajirotutu (1982) are described by Cortazzi (2014: 108) as "not told for their own sake" – rather, being goal-oriented, "their function must go beyond storytelling". Bamberg (2003), however, has also identified three identity dilemmas that are inherent in narratives (see Van De Mieroop and Clifton, and Miglbauer, this volume, for a comprehensive discussion of narrative analysis). These three dilemmas, as I will demonstrate below, have a particular resonance in relation to struggles to negotiate professional identity through teamwork stories told in a behavioural job interview.

In fact, many of the documented challenges facing candidates in selection interviews can be framed in terms of struggles to negotiate professional identity. Even studies that rather "focus on the positive" in terms of rapport and co-membership can be seen as sites of identity struggle. For example, Kerekes (2006) describes what successful candidates do as "winning" an interviewer's trust, which

1. Roberts and Campbell (2006) draw attention to the fact that interviewers are trained to elicit a normative story structure (Situation-Task-Action-Result) on the instructions of managerial psychologists typically unaware that this is based on the Labovian canonical narrative (See Miglbauer, this volume). In narrative analysis terms, therefore, behavioural stories must be considered as weightier than small stories, given the continual reinforcement and reproduction of the norms and expectations of the recruitment context by practitioners.

invokes not only the notion of a competitive encounter, but also, when identities are viewed as co-constructed in interaction, a process of contest and negotiation. The idea that trust needs to be contested is echoed in the resistance that candidates express about having to "sell" themselves: for example, because they perceive it as "not merely embarrassing but as impolite and potentially dishonest" (Hawthorne 1992: 101) – in fact, as unprofessional. This position is at odds with the understanding put forward by careers practitioners that job interviews are the exception where some form of self-promotion is professionally appropriate or condoned.

Tensions surrounding not only *what* is expected to be said in an interview, but also *how* it is expected to be said, are reflected in the way candidates may struggle to adequately synthesise personal, professional and institutional discourses or modes of talk (Sarangi and Roberts 1999), in other words, to juxtapose multiple or competing identities. In Roberts and Campbell's (2006) study, applicants for semi-skilled jobs who failed in this respect by being overly personal and informal when a more analytic response was required, were given less support by interviewers as their interviews progressed; in other words, "institutional requirements were tightened" for those candidates who struggled least successfully to manage them (Campbell and Roberts 2007: 45). This is not just a feature of interviews for low-paid jobs; it has also been observed in novice/expert professional pairings (Reissner-Roubicek 2012).

These identity struggles are all in some way engendered by insufficient "tacit knowledge of and fluency in particular institutional discourses, [and] bureaucratic languages" (Campbell and Roberts 2007: 47) associated with the new work order (Gee, Hull and Lankshear 1996). Aspects of recruitment that derive from this wider change in work processes are outlined below. To date, its impact in white-collar recruitment settings with regard to novice professional identity struggles has apparently been overlooked. A specific focus on teamwork in the interview context is particularly relevant given the attention paid to it by stakeholders engaged directly and indirectly in shaping students' professional identities.

Competency-based interviews

The growing standardisation of HR practices that includes a focus on teamwork, and the discourses of responsibility and empowerment that surround it (Gee et al. 1996), reflects a competency-based understanding of work. In a competency-based, or behavioural job interview, all candidates are asked the same set of questions relating to specific categories of skills pre-selected from the competency framework as essential/desired for a particular job. The purpose of routinely scoring each candidate's answers according to a subset of behavioural indicators for

each competency is to make the final decision accountable and with it the whole process more transparent and fair. Behavioural stories, such as those about teamwork and problem solving, are the means through which interviewers expect to form an impression of the candidate indirectly. So as Sarangi and Roberts (1999) have pointed out, the selection interview is not merely "a transparent channel through which the candidate's cognitive competence and attitudes [can] be assessed" (477–78). It may seem that behavioural questions such as these are unlikely to obscure the interviewer's real purpose to the uninitiated, which Roberts (1985) demonstrates is in fact the case with respect to other kinds of indirectness in interview questions. However, interviewers' *follow-up* questions, perhaps especially about teamwork, may find novices unable to activate the appropriate inferential schemata (Levinson 1979; Drew and Heritage 1992; Schnurr 2013) to interpret what Roberts (1985) describes as the *underlying* question.

The notion of underlying questions has been addressed rather more generally in the self-help literature. "Who are you?" is said to be one of four underlying questions that employers are "really" asking (McLachlan, Forsyth and Cassells 1992), which nicely reflects our understanding that candidates are engaged in making identity claims. It also ties in with one effect of the new work order described by the organisational change theorist Champy (1995), who warns: "Let me put the difference between hiring processes then and now in the most chilling way I can think of. Today, *it's not only what you know that counts, it's what kind of person you are*" [italics in original] (157). It should be no surprise therefore that the job interview has been defined by Campbell and Roberts (2007) as "a detailed and personalised disclosure of the self as a subject, which demands descriptions of the candidate's relationship to the self, the public, and other members of the team" (249).

This means that constructing what is, in the interviewer's eyes, an employable identity will entail representing one's role or actions in a team in relation to, and interaction with, the roles and actions of others. A particular tension that characterizes this struggle lies in the implicit requirement of the employment competency framework to promote oneself as an individual while *simultaneously* fitting into "broad, homogenising institutional categories – such as being a good team worker" (Roberts and Campbell 2006: 38). The ability to discursively situate one's identity in a team in a way that is "bureaucratically processable" (Iedema 1999) clearly requires conscious attention, but is a discursive context in which novice professional identity struggles have apparently not yet been addressed. The focus here is on novices entering the professional workplace directly from a NZ higher education institution, an environment in which teamwork is widely done and discussed.

The graduate recruitment context

The University of Auckland's *Graduate Profile* states that (among 18 attributes in total) it "expects" students to graduate with the ability to "to work independently and in collaboration with others" (University of Auckland, n.d.). These abilities are relevant to employer expectations surrounding teamwork, categorised as a high-level transferable skill (Rees, Forbes and Kubler 2006), and valued more highly than technical or "hard" skills such as degree qualifications and IT skills (Archer and Davison 2008), as employer "wish list" surveys attest (e.g.Vic Careers n.d., CareersNZ 2012). Teamwork skills continue to be assessed via the behavioural interview, which "zeros in on what applicants have accomplished (or failed to accomplish), and how they went about doing it, in situations similar to the ones they will face on the job" (Janz 1989: 159). Team projects at university might seem to provide such situations.[2] They offer a window on participants' self- and other-orientation in the co-construction of professional identities in this analysis of students' first interviews with employers, which will also consider conscious and/or unconscious interviewer expectations. How do these novice candidates interpret teamwork questions asked by interviewers, and what are the features of bureaucratically processable/unprocessable answers?

Theoretical background

The identity struggles under scrutiny in this chapter occur not only within the teamwork stories reported, but also in the telling of teamwork stories. Accordingly, the interactional data collected for the study will be analysed from a social constructionist perspective that understands identities to be in constant negotiation with each other and with others' identities (see Introduction to this volume). The positioning of self and other(s) is a highly relevant struggle to construct an employable identity in teamwork narratives, whether explicitly or implicitly achieved. Narratives are sites where positions "are actively and interactively taken (and explored)" (Bamberg 2003: 155). And in exploring how identities are talked into being in and around these narratives, it is also important to consider the events of the story, or the *experience* of self/other at the level of the talked-about, and

2. Team projects are however strongly associated with student dissatisfaction, which is reflected in a history of pedagogical efforts to alter the status quo (e.g. Tucker and Abbasi 2014). This signals a further complication of novices' identity struggles to construct themselves simultaneously as individuals and as good team workers (see Reissner-Roubicek 2010; 2012).

what is made relevant by participants. This *experience* is embedded in the *story world*, which takes place within the *interaction* (the context of the job interview), which in turn is situated within the macro level *d/Discourse* context (the competency Discourse of the new work order) (Schiffrin 2006). Accordingly my aim is to reveal the struggles to discursively establish an employable professional identity that are specifically linked to talking about teamwork, and make links between the linguistic practices identified and the institutional practices that underpin and inform them. These include the contradiction inherent in the competency framework arising from the neoliberal discourses surrounding teamwork (Gee et al. 1996, Campbell and Roberts 2007) and the identity struggle that stems from this contradiction. They also include the struggle that originates with complications deriving from students' variable experience of team projects at university.

Data and methodology

The dataset of 30 interviews is drawn from a larger corpus of naturally occurring employer/student interviews that took place on campus at the University of Auckland during the course of an annual recruitment season. All the student participants were in their final or penultimate year of study. Around 15% were Anglo New Zealanders, with the majority being born-abroad candidates who used English as an additional language but had spent different lengths of time living and studying in New Zealand. Some had joined the NZ educational system during secondary school, others prior to sixth form or in time to start university, and many were international students. The interviewers were all employers with responsibility for graduate recruitment in their companies. Of the five examples analysed here, two were real interviews for a national engineering company's graduate management scheme and the other three were mock interviews with employers who were in a position to invite interviewees to apply formally to their company if the interview went well.[3] These employers asked only certain students at the end

3. Due to variations in the way mock interviews have been defined in the literature, it is useful to consider how this term has been applied. The terms *simulated* and *role-played* are sometimes used interchangeably with *mock* as category of interview, and are legitimately warranted if the type of activity involves teachers or peers playing the role of interviewers, as in Sniad's (2007) study of a US work-training programme involving 5–10 minute interviews conducted forum-style. In respect of her own research context, Sniad explains that "unlike job interviews, mock interviews (1) do not impact the students' access to the industry; (2) are situated in a learning environment, in front of an audience of learners; and (3) are preceded and followed up with metalinguistic discussion between the actors and the audience" (Sniad 2007: 1975). In contrast, mock interviews in the present study were conducted one-to-one with

of their interview to send a CV to the company, which was evidence of not just an effective interview but also of the employers' recruitment agenda. Mock interviews with employers lasted 25 minutes and the real interviews averaged 45 minutes. All the interviews were recorded using digital voice recorders that the interviewers operated themselves. Quotations from post-interviews are presented where relevant to supplement the analytical commentary that accompanies extracts from three interviews with born-abroad students (pseudonyms Thanh, Xanthi and Zayn) and one interview with a monolingual home student (pseudonym Joel). Interviewers (pseudonyms Dave, Graham, Mack and Teresa) worked singly or in the case of real interviews, in a two-person panel.

The analytical approach draws on Bamberg's (1997, 2003) model of positioning (see Miglbauer; Van De Mieroop and Clifton, this volume), where positions are viewed as "constructed in talk by lexical, grammatical and interactive means (and not just 'expressed' through them)" (2003: 136). This model allows us to explore self at the level of the talked-about, that is, as a character within the story *and* at the level of tellership in the here-and-now of a storytelling situation. At both levels there is more or less implicit and indirect referencing and orientation to social positions and discourses above and beyond the here-and-now. (Bamberg 2011: 15).

By these means the mutual construction of self and others in teamwork stories and their situatedness in the interactional frame can be explored. Categories are integrated in the analysis to illustrate as organically as possible the interdependent and overlapping tensions that arise in articulating and evaluating the identity of a team worker in a graduate job interview.

Analysis

The analysis is organised around participants' navigation of the three identity dilemmas identified in storytelling events by Bamberg (2011; 2013), here within the graduate job interview. These three dilemmas are at the root of interviewees' struggles to establish an employable identity. The first concerns sameness and difference: does the teller project an identity as the same *and/versus* different from others? The second concerns agency: "being a product of world … *and/versus* 'producing' world (acting agentively)". The third dilemma concerns change: "presenting a sense of self as same across time *and/versus* having changed (usually

---

professional experts, all of whom were potential employers for the student cohort. There was no peer audience and feedback was given to each interviewee in the concluding part of their half-hour interview. … and what transpire[d] [would] have an impact on the student's access to the industry, whether this [was] positive or negative. (Reissner-Roubicek f/c)

developed)" (np). Interviewers' contributions and how these co-construct identities will be incorporated and a secondary organising principle will be whether or not the identity work is done more or less explicitly.

Identity Dilemma 1

This dilemma concerns "the uniqueness of a person vis-à-vis others in the face of being the same as everyone else" (2011: 6). Bamberg states that "narrators typically position characters (including themselves) in their stories as same or different from other characters" (17). In the analysis of behavioural stories about teamwork this self-positioning dilemma is addressed by interviewees in two ways. In the first, the interviewees index difference and sameness either implicitly or explicitly through constructing themselves in terms of what they are not. In a second strategy, interviewees index sameness through reference to being part of a group and difference as being an autonomous individual distinguished from that group [whose actions may be interdependent with those of individual others]. Sameness and difference are thus either mutually exclusive ("same *versus* different"), or co-exist dynamically ("same *and* different"). Special rules for doing sameness and difference were found to apply in this institutional context.

The first example illustrates interviewers' expectations that the individual should be differentiated from the team in responses to teamwork questions. The example is chosen because it is representative of the way interviewers make the problem explicit in what is a frequently occurring feature of interactions between interviewers and students. It also demonstrates that when interviewers make an "individual" identity relevant by virtue of its absence, it is of sufficiently seriousness to be framed as a problem even when an interview is otherwise going well.

Thanh (Student 19) is explaining her university team project to Mack, a manager in a large electronics firm.

(1) Mack (Employer 5) and Thanh: mock interview

```
1.  S19  now my project is mobile sensors in robotic fish
  [39 lines omitted]
41. E5   yep
42. S19  and we're trying to implement google earth
43. E5   m'hm,
44. S19  to see exactly-
45. E5   oh good! okay
46. S19  it is! ((laughing)) that is to find the location of the fish
47. E5   m'hm, m'hm, m'hm,
48. S19  which is basically ah /electrode
49. E5   m'hm,
```

```
50. S19  simple [chloride electrode
51. E5          [just looking for potential difference=
52. S19  =exactly
53. E5   yep
54. S19  so at the moment we're all trying to get individual product work-
55.      individual components working,
56. E5   m'hm,
57. S19  combine them together,
58. E5   m'hm
59. S19  collect information,
60. E5   yep, m'hm
61. S19  put it in the database, analyse it, xxx xxx xxx xxx. that is my project
62.      I'm working on at the moment
63. E5   okay
64. S19  yes
65. E5   and that is what you're doing /or what the team is doing
66. S19  teamwork
67. E5   the team
68. S19  yes
69. E5   and what in particular are you doing
70. S19  I'm doing measuring-
71. E5   you're trying to- just pause here for a moment /you're trying to sell
72.      what you do /your skills /yes it was part of a team
73. S19  yes
74. E5   but I'm not thinking of employing the team /I'm thinking about
75.      employing you
76. S19  sure
77. E5   so tell me what you did
78. S19  sure /I'm measuring the application of the sensors so I'm working on
79.      the GPS and the:: um temperature sensors…
```

The pattern of first-person plural vs. singular pronouns in Thanh's story effectively positions her as one and "the same" as others in the team, doing the same things. The 14 occurrences of *we* between lines 3–62, highlight the single instance of *I* in the final turn of her answer (line 62); *my project* appears twice, in lines 1 and 61. The singular self-references bracket the story; the description of carrying out the project features only *we* forms. Mack's response at the story conclusion is a hint framed as an option "And that is what *you're* doing, or what the team is doing?" (line 65). His next strategy is an implicit correction in the form of a repetition: "the team" (line 66) and even though his third attempt, "And what in particular are *you* doing?" (line 69), is more successful, he instigates an explicit frame-switch to provide some metacognitive explanation: "just pause here for a moment" (line 71). To emphasise why it is important for Thanh to differentiate her individual contribution, he reduplicates the contrastive stress on *you/your/you/you* (lines 71–74): "you're trying to sell what *you* do – *your* skills – yes, it was part of a team … but I'm not thinking of employing the team, I'm thinking about employing *you*, so tell me what *you* did". Thanh responds with a more "processable" answer, "Sure,

I'm measuring the application of the sensors, so I'm working on the GPS and the um temperature sensors" (78–79).

At the level of the talked-about, that is, in the referential world of her team project, Thanh does not differentiate herself from the team; when the inadequacy of this strategy is made sufficiently explicit by the interviewer she complies and defines her unique contribution (70; 78–79). At the here-and-now level of tellership, then, identities are dynamically constructed as a function of the interactive engagement. Thanh and Mack's alignment as interlocutors in lines 42–62 – in a section featuring overlaps (e.g. lines 51–52), collaborative completions (e.g. latching in 50–51), and considerable supportive feedback (noting particularly the trio of continuers "m'hm, m'hm, m'hm" in line 47 as well as other yes-plus tokens [McCarthy 2003] and laughter) – suggests they are constructing each other primarily as fellow engineers, as opposed to expert/novice. In the interview frame, there is a positive mutual alignment around engineering expertise. As far as the interviewer is concerned this may momentarily mask the nature of the *I* in the recounted world of teamwork. Mack's frame-switch in line 65 reasserts the power dynamic in their situated identities of interviewer/interviewee. In their consecutive turns "teamwork" "the team" "yes" (lines 66–68), Thanh's understanding of *one-with-the-team* as the "right" answer is implicitly contested by Mack, revealing the struggle to comprehend normative expectations regarding teamwork.

The next extract from a mock interview between Dave, the CEO of a consultancy group, and Zayn (Student 7) picks up the interviewee's teamwork story at the crisis point in the reported action.

(2a) Dave (Employer 1) and Zayn: Mock interview

```
1.  S7  we totally ran out of ideas and we gave up /and actually left /and /but
2.      then I knew that some of the /team member- I mean some of the teams
3.      /have done it and they can achieve it so why can't I / so I kept on
4.      actually/ my team actually left /and I still kept on doing it
        […]
5.      and I just- ah sorry- ah so- I actually managed to find out an idea and
6.      implement it?
7.  E1  m'hm
8.  S7  and /that was one of the best designs /and we actually got an award for it
9.  E1  thought it was a team event\
10. S7  hh but yeah but I gave xxx xxx hh but I won't say- I couldn't have
11.     (done it) without the team /they were wonderful
12. E1  m'hm
13. S7  very very xxx-
14. E1  but it sounds like you were the only one that was persistent
```

Zayn firstly constructs himself through two instances of inclusive *we* as "the same" as the team in terms of running out of ideas, giving up, and leaving (line 1). Then he constructs his team as a failed team in terms of what they are not, i.e. by implicit contrast with other teams who "have done it and *they* can achieve it". At the same time, he begins to differentiate himself from his team: "*I* knew" (as opposed to w*e* knew); "so why can't *I* [achieve it]" (as opposed to why can't *we*). He next reports his own actions as "different" from those of his team, positioning others unfavourably in relation to himself, "so *I* kept on … my team actually left and *I* still kept on doing it" – and implicitly as "the same" as those of successful teams. The result is that *we* collectively "got an award" (line 8) for a design idea that *I* individually implemented.

At the level of tellership in the here-and-now, features of the interactional engagement combine to indicate that certain "signs of a narrator's reliability and accountability … woven into the relationships that the characters are said to enter into in the story" (Bamberg 2003: 146) are giving the employer cause for concern. Dave's first backchannel signal in this extract, the continuer "m'hm" (line 7) appears to have been triggered by the high-rising terminal intonation "…implement it?" (line 6) creating a moment of listening-response relevance (Erickson and Schultz 1982). But at the story-world outcome in line 8 the employer drily offers the reproof "thought it was a team event" (line 9). This signals the fine line – that has here been crossed – between *distinguishing* an individual contribution to the team and claiming credit for the team success. Zayn starts to defend himself (after a slight laugh and a couple of false starts beginning with *but* in line 10), but becomes eventually compliant within the same turn. He attempts to save face by graciously acknowledging the team's support, "*I* couldn't have done it without *the team*, *they* were wonderful" (lines 10–11). This formulation may have the effect of reinforcing his construction of himself as rising above the crowd.

The next few turns of Zayn's interview serve to illustrate the second identity dilemma and are presented as Example (2b) below.

Identity Dilemma 2

The second dilemma concerns the construction of agency: either being a "product" of world as an undergoer *and/versus* "producing" world, acting agentively. Whether or not the teller constructs self or others as agent or undergoer is of great relevance when talking about problems or difficulties of any kind, which can be anticipated (if not by novice interviewees) as a requirement of behavioural stories about teamwork. Dilemmas 1 and 2 are rarely mutually exclusive in this

context, so where the sameness/difference dilemma is made relevant in further examples below – chosen primarily to illustrate Dilemma 2 – it will be briefly highlighted.

This extract offers an interesting example of what Bamberg refers to as strategies to elicit empathy from or align with the audience, here a higher-status interlocutor.

(2b) Dave (Employer 1) and Zayn: mock interview

```
14. E1  but it sounds like you were the only one that was persistent
15. S7  hh but that's like you get to a point when you get so stressed and /
16.     give up/ and that that night was my night as well to give up /
17.     except suddenly something hit me /it's like some /you know /miracles
18. E1  very good
19. S7  yeah
20. E1  then you got an award
21. S7  yes
22. E1  fantastic
23. S7  yes
24. E1  yeah /that's brilliant
```

Dave relents and accords the student some individual credit for the team's success, "but it sounds like you were the only one that was persistent" (line 14), which elicits another slight laugh from the student, who, encouraged, resumes in the general *you* frame: "you get to a point when you get so stressed and give up" (lines 15–16) distancing himself from the position somewhat and assuming the interlocutor's alignment with it. He continues the first person singular narrative as the undergoer rather than the agent, "except suddenly something hit me" (line 17). This combined with the concluding comparison "like some, you know, miracles" positions the teller in Bamberg's terms "as the central character who is helplessly at the mercy of outside (quasi 'natural') forces or who is rewarded by luck, fate, or personal qualities (such as bravery, nobility, or simply 'character')" (1997: 337). And in mirroring Zayn's phrase "got an award" Dave positions him as something of a passive recipient with at any rate somewhat less agency than had he *won* it. Positioning the self as undergoer emphasizes team membership, humility, lower individual agency and positioning the self in discourse as an agent emphasizes individuality and agency distinct from the team and thus casts doubt on being a good team player. Thus success in interviews involves balancing discursive displays of agency.

Evidence from the next extract demonstrates again how the follow-up question about teamwork is invariably about conflict in some way.

(3) Dave (Employer 1) to Xanthi (Student 6): mock interview

```
1. E1  okay /so particularly in that group /with your partner
2. S6  yes
3. E1  were there any /difficulties you came across? and can you describe
4.     them? and can you also describe how you: /solved (them)
5. S6  okay yes I did have a problem with my partner (.) because um the thing
6.     was /um
   [2 lines omitted]
9.     my partner was not cooperating in the way that I actually wanted to work
10.    /like longer hours towards my project /but my partner had sh-  like other
11.    commitments so /she couldn't be with me? all the time when I was
12.    working you know /but this is a group project /which /involves a
13.    teamwork / so if one person doesn't come in /I mean-
14. E1 it's hard
15. S6 you know it's kinda hard (.) because it's a team /so
16. E1 yeah
17. S6 if you- /if a team has to perform well then everyone in the team has to
18.    give
19. E1 [yes
20. S6 [equal amount of work
21. E1 yeah
```

Speaking generously of others is a factor bearing positively on success in job interviews (Adelswärd 1988), implying that speaking ungenerously of others is, by default, trouble. Xanthi's misunderstanding of the question as *about* her partner (line 5) is not so problematic for the interviewer, as the underlying purpose of the question is to infer how she relates to others in the team. In describing her teammate as "not cooperating" (line 9) Xanthi positions her as agent and perpetrator of the talked-about difficulty. And in describing her partner as having "other commitments" she positions herself as a neutral reporter in the interactional here-and-now. Xanthi further positions herself as knowledgeable and expert on the rules of teamwork (lines 12–20). Thus the argument for her position that her team partner should have complied with "the way I wanted to work" (line 9) is implicitly justified. The teammate is positioned unfavourably in relation to herself, and the goal of interactional engagement is now to enlist the interviewer's empathy in a moral stance with the *I* against the *other*. When she breaks off "if one person doesn't come in, I mean-" (line 13), the interviewer collaboratively completes the framing of the generic problem: "it's hard" (line 14). This shows solidarity with her and validates her position, which is one of authority on the topic of teamwork. In line 15 she echoes his evaluation with "you know, it's kinda hard" and among a sequence of yes-plus tokens (lines 16, 19, 21) from the interviewer and an overlap (lines 19–20) signalling continued alignment, Xanthi continues her metacommentary "because it's a team … if you- /if a team has to perform well then everyone in the team has to give … equal amount of work" (lines 17 and 19). This

is an adoption of an expert position; it is notable how she first uses, then stops and restarts so as to avoid, impersonal *you*, replacing it with "a team". The ambiguity of impersonal *you* might be the reason here, to avoid a potential threat to Dave's face. It also re-emphasises the expertise in teamwork. This fell somewhat short of being a successful management of the dilemma, however, as the interviewer's feedback at the end of the mock interview revealed.[4]

Identity Dilemma 3

The third dilemma concerns whether the teller presents "a sense of self as same across time *and/versus* having changed" (Bamberg 2011: 14). Bamberg notes that identity work entails "sorting out what events qualify as formative or transformative" and "prefer[s] to view this dilemma from the agentive potential of the person" rather than viewing change as an abstract challenge imposed "on individual lives from the outside" (2011: 8).

In these two extracts from real job interviews that were successful, the agentive potential of a person to change is made explicit by interlocutors. The first of the examples in this section starts at the conclusion of a behavioural story offered in answer to a starter question about working in a "memorable or successful" team. Here, Graham and Teresa, a two-person panel from a company given the pseudonym NZEC, are interviewing Joel (Student 28).

(4) Teresa/Graham (Employers 8/9) and Joel: Real interview

```
1.  E9   and how did you um /how did you get on
2.  S28  um oh hh /ours didn't actually work out that well …
3.       but um you know /definitely learnt a lot from that
4.  E9   well that's what it's about isn't it
5.  S28  yeah yeah yep
6.  E9   and obviously it's not /not just the technical learning side of it
7.       /it's group work
8.  S28  oh definitely yeah (the intention) yeah no I mean we /
9.       we enjoyed ourselves /and it was great seeing it break?
10. E8   [hh hh hh hh hh
11. E9   [hh hh
12. S28  I've still got part of it in my room,
13. E8   hh hh hh souvenir
14. S28  yeah hh
15. E8   fantastic /okay so moving on from that –
```

4. In prefacing his feedback, "And if I believe what you said", the interviewer challenged the credibility of her narrative in relation to the way she resolved the difficulty with her teammate (Reissner-Roubicek 2010: 126).

The extract is presented primarily as an example of how explicit references to learning from teamwork can be rewarded by recruiters. At the interactional level of tellership Joel positions himself as deferential through the dispreferred-response markers "um oh hh" that preface his hedged reply to the question about the project outcome "ours didn't actually work out that well" and invites the interviewers to align with his position, "but um, you know, definitely learnt a lot from that" (lines 2–3). This sequence also demonstrates how effective it can be to position oneself as humble, and in the next beat as funny – especially given that *humour* and *humility* are two keywords on the NZEC interviewers' scoresheet. As a strategy, self-deprecating and in this context affiliative humour mark considerable interactional alignment (e.g. both interviewers' laughter at Joel's comments "it was great seeing it break?" and "I've still got part of it in my room", which triggers a moment of conjoint humour in Teresa's turn "souvenir" (line 13). Between them the participants co-construct teamwork, especially when it goes wrong, as an opportunity for learning. The learning outcome is confirmed by Graham with the statement, "Well, that's what it's about, isn't it" (line 4). According to Roberts and Campbell (2006: 99), "confirmatory statements can make a comment institutionally relevant, show support and co-construct an answer". In the post-interview, Graham commented that "Moving forward from bad experiences perhaps takes a bit of maturity and may be more an adult thing to be able to reflect and integrate learnings from", adding, "Sometimes when the teamwork's gone wrong, they've learnt even more". These judgments signal that the third identity dilemma can be negotiated successfully when individuals can acknowledge that personal development entails reflecting on things that did not go one's own way.

Discussion and conclusion

The struggles highlighted in the analysis frame the challenge to interviewees in terms of three identity dilemmas. Their navigation is crucial to candidates constructing themselves as "good team workers" in line with competency discourses as these apply to graduate recruitment.

Struggles in terms of Dilemma 3 were rare in this dataset. Only successful candidates in the real interviews (for example, as presented here,[5] Joel) demonstrated

5. It should be noted that although the one example presented here from a home student was from a successful job interview, the data set and indeed the first draft of the paper contained examples of both an unsuccessful home student and a successful born-abroad student, before necessary revisions were made due to length restrictions and reviewers' suggestions. I wish to

any awareness of personally/professionally developing in some way. A candidate cannot position him/herself as having changed without acknowledging some kind of struggle in the story-world, sometimes in opposition with team members, thereby engaging with Dilemma 2, the potential for which typically emerges from resolving Dilemma 1. If team members are undifferentiated by the interviewee, this tends to preclude the existence of any problem or conflict in which agency can be demonstrated. Dilemma 2, the management of agency, is central to the negotiation of teamwork identities; relationships between self and others in the story-world are mutually constructed in terms of what Bamberg (2003) refers to as heroes and villains or victims and perpetrators, where the teller may be either hero or victim. There are numerous examples in the data set that illustrate this dilemma, but many of them involve less conventional pairs, such as hero and perpetrator – where agency is attributed to self *and* other (Zayn, Xanthi).

Dilemma 1 was the most strongly marked in terms of how much attention interviewers paid to it. The discursive requirement to differentiate oneself as an *individual in a team* can be something interviewees are unaware of (Thanh) until it is made explicit by the interlocutor. It can also be something they *over*do and (in the case of Zayn), are cued by the interviewer to dial back. Aligning with the team as *we* throughout precludes interviewees from differentiating themselves from their team – although (like Zayn and Joel), they may differentiate their team from other teams. When the requirement associated with Dilemma 1 itself remains hidden, for example due to the way the interviewer's question is framed, this limits opportunities to construct employable identities through successfully navigating Dilemma 2 and Dilemma 3. That is why it must be considered a core element of the struggle facing novice professionals in job interviews.

In terms of the three dilemmas, therefore, certain constructions of teamwork identities were seen to be bureaucratically processable. A "good team worker" is a person who can, while still aligning with the team, differentiate his/her own actions from those of the team but does not construct team members (by contrast with him/herself) in a negative light, that is, as not team-oriented. This person can in addition position him/herself as variously an agent and an undergoer but not as the undergoer of actions for which blame is attributed to other team members as perpetrators. In other words, a good team worker can position others "neutrally" when reporting infelicitous interactions, which also necessitates first acknowledging that things can and do go wrong. And perhaps the best team worker is a

---

emphasise with this footnote that there was no one-to-one correspondence between the cultural background of the student participants and any discursive skill demonstrated by them in these competency-based job interviews.

person who can learn (and develop personally/professionally) from those things that go wrong.

Considering the discursive strategies required to differentiate oneself from the rest of the team and therefore in respect of Dilemma 1, pronoun use can be a minefield for novices to negotiate. On the one hand, institutional discourse is characterised by de-personalised perspectives, that is, reduced use of first-person pronouns (Campbell and Roberts 2007); on the other, the personal discourses that are called on in the job interview entail individual perspectives, and these must be finely balanced – that is, unmarked. Clearly, the importance of context cannot be overlooked. First there is the common-sense, intuitive understanding of a team as a collective unit, which may lie behind the reflexive positioning of the self as one and the same as the others. Sufficient familiarity with both the discourses and practices of recruitment and the modern workplace is required to respond *counter*-intuitively. Second, there is the issue of the question. More commonly than not, it remains implicit that the candidate is required to differentiate their actions from those of the team, although occasionally an interviewer in the study attempted to pre-empt this problem by incorporating it in the initial question. In the NZEC interviews, follow-up questions to candidates directed them to talk about or elaborate on areas that were likely to reveal attitudes and values and in the process particularly to expose their ability to analyse team situations and the way team members behaved.

In articulating these struggles, discursive strategies used in negotiating Dilemma 2 showed evidence of the tension articulated by employers about the difference between teams at university (which they construct as individualistic and competitive), in relation to teams in the workplace (whose members they represented as being by necessity mutually reliant). Sometimes at the root of any reluctance to acknowledge things that go wrong is the dismissal of a problem as "already solved" or "too minor to mention", or a decision-making process as not a process of resolving differences of opinion. Employers were demonstrably alert to whether or not candidates appeared to be blaming their team members although they empathised explicitly with problems typically experienced in teamwork (Reissner-Roubicek 2010: 169).

The three identity dilemmas defined by Bamberg offer a novel and useful way of framing the struggles of narrators to position themselves as good team workers. In both the situated story-telling interactions and even the story-worlds within them, identities are not merely enacted or responded to, they are negotiated with the interviewer as an "active co-teller" (Ochs and Capps 2001: 23). And just as the selection interview is "not a transparent channel through which the candidate's cognitive competence and attitudes [can] be assessed" (Sarangi

and Roberts 1999: 477–78), narratives are "not transparent windows into speakers' minds, their subjectivities, or their 'lived experience'" (Bamberg 2003: 154). Rather, "because they are always indexical with regard to the speaker's subjectivity … they have to be analysed as (performed) situated actions that are interactively accomplished" (156). Bamberg's point about the main function of narratives being to reveal how what is said and how the narrator ought to be understood goes some way to explaining why it is that employers find behavioural questions useful over and beyond the usual rationale given for competency-based, structured interviews. Rather than explicitly requesting a candidate to provide a general self-description, interviewers aimed to discover answers to *Who are you? / What kind of person are you?* indirectly, via behavioural questions such as those about teamwork. Students, however, while alert to having to tell who they are with an explicit prompt like *Tell me about yourself,* are largely unable to recognize this point.

Especially follow-up questions to behavioural questions about teamwork, which seek the self-disclosure of the subject in "tough situations", reveal how conflict stories can be re-framed, paradoxically, as opportunities to demonstrate positive behaviours and thereby construct oneself as professionally competent. This highlights the need for students to orient more neutrally to the bad experiences of teamwork they typically struggle with at university and to recognise their potential to facilitate alignment with interviewer values and expectations. Providing practitioners and other stakeholders with insights from analyses of interactional data is an important contribution to a more critical understanding of the way competency discourses impact on the co-construction and contestation of novices' employable identities and in particular can illuminate exactly how teamwork questions are pivotal in this site of identity struggle.

Transcription conventions

Transcription element	Meaning
.	Downward intonation
,	Rising intonation
?	High-rising intonation
Italics	Emphasised word
STRESSful	Capital letters = heavily stressed syllable(s)
:::	Elongated sounds
/	Phrase unit boundary
(.)	Pause of between half a second and a whole second
(1.0)	Pause of 1 second or longer, in seconds
=	Latching
wor-	Broken off word
[overlap	Interrupted or overlapping speech starts
xxxx	Indistinguishable word
((laughing))	Paralinguistic features
hh	Slight laugh on the outbreath

References

Adelswärd, Viveka. 1988. *Styles of Success: On Impression Management as Collaborative Action in Job Interviews*. Linkoping: Linkoping University.

Akinnaso, F. Niyi and Ajirotutu, Cheryl S. 1982. "Performance and ethnic style in job interviews." *Language and Social Identity*, ed. by John Gumperz, Cambridge: CUP

Bamberg, Michael. 1997. "Positioning between structure and performance." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7 (1–4): 335–342. doi:10.1075/jnlh.7.42pos

Bamberg, Michael. 2003. "Positioning with Davie Hogan: Stories, tellings, and identities." In *Narrative Analysis: Studying the Development of Individuals in Society*, ed. by Colette Daiute and Cynthia Lightfoot, 135–157. London: Sage.

Bamberg, Michael. 2011. "Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity". *Theory and Psychology* 21 (1): 3–24. doi:10.1177/0959354309355852

Bamberg, Michael. 2013. "Narrative Practices and their Analysis." Plenary paper presented at 13th International Pragmatics Conference, New Delhi.

Campbell, Sarah, and Celia Roberts. 2007. "Migration, ethnicity and competing discourses in the job interview: Synthesizing the institutional and personal." *Discourse and Society* 18(5): 243–271. doi:10.1177/0957926507075474

Careers NZ. 2012. *Skills Employers are Looking For*. Retrieved from http://www.careers.govt.nz/plan-your-career/not-sure-what-to-do/skills-employers-are-looking-for/#cID_115

Champy, James A. 1995. Re-engineering Management: The Mandate for New Leadership. New York: Harper Business

Cortazzi, Martin. 2014. *Narrative Analysis*. Abingdon; New York: Routledge.

Drew, Paul and John Heritage. 1992. *Talk at Work: Interactions in Institutional Setttings*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Erickson, Frederick, and Jeffrey Schultz. 1982. *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: Social Interaction in Interviews*. New York: Academic Press.

Gee, James P., Glynda, A. Hull and Colin Lankshear. 1996. *The New Work Order: Behind the Language of the New Capitalism*. St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen and Unwin.

Hawthorne, Lesley. 1992. "Migrant engineers' job interview performance: A cross cultural analysis." *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 15 (2): 90–119.

He, Agnes Weiyun. 1995. "Co-constructing institutional identities: The case of student counselees." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 28 (3): 213–231. doi: 10.1207/s15327973rlsi2803_3

Iedema, Rick. 1999, "Formalising organizational meaning". *Discourse and Society* 10 (1): 49–65. doi: 10.1177/0957926599010001003

Janz, Tom. 1989. "The patterned behavior description interview: The best prophet of the future is the past". In *The Employment Interview: Theory, Research, and Practice*, ed. by Robert W. Eder and Gerald R. Ferris, 158–168. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Levinson, Stephen C. 1979. "Activity types and language." *Linguistics* 17: 365–399. doi: 10.1515/ling.1979.17.5-6.365

Kerekes, Julie A. 2006. "Winning an interviewer's trust in a gatekeeping encounter." *Language in Society* 35: 27–57. doi: 10.1017/S0047404506060027

McCarthy, Michael. 2003. "Talking back: 'Small' interactional response tokens in everyday conversation". *Research on Language in Social Interaction* 36 (1): 33–63. doi: 10.1207/S15327973RLSI3601_3

McLachlan, Murray, Stewart Forsyth and Linda Cassells. 1992. *Job Winning in New Zealand*. Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin Books.

Merman, Stephen K., and John E. McLaughlin. 1982. *Out-interviewing the Interviewer: A Job-winner's Script for Success*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall.

Ochs, Elinor and Lisa Capps. 2001. *Living Narrative: Creating Lives in Everyday Storytelling*. Cambridge, MA: HUP

Rees, Claire, Forbes, Peter and Bianca Kubler. 2006. *Student Employability Profiles: A Guide for Higher Education Practitioners*. York: The Higher Education Academy, in association with the Council for Industry and Higher Education (CIHE) and Graduate Prospects.

Reissner-Roubicek, Sophie. 2010. Communicative strategies in the behavioural job interview: The influence of discourse norms on graduate recruitment. Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland.

Reissner-Roubicek, Sophie. 2012. "'The guys would like to have a lady': The co-construction of gender and professional identity in interviews between employers and female engineering students." In *The Interplay Between Professional Identities and Age, Gender and Ethnicity*, ed. by Dorien Van De Mieroop and Jonathan Clifton, Special issue of Pragmatics, 22 (2): 231–254.

Roberts, Celia. 1985. The Interview Game and How it's Played. London: BBC.

Roberts, Celia, and Sarah Campbell. 2006. *Talk On Trial: Job Interviews, Language and Ethnicity*. Leeds: Corporate Document Services.

Sarangi, Srikant, and Celia Roberts. (eds). 1999. *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation and Management Settings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110208375

Schiffrin, Deborah. 2006. *In Other Words: Variation in Reference and Narrative*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511616273

Schnurr, Stephanie. 2013. Exploring Professional Communication: Language in Action. London: Routledge.

Sniad, Tamara. 2007. "'It's not necessarily the words you say…it's your presentation": Teaching the interactional text of the job interview." *Journal of Pragmatics* 39 (11), 1974–1992. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2007.07.014

The University of Auckland. n.d. *Graduate profiles*. Retrieved from https://www.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/learning-and-teaching/strategies-goals-and-plans/graduate-profiles.html

Tucker, Richard, and Neda Abbasi. 2014. "The architecture of teamwork: Examining relationships between teaching, assessment, student learning and satisfaction with creative design outcomes." *Architectural Engineering and Design Management* 1–18.

Vic Careers: Career Development and Employment. n.d. *Employment Skills Survey*. Victoria University Wellington. Retrieved from: http://www.victoria.ac.nz/st_services/careers/resources/employment_skills_survey.aspx

CHAPTER 5

Epistemic "Struggles"

When nurses' expert identity is challenged by "knowledgeable" clients

Olga Zayts and Stephanie Schnurr
The University of Hong Kong / University of Warwick

This chapter examines telephone consultations between genetic nurses and new mothers whose infants have been diagnosed with the hereditary condition G6PD deficiency. These consultations aim at informing the mothers about the condition and its management. We focus on interactions with so-called "knowledgeable mothers", in which participants' epistemic statuses (knowledgeable nurses vs. less knowledgeable mothers) and their related identities (e.g. expert – lay person) are challenged. We examine how the participants discursively negotiate each other's epistemic authority, while simultaneously constructing specific identities for themselves and others. We show that epistemic "struggles" become an integral part of achieving the aim of these consultations, namely that the mothers are able to manage the condition of their infants.

Keywords: epistemic status, epistemic authority, epistemic struggle, expert identity, nurses, Hong Kong Chinese, Cantonese

Introduction

In this chapter we apply an epistemological lens to examine the context of telephone consultations between genetic nurses and new mothers whose infants have been diagnosed with a genetic condition. In particular, we focus on how the participants in these consultations produce, negotiate and contest each others' claims to knowledge about that genetic condition and the ways of managing it in the on-going talk-in-interaction (Heritage and Raymond 2005; Heritage 2012).

The condition in question is G6PD deficiency (also known as favism), which is common in Hong Kong where this study was conducted, and occurs in 4% of all male, and 0.6% of all female newborns. Due to this relatively high occurrence rate, all newborns in the territory are routinely screened for it. The condition is

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.05zay
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

life-long but if certain preventative measures are taken, those affected by it can lead a healthy life.[1] The aim of the telephone consultations is to inform the mothers while they are still on the maternity ward about their child's diagnosis and to advise them on preventative measures to be taken after hospital release. These consultations are typically conducted via phone to enable the nurses to accommodate the increasing number of clients. Prior to the telephone call, the mothers receive an information leaflet containing relevant information about G6PD deficiency and its management. In delivering the information the nurses follow a one page flowchart that lists the information that the mothers need to know. However, as we will show, the specific ways in which this information is presented to the mothers may vary.

In examining these consultations we draw on recent epistemological work in conversation analysis that has made a distinction between participants' *epistemic status* and *epistemic stance* (see also Trankjær as well as De Stefani and Mondada in this volume). Epistemic status refers to a "relative positioning […] in which persons recognize one another to be more or less knowledgeable concerning some domain of knowledge as a more or less settled matter of fact" (Heritage 2012: 32). Epistemic stance, in turn, relates to "how speakers position themselves in terms of epistemic status in and through design of turns at talk" (Heritage 2012: 33). With regards to clinical contexts, for a long time the clinical practice has been dominated by the so-called "doctor knows best" approach which in many socio-cultural contexts has gradually changed to a more shared (between a medical professional and a patient) decision-making style. While medical professionals indeed have privileged access to specialized medical knowledge, there is also an exponential increase in access to medical information by the general public through on-line and other media. In addition, some patients/clients may have acquired certain medical knowledge through their own previous experiences. On the one hand, this knowledge by the patients/clients may "balance out" potential differences in the epistemic statuses of medical professionals and clients/patients. This more even distribution of knowledge has been associated with many positive outcomes of healthcare encounters, such as patients' adherence to medical recommendations, or increased satisfaction with healthcare services (Charles et al. 1997). However, on the other hand, this balance of knowledge also poses a "threat" to the epistemic authority and, closely related to this, the identities of the medical providers as knowledgeable experts and professionals.

1. G6PD deficiency is an enzyme deficiency that increases the sensitivity of red blood cells to oxidative damage (Farhud and Yazdanpanah 2008). Most people who suffer from it do not have any symptoms until they are exposed to certain substances (e.g. fava or broad beans, certain Chinese and other medications), which in the worst-case scenario can result in fatality.

The interactions that we examine here present one example of such encounters where the genetic nurses consult "knowledgeable" mothers who either have some personal experience of G6PD deficiency (they have it themselves or know someone who does); or who have acquired (at times substantial) knowledge about it through various information sources. When dealing with these knowledgeable mothers, the challenge for the nurses is to uphold their professional "expert" identity and to adhere to the institutional agenda and the institutionally-assigned role of information provider (Zayts and Schnurr 2014) although there may be seemingly little or no "gap" in their own and the mothers' epistemic statuses. In what follows we identify and describe how this epistemic "struggle" between the nurses and the mothers unfolds as they enact and negotiate their roles and identities while contesting or reconciling with each others' epistemic statuses. In this process the participants ensure that the main agenda of these telephone consultations is met, namely that the mothers indeed have sufficient understanding and knowledge about the condition and its management and will comply with the advice.

The roles and identities of nurses

Only relatively little research has looked at nurses from the angle of identity construction (e.g. Candlin and Candlin 2007; Candlin 2011; see also Ojwang in this volume), which is surprising given the crucial role that nurses play in many healthcare contexts, including genetic counseling. Previous research has identified a generic, shared nurse's identity which entails "care, compassion and empathy" (Burkitt et al. 2001: 4 as cited in Candlin 2011: 555). This generic nursing identity is discursively enacted and realized through the various roles that nurses regularly perform and within which they construct their professional identities, including the roles of healer, carer, educator, advisor, counselor, manager, referrer, advocate, assessor, etc. (Candlin 2011: 555). In our own previous work on the roles and identities of nurses in Hong Kong, we have illustrated that in the context of genetic counseling/consultations, nurses draw on, as well as sometimes reject or expand, the roles traditionally assigned to them in order to orient to and respond to the complex interactional context in which they operate and in which the different expectations and agendas of their institutions, profession, clients, and themselves interact and compete with each other (Zayts and Schnurr 2014).

In this chapter we focus on another aspect of the construction of the nurses' identities. In particular, since constructing one's professional identity is closely related to portraying oneself as being a competent and knowledgeable expert in a particular domain, any challenges to these claims of epistemic authority may be perceived as threatening, and can thus be conceptualized as a "struggle" over

identity. Of particular interest to us are the complex discursive processes through which the nurses establish their epistemic authority throughout these exchanges, and how they negotiate the mothers' challenges and claims relating to their own (i.e. the mother's) competence and epistemic rights.

In our analyses below we draw on the relationality and indexicality principles (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) as outlined in the Introduction to this volume, with a particular focus on the discursive processes involved in dealing with epistemic identity claims and "struggles".

Data

Our data comes from a large collaborative project on telegenetic counseling in Hong Kong that includes 50 audio-recorded telephone consultations between genetic nurses of a neonatal screening unit at a specialist genetic clinic (abbreviated as N in the transcripts) and new mothers (abbreviated as M in the transcripts) whose infants have been diagnosed with G6PD deficiency. The consultations are typically conducted within one to two days after the delivery while the mothers are still on the maternity ward; therefore, the fathers of the infants do not normally participate in these consultations. The recorded consultations vary in length from 6 to 22 minutes (with an overall recording time of 14 hours and 20 minutes). We focus on 13 consultations which involve mothers who have had previous experience and knowledge about the condition. All mothers and nurses are Hong Kong Chinese, so the consultations are conducted in Cantonese, the native language of the participants.

Following the audio-recording, the data were transcribed and translated independently by two native-speaking research assistants for validation purposes. In our analysis we also selectively draw on questionnaires that were mailed to the mothers after the consultations and semi-structured interviews with the genetic nurses. In the questionnaires the mothers were asked to comment on their knowledge about G6PD deficiency prior to and after the consultation and to evaluate the consultation. The interviews with the nurses provided contextual information about the counseling practices at the clinic.

In what follows we describe some of the discursive processes through which interlocutors establish and orient to their own and each other's epistemic statuses while constructing and negotiating each other's identities. A particular focus is on how the nurses solve this struggle over their professional identity when interacting with knowledgeable mothers.

Establishing and orienting to participants' epistemic statuses in the process of negotiating each other's identities

There are certain regularities that we have observed in the data in how the participants establish and orient to each others' epistemic statuses. For example, the diagnosis delivery is typically followed by a yes/no question about the mother's knowledge about the condition, and in cases of "knowledgeable" mothers, the nurses proceed directly to the information delivery (and in cases of "non- knowledgeable" mothers, they reassure the mothers first before delivering the information). In the actual information delivery the nurses orient to the mothers' "knowing" epistemic status lexically through various strategies, including: explicit references to the mothers' previous personal experience, references to other sources of information through which the mothers have acquired knowledge about the condition, giving positive evaluations of the mothers' actions in relation to managing the condition in the past, and using agreement tokens following the mothers' self-initiated information.

In addition to these strategies, the nurses also actively orient to the mothers' epistemic status by engaging them in the information-giving which then becomes a process of co-construction between the nurse and the mother, as in Example 1.

(1) M's older daughter is also diagnosed with G6PD, and so she is a "knowledgeable mother".

1 N: 因為如果佢地萬一接觸到一啲物質,如果會影響個紅血球嘅話呢,咁紅血球受到破壞,就會引致急性溶血(.).h 吓,咁呀如果有急性溶血呢,咁就會好論盡,吓,咁你記唔記得如果有急性溶血嘅話呢,係會有啲咩徵狀 ? (2.0)
Because if they ever come into contact with certain substances, if they can affect the red blood cells, then the red blood cells will become damaged which will lead to acute hemolysis (.).h ya, so if he has acute hemolysis, then it will be very troublesome, ya, so do you remember if he has acute hemolysis, what symptoms will he present? (2.0)

2 M: 會面黃.
Will have a yellowish face.

3 N: 就係會面黃,有嚴重嘅黃疸 ,吓,咁呀如果個膽紅素好高,又無適當嘅處理, 入左腦嘅話呢,咁就會影響佢將來嗰個誒聽力呀, 個智力呀,甚至乎如果嚴重喺會有性命危險嘅. .h 吓, 咁呀你記唔記得呢誒要注意啲咩生活習慣呀, 可唔可以講俾我聽呀?
Precisely he will have a yellowish face, a severe case of jaundice, ya, so if the level of bilirubin is very high, and it is not treated properly, in the case where it passes into the brain, then this will compromise his hearing abilities in the future, his cognitive abilities, if it is a serious case there will even be life-threatening risks. .h ya, so can you recall eh the living habits that require your attention, could you tell me?

4 M: 誒:: 唔可以俾佢接觸樟腦
Eh:: should not let him come into contact with camphor.

5 N: 嗱,咁樣呢其實我地可以分開幾個層次嚟到講啦,咁呀首先呢, 誒有一啲中藥 (.) 同埋有一啲西藥呢都唔適合佢嘅,咁呀所以呢我地最緊要呢自己唔好立亂俾任何既成藥佢食(.)
Nah, so actually we can divide them into several dimensions to talk about them, so first of all, eh there are certain kinds of Chinese medicine (.) and certain kinds of Western medicine which are both unsuitable for him, so therefore it is most important that we do not carelessly give him any over-the-counter drugs ourselves(.)

6 M: 喺.
Okay.

7 N: 吓,無論喺中西藥都係 啦, 因為呢,誒有陣時我地都唔知道,誒嗰啲成份啱唔啱佢食, 係咪? 咁呀所以如果佢有唔舒服,誒::真係要食藥嘅,咁媽咪你要點做呀?(.)
Ya, this applies indiscriminately to Chinese and Western medicine, because eh sometimes even we do not know, eh whether those ingredients are suitable for him or not, right? So therefore if he feels unwell, eh:: he truly requires medication, so mommy what should you do? (.)

8 M: 帶佢睇醫生囉.
Take him to see a doctor

9 N: 係啦,咁睇醫生嘅時候呢, 要有啲咩通知醫生呀?
Right, so during the consultation, what should the doctor be notified of?

10 M: 會話俾佢聽佢喺蠶豆症囉!
I will tell him that he has favism!

11 N: 喺啦,咁呀醫生開藥呢就會留意住, 唔會開啲唔啱佢食既藥俾佢啦,喺咪?
Right, so when the doctor writes his prescriptions he will bear this in mind, will not prescribe medication that is unsuitable for him, is that correct?

12 M: 喺.
Yes.

13 N: 吓, 咁我呢誒都會好似上次家姐咁樣樣呢,誒會寄番一張誒綠色既卡俾你既 (.) 吓, 咁呀個張卡呢就係證實[佢]喺有 個蠶豆症, 咁你第日同BB攞左出世紙呢, 就麻煩你寫番BB個名落去嗰張卡嗰度啦喎(.)
Ya, so I eh will do similarly as in the previous case of his elder sister, eh will mail a eh green-colored card to you (.) ya, so ah this card serves to proves that he has favism, so on another day when you have got your baby's birth certificate for him, then please put down your baby's name on the card (.)

14 M: 好.
Okay.

15 N: 吓,咁呀張卡就喺攞嚟俾你,如果BB睇醫生,攞去俾醫生睇嘅(.) 吓,咁呀唔好唔見,因為佢將來譬如話去外國都要帶埋去 啦(.)
Ya, so ah the card is given to you so that, when the baby goes to see the doctor, it can be shown to the doctor (.) ya, so do not lose it, because in the future if for example he goes abroad he has to bring it with him as well (.)

Striking about this example is the number of information elicitation questions that the nurse is employing to engage the mother with the information-delivery process (e.g. 咁你記唔記得如果有急性溶血嘅話呢, 係會有啲咩徵狀? 'so do you remember if he has acute hemolysis, what symptoms will he present?' (turn 1)). These questions, on the one hand, may be seen as the nurse's orientation to the mother's epistemic status, and her active attempts to involve the mother into co-constructing knowledge about the child's condition and ways of effectively managing it. The sequential organization of the nurse's questions and the mother's responses to them, however, also highlight the asymmetrical nature of this interaction and the nurse's construction of herself as the ultimate expert. In particular, the questions and responses follow the IRE (initiation-response-evaluation) sequence that is typical of classroom interactions (Walsh 2011). By directing the questions at the mother, the nurse – like a teacher – establishes her epistemic authority and thus constructs her identity as the knowledgeable expert who is not only in the position to provide the information but who also evaluates and affirms the mother's already existing knowledge and her epistemic status.

The nurse's epistemic authority is also evidenced in that she can choose to expand the mother's contributions. In particular, when asked what 'living habits' the mother should be aware of (turn 3), the mother responds with the information about the use of camphor (turn 4). While partially correct, this answer does not cover all precautionary measures that the mother should take. The nurse then initiates the delivery of the "missing" information, and while doing so she also organizes the information thematically (咁樣呢其實我地可以分開幾個層次嚟到講啦 'so actually we can divide them into several dimensions to talk about them' (turn 5)). The nurse's epistemic authority is also affirmed when the information-giving leads to advice-giving (e.g. turns 13 and 15). With the nurse taking over the main role, the mother's contribution to the information-giving is limited to providing responses to the nurse's questions (with some responses confined to minimal acknowledgements, e.g. in turns 6, 12 and 14) – but the mother does not initiate any information-giving herself. She thereby co-constructs the nurse as the one who has the ultimate knowledge and the expertise, which, in turn, contributes to creating the nurse's identity as the expert.

There may be a number of reasons why the nurses in these encounters assume epistemic authority despite the mothers' knowledgeable status. One reason might be that the information that is provided in the consultations is vital to the children's well-being in the future, and while the mothers may already know some of the information given during the consultations, the nurses need to ensure that this is indeed the case. During the information-giving, then, the participants engage in the active process of negotiating their epistemic statuses and authority,

with the nurses actively seeking confirmation and reassurance about the mothers' knowledge and their ability to take care of their children. In the example above this is achieved by conveying the importance with which the information should be treated through the nurse's use of a number of extreme case formulations (e.g. in turn 1), which are, however mitigated through hypothetical formulations (e.g. 如果佢地萬一接觸到 'if they ever come into contact…'). Interesting about this example is the reference term 媽咪 'mommy' (turn 7) that the nurse uses to refer to the mother. While this may be seen as rather condescending and "talking down" to the mother, it may also be an attempt to mitigate the elicitation of information and seeking confirmation of the mother's knowledge.

In contrast to Example 1 which is a consultation with a mother who cooperates and "complies" with the nurse's claims of epistemic authority, the next two examples present instances where the nurses' authority is challenged by the mothers, which leads to "struggles" over epistemic authority, and, closely related, claims about (expert professional) identities.

(2) M is a schoolteacher who has a number of students suffering from the deficiency, therefore she is "knowledgeable" about G6PD deficiency.

1 N: 好呀咁唔該晒你,吓. 你有冇聽過=
Okay then thank you very much, right. Have you ever heard of=
2 M: =我知我知.
=I know I know.
3 N: 你知嘅,吓,你喺邊度聽返嚟 ?
You are aware of it, ya, where have you learnt about it?
4 M: 因為我喺學校到做嘅=
Because I work in a school=
5 N: =哦!哦哦你=
=Oh! Oh oh you=
6 M: =知道G6PD喺蠶豆呀, 誒白花油嗰啲全部唔聞得架嘛
=know that having G6PD means that someone cannot smell fava beans, eh white flower embrocation and all their likes.
7 N: 係呀係呀,哦本身你係老師嚟嘅.
Right right, oh so you're a teacher yourself.
8 M: 喺嘞.
Right.
9 N: 所以你都有好多學生喺有呢個病,喺咪呀?
So you have plenty of students suffering from this disease, haven't you?
10 M: 喺嘞所以我知架呢啲野.
Yes that is why I am aware of this sort of things.
11 N: 你都知呢個病好普遍.
You are aware that this disease is very common.
12 M: 喺嘞.
Right.
13 N: 但喺有呢個病嘅人呢,佢本身呢都喺健康正常嘅.
But people who have this deficiency, they enjoy normal health.
14 M: 嗯.
Yes.

15 N: 吓,不過呢,循例我都要再解釋啲,俾你聽好冇? 咁就其實呢有呢個病嘅人對個BB，即係對個患者會有啲咩影響呢?
Right, but, according to the protocol, I have to explain this further to you alright? As in how does the deficiency actually affect the baby, in other words what are its impacts on the patient?

16 M: 嗯.
Okay.

17 N: 咁主要就係呢佢哋就係天生缺少一種酵素呢就喺G6PD啦, 中文呢就係叫做「葡萄糖六燐酸去氫酵素」.
So mainly this means that they are congenitally deprived of a type of enzyme which is G6PD, in Chinese it is known as "Glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase".

18 M: 嗯.
Okay.

19 N: 咁呢個酵素呢,喺嚟嚟保護我哋嘅紅血球,等佢唔好受到破壞嘅.
So this enzyme, serves to protect our red blood cells, so that they are will not be harmed.

20 M: 喺喺.
Yes yes.

21 N: 吓咁但喺如果萬一,誒有-即係缺乏呢種酵素嘅人, 佢接觸到一啲物質,好似頭先誒即係媽咪所講嘅(.)誒臭丸呀蠶豆呀,某一啲中藥呀某一啲西藥呢, 咁就會破壞嗰個紅血球呢,就會引致呢個急性溶血.
Right but if in case, eh there is-I mean for people who are deficient in this enzyme, they come into contact with certain substances, for example those which mommy has mentioned earlier (.) eh mothballs fava beans, particular kinds of Chinese medicine and particular kinds of Western medicine, they will damage their red blood cells, which will lead to acute hemolysis.

22 M: 嗯.
Okay.

23 N: 咁又如果萬一BB有急性溶血嘅話呢,咁就會好論盡啦, 因為呢,佢就會有嚴重嘅黃疸啦.
So again if in case your baby has acute hemolysis, it will get very troublesome, because, then he will suffer from a severe case of jaundice.

24 M: 嗯.
Okay.

25 N: 咁媽咪都有聽過黃疸啦喺咪呀?
So mommy you have also heard of jaundice haven't you?

26 M: 喺喺喺.
Yes yes yes.

Example 2 occurs immediately after the diagnosis delivery. The nurse's attempt to establish the mother's epistemic status with regards to G6PD deficiency (你有冇聽過 'Have you ever heard of' (turn 1)) is interrupted by the mother who states that she knows about the condition (我知我知 'I know I know' (turn 2)). This interruption itself and the repetition in the mother's response convey her strong claim of epistemic authority in this epistemic domain. The nurse acknowledges the mother's response (but *not* yet her epistemic status) and continues to inquire

about the source of the mother's knowledge. The mother's response contains not only the information about the source of her knowledge (she works in a school) but she also initiates some information about the condition and the preventative measures (turn 6), thereby taking an active epistemic stance and claiming an expert identity for herself.

However, the nurse does not immediately accept the mother's claim to epistemic authority and initiates a series of further inquiries to establish whether the mother is a teacher (turn 7); whether she has encountered many students with the condition (turn 9); whether she is aware that the condition is common (turn 11) and that people with the condition have normal health (turn 14). In this part of the interaction, the nurse "ignores" the mother's repeated attempt at establishing her epistemic stance and authority (explicitly expressed in turn 10) until after all her inquiries are addressed to her satisfaction. Like the nurse in the previous example she thereby positions herself as the ultimate source of authority and assigns herself an expert identity.

In turn 15 the nurse finally accepts the mother's epistemic claims, but drawing on her institutionally-assigned role of information provider , she continues with the information delivery (吓,不過呢,循例我都要再解釋啲,俾你聽好冇? 'Right, but, according to the protocol I have to explain this further to you alright?'), which in this case also resembles an apology. Noticeable in the nurse's explanation is specialized jargon (e.g. 佢哋就係天生缺少一種酵素呢就喺G6PD啦 'they are congenitally deprived of a type of enzyme which is G6PD'; 葡萄糖六燐酸去氫酵素 'Glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase' (turn 17)) that signal the nurse's orientation to the mother's "knowing" status, as well as establishing explicit references between her explanation and the information that the mother has mentioned earlier (turn 21). The nurse's orientation to the mother's knowledge can also be seen in the last exchange in this example. In turn 25 in her explanation of jaundice, the nurse inquires through the use of a tag question, whether the mother has heard about jaundice before. The tag question format confirms rather than questions the mother's knowledge. Interestingly, the nurse here uses the third person reference 媽咪 'mommy', thereby creating a greater gap between the mother and herself, and delineating very specific, and also different, roles of a more knowledgeable expert for herself and the mother role for the woman. This of course is in contrast to the mother's own attempts at constructing herself as a knowledgeable expert. And although the mother in her response is very assertive in confirming her epistemic claims as she repeats 喺喺喺 'yes yes yes' three times without providing any further explanations or elaborations, she nevertheless seems to accept the mother identity and as a consequence reinforces and supports the nurse's claims about her expert professional identity (which is here constructed in close relation to the mother's identity).

In the next example, the "epistemic struggle" between participants takes on a more contested form, and the identity struggle involved in the nurse's attempts to construct herself as the more knowledgeable expert is even more obvious.

(3) Zayts and Schnurr 2014: 353–354

M suffers from the deficiency herself and is thus "knowledgeable".

```
1   N:  所以, 要預防嘅話, 嗷呀:, (.) 媽咪, 頭先你講過啦有大部份嘅中藥喺唔可
        以食. 嗷呀,(.)其實呢主要就喺五種[中藥要避免].
        Therefore, in order to prevent, so:, (.) mommy, you have
        mentioned earlier that most Chinese medicine cannot be taken
        by him. So, (.) actually there are mainly five types of Chinese
        medicine to avoid.
2   M:  喺.
        Yes.
3.  N:  喺啦.  嗷呀, 你記唔記得喺邊五種呀?
        Right. So, can you recall what are these five types?
4   M:  唔記得.
        I don't remember.
5   N:  唔記得? 嗱, 嗷, 我, (.)
        You don't? Mm, so, I, (.)
6   M:  單張嗰到有無 ?
        Does the leaflet contain this information?
7   N:  單張呢有嘅, 不過, 不過如果問媽咪, 你, 你自己點樣做呀?
        The leaflet contains the information, but, but if I ask mommy,
        you, how would you yourself act?
8   M:  誒:.
        Eh:.
9   N:  即係你, 自己本人呀, 因為你知你有呢個病,  嘛?
        As in you, you yourself, because you are aware that you have
        this deficiency, right?
10  M:  我, 我, 我知道邊啲唔食得或者唔好接觸. (.)
        I, I, I know what cannot be eaten or touched. (.)
11  N:  嗷呀, 誒: 譬如, 嗱, 因為你頭先話你又唔記得咗邊啲中藥唔食得啦, 嗷樣
        如 你=
        So, eh: for example, nah, because you said earlier that you
        have again forgotten the types of Chinese medicine which cannot
        be taken, so what if you=
12  M:  =所以我咩中藥都唔食囉.
        =So I do not take any Chinese medicine.
```

This example starts with the nurse eliciting whether the mother remembers the types of Chinese medicine that her child cannot take (turns 1 and 3). This question may be taken as almost condescending considering that the mother has informed the nurse before the consultation that she has the condition herself. Similarly to Example 1, the nurse's question and formulation (嗷呀, 你記唔記得喺邊五種呀? 'So, can you recall what are these five types of medicine?' (turn 3)), which resemble classroom interaction, put the nurse in a more knowledgeable position and construct her professional identity as an expert. At the same time this formulation delegitimizes the mother's epistemic authority.

Surprisingly, in her response the mother says that she does not remember the information (turn 4) and inquires whether it is included in the information leaflet that was given to her before the consultation (turn 6). The directness with which the mother's question is formulated could reflect her active resistance to the nurse's claims for epistemic authority and the nurse's agenda of having to inform her about a condition that she already knows about and has read about in the information leaflet. In her response the mother thus delegitimizes the nurse's institutionally assigned role as information provider and also questions her claims to epistemic authority.

As the interaction progresses this "epistemic struggle" becomes more explicit when the mother continues to refuse to co-operate with the nurse by categorically stating 我, 我, 我知道邊啲唔食得或者唔好接觸. (.) 'I, I, I know what I can't eat or use. (.)' (turn 10) rather than demonstrating her knowledge of the specific substances that she (and, more importantly, her newborn baby) should not consume. However, in spite of this resistance by the mother, the nurse continues attempting to provide information to the mother, and explains her behavior (turn 11). But before she has the chance to start providing the information, the mother interrupts her with another categorical statement (所以我咩中藥都唔食囉 'So I do not take any Chinese medicine' (turn 12)). The mother thus again delegitimizes the nurse's attempt to maintain her epistemic authority and the institutionally reinforced role as a knowledgeable information provider. And rather than accepting and reinforcing the nurse's attempts to construct her professional identity as a knowledgeable expert, she undermines these attempts by refusing to take on the role of less knowledgeable mother which the nurse tries to project onto her (e.g. turn 7). In this example it thus seems as though the nurse loses the struggle over epistemic authority and thus over identity – and she does not manage to construct her professional identity as "the one who knows best/most" in this exchange.

Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter we have shown that the process of negotiating epistemic status and authority vis-à-vis a given institutional order can be a contested process in which participants question or delegitimize each others' claims. The claims about epistemic status and authority, in turn, are closely linked to attempts about constructing the specific and closely related identities of more knowledgeable expert/professional and less knowledgeable mother/lay person (for a related discussion of negotiating professional/lay boundaries in institutional interactions see Burrow, this volume).

As we have shown, this contestation also has implications for the ways in which the mother's and the nurse's identities are constructed. The identity of "nurse" is indexed (Ochs 1992) by a higher epistemic status and more epistemic authority, which is constructed in close relation to the identity of "mother" which is indexed by a lower epistemic status and less epistemic authority. However, in those examples where the mother already possesses (some of) the information that the nurse is about to deliver, this epistemic balance is challenged and so are the identities associated with the different sides of this identity pair. This becomes particularly evident in Example 2 where the mother claims the alternative identity as a knowledgeable expert for herself thereby not only challenging the nurse's claim at epistemic authority but also questioning this more traditional or standard identity pairing. As a consequence, the nurses find themselves in an identity struggle which is at the same time a struggle over epistemic status and epistemic authority. And both, the nurse and the mother, employ various discursive practices in their attempts to solve this struggle and to negotiate each other's identity and epistemic status and authority.

Among the discursive practices that the nurses employ we have noted the IRE sequences that are particularly common in classroom settings. These sequences are marked for hierarchical epistemic status and authority of the participants of an interaction. In the analyzed clinical context the presence of these classroom features may be attributed to the pedagogic component of these telephone encounters, namely educating the mothers about the condition and the preventative measures. The nurses thus assume the role of educators and elicit certain information from the mothers and evaluate their responses. However, a possible danger of implementing this pedagogic component to interactions with knowledgeable mothers is that it may be seen as questioning the mothers' knowledge, and therefore, in our data these sequences are often heavily mitigated by the nurses.

In our analysis we have also shown that although for some mothers a certain degree of prior knowledge about the G6PD and precautionary measures can be assumed, this knowledge is not an "either-or matter". That is, the knowledge is more of a gradient nature, with some mothers knowing more than others. In other words, even when the mothers have some previous knowledge about G6PD deficiency, as in our examples, this does not exclude the existence of an "epistemic imbalance" (Heritage 2012: 32) between what the mothers already know and what they need to know about their child's condition and its management. This seems to be increasingly common in healthcare encounters. As Sarangi (2005: 383) notes, with an increased level of patient literacy a new way of healthcare delivery involves "re-interpreting what patients already know and […] distilling relevant knowings from irrelevant information overload". The expressions or rather the cues

of epistemic imbalance (such as, for example, the mother's incomplete response about what 'lifestyle practices' she should be aware of in Example 1) drive these interactions forward. For the nurses this means that in these interactions with "knowledgeable" mothers they not only have to orient to the mothers' knowing status but also simultaneously assume an epistemic authority in order to attune to these cues and to establish and confirm the extent of the mothers' knowledge. As we have argued throughout, this negotiating of epistemic authority may easily turn into a "struggle" – not only over epistemic status but also over identity. These "struggles" thus become an integral part of ensuring that the main aim of these encounters, namely that the mothers have sufficient information about the condition and its management, is achieved.

There is clearly a strong link between epistemic status and identity construction, especially in a workplace context where professionals and lay people (who have different epistemic status) interact with each other, and we hope that future research will continue to explore this complex relationship and to find ways of bringing these two strands of research together.

Acknowledgement

The research reported here was fully supported by a grant from the Hong Kong Research Grants Council of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, China (project no. HKU 758211 H). We are grateful to everyone who participated in this project, and would like to thank the other members of the research team Dr. Lam Tak Sum Stephen, Dr. Lo Fai Man Ivan, Ms. Fung Shun Mei May and our research assistants Yau Hoi Ying Alice and Cheuk Kwok Wing Natalie for assistance with transcribing the data.

References

Candlin, Sally. 2011. "Changes in Professional Identities: Nursing Roles and Practices." In *Handbook of Communication in Organizations and Professions*, ed. by Christopher N. Candlin, and Srikant Sarangi, 551–570. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter Mouton. doi: 10.1515/9783110214222.551

Candlin, Christopher N., and Sally Candlin. 2007. "Nursing through Time and Space: Some Challenges to the Construct of the Community of Practice." In *The Discourse of Hospital Communication: Tracing Complexities in Contemporary Health Care Organizations*, ed. by Rick Iedema, 244–267. Basingstoke, U.K.: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Charles, Cathy, Amiram Gafni, and Tim Whelan. 1997. "Shared Decision-making in the Medical Encounter: What Does It Mean (Or It Takes At Least Two to Tango)." *Social Science and Medicine*, 44 (5): 681–692. doi: 10.1016/S0277-9536(96)00221-3

Farhud, Dariush D., and Leila Yazdanpanah. 2008. "Glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase (G6PD) deficiency". *Iranian journal of public health*, 37 (4): 1–18.

Heritage, John. 2012. "Epistemics in Action: Action Formation and Territories of Knowledge." *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 45 (1): 1–29. doi:10.1080/08351813.2012.646684

Heritage, John, and Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. "The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Assessment Sequences." *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68 (1): 15–38. doi:10.1177/019027250506800103

Ochs, Elinor. 1992. "Indexing Gender." In *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*, ed. by Alessandro Duranti, and Charles Goodwin, 335–358. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sarangi, Srikant. 2005. "The conditions and consequences of professional discourse studies." *Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 2 (3): 371–394. doi:10.1558/japl.v2i3.371

Walsh, Steve. 2011. *Exploring Classroom Discourse. Language in Action*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Zayts, Olga, and Stephanie Schnurr. 2014. "More than 'information provider' and 'counselor'. Constructing and Negotiating Roles and Identities of Nurses in Genetic Counseling Sessions." *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18 (3): 345–369. doi:10.1111/josl.12083

CHAPTER 6

Who's the expert?

Negotiating competence and authority in guided tours

Elwys De Stefani and Lorenza Mondada
KU Leuven / Universität Basel

Guided tours are a "perspicuous setting" (Garfinkel & Wieder 1992) both for the study of asymmetries in professional contexts of interaction as well as for the analysis of how participants negotiate identities, categories and expertise. At first glance, the categorial distinction between "guide" and "guided" participants appears to be clear-cut. However, analyses of video recorded tours taking place in various sites show that the taken-for-granted authority, expertise and thus identity of the "guide" is repeatedly challenged by his or her co-participants. Based on conversation analytic methods, in this chapter we focus on sequences of interaction in which the participants compete for epistemic authority. We show how such competition emerges, how participants handle it, and how it is eventually solved.

Keywords: social interaction, conversation analysis, epistemics, membership categories, guided tours

Introduction

Guided tours represent a familiar setting of interaction, which is easily recognizable. When we come across a group of people clustered around a loudly speaking person, we readily interpret the situation as a guided tour. Based on ordinary observations, guided tours can be described as an asymmetric form of interaction, where some expert professional (the "guide") interacts with people unacquainted with the surroundings and objects targeted by the visit (the "guided"). This asymmetry is often taken-for-granted, especially within discursive approaches: Guided tours are seen as epitomizing a "communicative genre" (Pierroux 2010) involving static, pre-existing institutional identities, such as "guide" (or "expert", "leader", "educator", etc.) and "guided" (or "visitors", "tourists", "students", etc.). In this

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.06des
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

chapter, we show that by interacting in specific ways, participants accomplish, display and embody these identities, which they can plainly reproduce, but also re-negotiate or subvert. In this chapter, we focus on how participants, who are supposed to act like "guided" persons, at certain moments perform actions that are routinely carried out by "guides". We also show how "guides" respond to them, thereby re-affirming and re-shaping their professional identity. By doing so, we contribute to one overarching topic of this book, which deals with the construction and negotiation of professional competence.

Our analysis builds on previous research on guided tours within conversation analysis and multimodal approaches to interaction (Stukenbrock & Birkner 2010; De Stefani 2010; Best 2012; Pitsch 2012; Mondada 2012, 2014; De Stefani & Mondada 2014). These studies have contributed to the growing literature on mobile settings of interaction (McIlvenny, Broth & Haddington 2009; De Stefani 2013; Hadddington, Mondada & Nevile 2013). We base our analysis on a corpus of 12 guided tours that we video-recorded in France, Switzerland and Italy, featuring French, Italian and English as a lingua franca, along with some regional varieties of these languages. The participants visit different kinds of locations – buildings, museums, city centers, gardens, etc. – and the composition of the groups varies, both with regard to the number of "guides" (1 or 2), and with respect to the number of "guided" persons. Before presenting the analysis, we briefly outline how conversation analysis tackles the notion of identity.

Unpacking the notion of identity

Identity has often been thought of, by common sense as well as in academic literature, as a combination of essential features that characterize a person. This view is challenged by various socio-constructivist as well as ethnomethodological and conversation analytic approaches (Garfinkel 1967; Sacks 1992), which show that identity cannot be conceptualized as a static dimension. With his *Membership Categorization Analysis*, Sacks (1972) demonstrates how interactional practices are related to the social categories that participants make relevant *in situ* in naturally occurring activities. *Membership categories* are categories people can use to describe any member of a community, such as "guide" (or, more classically, "mother", "baby", "politician", "pimp", etc.). Two related aspects are particularly relevant for this chapter: First, membership categories are frequently organized as *standardized relational pairs* (Sacks 1972) such as "parent"/"child", "doctor"/"patient" or, with regard to guided tours, "guide"/"guided" (see also Van De Mieroop & Clifton 2011). Second, by treating some individual as a member of a category (such as "guide"),

one expects that person to behave in ways related to that category, by performing *category-bound activities* (Sacks 1992). Thus, "doing being a guide" is achieved by taking the lead over a group, organizing stationary and mobile phases of the interaction, providing information, etc. – all constituting the expected professional identity of the guide – whereas "doing being a guided" involves following the guide's indications, asking questions, etc. Watson (1978) shows that membership categories make relevant certain *category-bound predicates*, i.e. features that "can conventionally be imputed on the basis of a given membership" (106). A feature typically attributed to "guides" is in-depth knowledge about topics concerning the visit. This knowledge makes them "experts", and involves a further dimension of interaction that is intensively discussed in conversation analysis: epistemics.

In social interaction, by displaying what they "know" *vs.* what they "don't know", participants shape not only their identities (e.g. as "experts" *vs.* "novices"), but also design their contributions to the ongoing activity in a way that considers the co-participants' supposed epistemic status (see Tranekjær, this volume). For example, Goodwin (1979) shows how a speaker progressively adapts his turn-in-progress to more or less "knowledgeable" and successively addressed recipients by expanding and adjusting it to them. Heritage (1984) describes *oh*-prefaced noticings as entailing a "change of state" by which a speaker displays that s/he has just received some new information. Heritage & Raymond (2005) show that by assessing an event or object, speakers claim to possess knowledge about a specific state of affairs (and are thus *K+ speakers*). Heritage (2012) further elaborates on how, in their turns-at-talk, speakers display an epistemic *stance* by formatting their action in specific ways (e.g. when using an interrogative format, speakers display a lack of knowledge and at the same time treat their recipient as being knowledgeable). This stance may (or may not) be congruent with their epistemic *status*, i.e. the rights and obligations to "know" bound to their identity (e.g. a "mother" is supposed to know her children better than her neighbor). Whilst in some cases epistemic *stance* and *status* are treated straightforwardly as being congruent, in other cases they are actively (re)negotiated, occasioning epistemic competitions among the participants (Mondada 2013; see also Zayts & Schnurr, this volume). Moreover, in institutional settings, epistemic status and stance often contribute to the local and reflexive achievement of professional expertise and identity – as the identity of the "guide" studied here.

Guided tours: "Knowledgeable guide" and "unknowing guided"?

Guided tours seem to be characterized by a clear distribution of categories, actions and knowledge. The activity appears to be structured by a "guide", who initiates and organizes the constitutive actions of the visit, such as moving from one point to the other, and stopping at relevant places, where s/he offers explanations and comments. These activities rely on and display the guide's knowledge of the places visited. Correspondingly, "guided" visitors seem to just follow the guide and perform responsive actions, such as listening and looking, thereby indexing a lack of knowledge. Although this distribution of categories, actions and knowledge seems to be predictable, our analysis shows that these aspects have to be constantly established, reproduced and renegotiated. "Guiding" is implemented through various actions, with which recipients can align, or which they can challenge and even subvert. These actions are contingently treated within interaction: A guided visitor may be an expert on some topics, or a local person in some specific place (see also the notion of *expert lay-person* in Burrow, this volume); individuals may exhibit alternative categories (e.g. "guide's colleague", "teacher", "expert", etc.), and may possibly not align with or circumvent the expected activity-format of the visit, thereby blurring the distinction between "guide" and "guided".

In this chapter we are interested in situations in which the guide's epistemic authority is challenged by a "guided" individual, who does an action displaying a K+ stance. Such occurrences shed light not only on the relation between categories (e.g. "guide"), actions (e.g. "explaining"), and epistemic status/stance (K+/K–), but also on the way in which these assumed, presupposed, ascribed relations can be challenged in interaction. More generally, our analysis highlights challenges faced by some professionals, supposed to lead other persons and display epistemic authority as part of their work.

We start by offering short illustrations of normatively expected category-bound actions of the "guided", i.e. asking questions. When asking a question, participants display a K– stance, thereby recognizing the guide's K+ status: In such cases, there is congruence between the stance (visible in the turn's interrogative format) and the status (of the "guided"). In the following fragments visitors ask the guide (Luc, a gardener) questions about plants and insects they see:[1]

1. The data is transcribed following the Jeffersonian Conventions as presented in Jefferson (2004). For the transcription of multimodal conduct we adopt the following conventions: https://franz.unibas.ch/fileadmin/franz/user_upload/redaktion/Mondada_conv_multimodality.pdf

(1) big4/ap8.35

```
1 SUZ    et ça? ces gran::des plantes là, c'est- qu'est-ce que c'est?
         and this? these bi::g plants there, it is- what is it?
2 LUC    alors ça c'est le paulownia
         well this is the paulownia
```

(2) big5/déb

```
1 POL    c'est quoi?
         what is it?
2 LUC    c'est un: un oedémère noble
         it's an: an oedemera nobilis
```

In the first turn (l. 1 of Excerpt 1 and 2) a participant ask a question that is clearly recognizable as such; moreover, s/he refers to the object of her/his inquiry either with a deictic pronoun or in generic terms. The guide, instead, provides precise names in his answers (l. 2). Such lexical choices further display the participants' epistemic stances, congruent with the status of "novice"/"expert".

However, one can also exhibit some form of knowledge when formulating a question:

(3) big3/12.55

```
1 MAX    c'est un olivier planté là?
         it is an olive tree planted there?
2 LUC    oui,
         yes,
```

(4) big3/20.43

```
1 GIS    c'est un olivier, ça?
         it is an olive tree, this?
2 LUC    non, ça c'est un chêne vert.
         no, this is a green oak tree.
```

In Excerpts 3 and 4, the questions have an interrogative prosody, but are syntactically shaped as declaratives. In addition, the speakers asking the questions name the referent in a tentative way. When using this kind of format, a guided visitor displays some knowledge, but still recognizes the guide's epistemic superiority, notably by requesting confirmation. In his/her response, the guide can either confirm the guided's K+ stance (Excerpt 3), or invalidate it (Excerpt 4). Excerpts 3 and 4 show that participants can calibrate their epistemic stances in a gradual way. This suggests that the description of epistemic stance in terms of a binary opposition (K+ *vs.* K–) is insufficient.

In the remainder of this chapter we focus on incongruences between participants' epistemic status and epistemic stance. Although there is a normative expectation regarding who displays what kind of stance (K+ for the guide, K– for

the guided), in this chapter we look at cases in which these polarities are inversed, discussing two sequential *loci* where some guided participant can display a K+ stance: *first positions* – i.e. when initiating a sequence (see Excerpts 3–4) –, and *second positions* – i.e. when producing a responsive action.

Claiming knowledge in first position

In this section, we discuss cases in which a guided person does an action in first position, thereby initiating a new sequence, and at the same time adopting a K+ stance with respect to the guide. In Excerpt 5, the guide (Nina) has just ended a long explanation and is now inviting the group of adult visitors to move on (l. 1–3). In this transition, a visitor (Rosa) initiates a private interaction with the guide about a monastery:

(5) 92222vgadA11 (60:32–60:47)

```
 1 NIN    ((...)) .hh (.) *adesso (.) *andiamo un po' più avanti così
          ((...)) .hh (.)   now   (.)   we go  a bit   further  so that
                          *...........*walks-->>
 2        vi faccio vedere anche cos'altro resta .h di queste- .h di
          I will show you  also  what else remains .h of these- .h of
 3        questa fase monastica de[ll'insediamento.
          this monastic phase  of [the settlement.
 4 ROS ⇒                          [e il monastero:: (quello delle
                                  [and the monastery:: (the one with
 5     ⇒ indulgenze) è sempre basiliano.
          the indulgences) is also Basilian.
 6        (0.8)
 7 NIN    əh: no.
          er: no.
 8 ROS    no.
          no.
 9        (0.3)
10 NIN    non è basiliano.
          it isn't Basilian.
11        (2.5)
```

Rosa, who is walking next to the guide, initiates a first action in overlap with the end of the guide's turn (l. 4). She shapes her turn as doing some sort of topical continuation, as the turn-initial *e* ('and') shows. The turn has a declarative format, conveying a K+ stance: Rosa displays knowledge related to a topic (Basilian monasteries) that Nina had previously discussed. However, her contribution is not just a statement; it rather projects a response from the guide.[2] Nina denies

2. Stivers (2010) describes such declarative questions (for English) as typically used in confirmation requests.

confirmation by responding with a negation (l. 7), which she later reformulates as 'it isn't Basilian' (l. 10). Thereby, she invalidates Rosa's K+ claim and at the same time reaffirms her own epistemic status.

In other cases, in response to a guided's K+ claim, a guide may do a K– action. During a visit of an exhibit about Ötzi the Iceman,[3] the guide (Valeria) explains that Ötzi carried with him a fungus that grows on birch trees and that he used as 'an antibiotic' (l. 1). At the end of her explanation, some of the guided address questions to the guide:

(6) 9135vgA11 (53:41–53:49)

```
1 VAL    ecco era (.) un antibiotico.
         so it was (.) an antibiotic.
2        (0.6)
3 GIN ⇒  e i tira mia [föra l'aʃpirina  [dala betùa.
         and don't they [extract aspirin from [the birch tree.
4 ANN                  [e come  ha     fa[tto a (ri)salire fino a ( [   .)
                       [and how did it ma[nage to go up until     ( [   .)
5 VAL                                     [che r:o-                  [eh?
                                          [what a-                   [huh?
6 GIN    dala betùa i tira mia föra l'aʃpiri[na?
         from the birch tree don't they extract aspi[rin?
7 VAL                                               [può dass a so mia.
                                                    [it's possible I don't know.
```

At l. 3 Gina initiates a turn in a way similar to what we observed in Excerpt 5: She starts with *e* ('and'), displaying some topical continuity, which is also visible in her use of *betùa* ('birch tree'), a word the guide has just used (not shown). Gina thereby accomplishes a change in the participation framework, also achieved through code-switching: Whereas the guide uses standard Italian when addressing the group, Gina uses a variety of a regional dialect, Lombard (l. 3) (on multilingual practices see Franziskus, this volume). Gina's action can be described as a confirmation request by which she further develops the "medical" gist of the guide's explanation. She displays knowledge by raising the possibility that aspirin is extracted from birch trees (l. 3). Valeria responds with a repair initiator ('huh?' l. 5), prompting Gina to reformulate her question, this time with an interrogative prosody (l. 6). Contrasting with the previous excerpt, Valeria answers with a clear display of a K– stance (l. 7).

More elaborate responses to a guided's exhibition of a K+ stance may also occur, as in Excerpt 7. During the visit of a garden, Gisèle approaches the guide (Luc, the gardener) and shows him on her digital camera a picture she just took of some insects:

3. Ötzi is the name of a natural mummy believed to have lived in Europe in the 4th millennium BC.

(7) Jardivis BIG5/13.14 accouplement

```
 1 GIS ⇒ y avait un accouplement là de:: ↑mais on voit pas c'est:
         there was a   mating there of:: ↑but you don't see it it's:
 2       c'est au soleil, [(voyez)?
         it's in the sun, [(you see)?
 3 LUC                    [.h
 4       (0.9)
 5 GIS   j'viens d'le faire [là.
         I've just made it  [there.
 6 LUC                      [oui, mais c'est- c'est pas un accouplement.
                            [yes, but  it's-  it's  not a   mating.
 7 GIS   uh là.
         oh dear.
 8 LUC   parce que ce sont des juvéni:les.
         because  these are    juveni:les.
 9       (0.2)
10 LUC   ce sont deux punaises vert[es.
         these are two green     bu[gs.
11 GIS                              [a:h
                                    [o:h
12 LUC   alors quand elles sont jeunes, (.) .h elles ont ces coloris là.
         so    when  they  are  young,  (.) .h they  have these hues there.
13       (0.3)
14 GIS   [ah d'acc[ord
         [oh    ok[ay
15 LUC   [.h      [et:: alo- alors elles ont différents stades.
         [.h      [and:: s-  so    they  have different stages.
16       .h celle que vous voyez là verte, el- elle est au dernier
         .h the one that you see there green, it- it is in the last
17       stade de de de de vie,  [les autres sont beaucoup plus&
         stage of of of of life, [the others are           much&
18 GIS                           [d'accord
                                 [okay
19 LUC   &jeunes. .h mais >c'est pas un accouplement.< elles sont
         &younger. .h but >it's  not a  mating.<       they  are
20       tro:p ↑trop jeunes.
         to:o  ↑too  young.
21 GIS   a:h d'ac[cord
         o:h   ok[ay
22 LUC           [par contre quand e- et en ↑plus quand elles
                 [on the other hand when e- and what's ↑more when they
23       s'accouplent, (0.2) c'est dos à dos.
         mate,         (0.2) it's back to back.
24       (0.5)
25 GIS   ah oui parce que là elles sont trois [(là) on voit] rien
         oh yes because there they are three  [(there) you see] nothing
26 LUC                                        [là elles sont:]
                                              [there they are:]
27       voilà. .h elles s'[accoup-
         that's it. .h they m[at-
28 GIS                      [elles sont trois, et puis elles ont
                            [they are three,  and then they have
```

```
29        la tête en l'air.
          the head in the air.
30 LUC    voilà.
          that's it.
31        (0.5)
32 LUC    là elles sont accouplées comme les cocci↑nelles:. ↑euh.
          there they are mated     like  the lady↑birds:    ↑er.
33 GIS    d'accord [(     )
          okay     [(     )
34 LUC             [l'un sur l'autre, et le- la la punaise >c'est
                   [one above the other, and th- the the bug >it's
35        dos à dos.<
          back to back.<
36 GIS    dos à dos, d'a[ccord
          back to back, o[kay
37 LUC                  [voilà. (.) hunhunhun .h ça- ça- ça n'sert à
                        [that's it. (.) hunhunhun .h that- that- that's
38        rien de le savoir, mais bon. ha↑ ha↓ [ha↓ .h
          useless to know,   but well. ha↑ ha↓ [ha↓ .h
```

Gisèle's initial turn (l. 1–2) exhibits a form of epistemic access: She has spotted the activity of two insects as noticeable, she has taken a photo, and she describes what they do as an *accouplement* ('mating' l. 1); moreover, she formulates her noticing with a presentative construction (*y avait un N* 'there was an N'). But she also leaves her turn referentially incomplete, by not specifying "who" is mating (*de::* 'of::' l. 1), and further relativizes her statement by mentioning difficult light conditions.

Luc looks at the camera display: His response (l. 6) is initially positive ('yes,'), but is immediately followed by a rejection of the term that Gisèle used ('but it's- it's not a mating.'). Gisèle's putative epistemic claim is thus rejected and she seems to orient to that with her response cry (l. 7), prompting Luc to elaborate: He gives an account (beginning with 'because' l. 8) and, not receiving any response (l. 9), he further expands it (l. 10), while, in overlap, Gisèle exhibits a change of state (l. 11). Subsequently, Luc provides an explanation of the insects' color (l. 12), and then infers their age (l. 15–19). All of these elements build an account of why the scene Gisèle has captured is not a mating: In l. 19–20 Luc thus invalidates again the term *accouplement* 'mating'. He then formulates an additional piece of knowledge – concerning the particular position bugs adopt when mating – about features that are *not* visible in the picture (l. 22–23), thereby exhibiting his expertise. At this point, he gets a response from Gisèle, who displays her recognition of what she now sees as *not* being a mating: She produces a further account for that by mentioning the number of participants to the action ('they are three,' l. 25) and gives an alternative description of their position (l. 28–29).

Luc now uses the term he had previously rejected (*accouplement* 'mating' l. 27, l. 32) for describing the actual position of the bugs: The insects captured by Gisèle are adopting the mating position of ladybirds (one on top of the other) and not

the one of bugs (back to back). Gisèle repeats the latter description (l. 36), which Luc finally confirms. Luc closes the sequence by formulating the epistemic issue at hand, although jokingly minimizing the usefulness of that knowledge (l. 37–38).

Unlike Excerpt 4, in this fragment the epistemic claim of the guided is not just rejected: The expert elaborates on it until the guided affiliates with the referent's re-description; he also volunteers additional pieces of evidence about it. At that point, he even uses the term he initially considered as improper for a comparison. Hence, epistemic claims are not just accepted or rebutted, rather, they are the basis on which a common experience is negotiated.

Claiming knowledge in second position

Guided participants may display their knowledge in second position too, i.e. in response to a previous action of the guide. They achieve this through practices typically involving the continuation of the guide's ongoing or just completed action.

Two features are important: a) The *format* of the second turn – which may continue in a way that either aligns with the emergent form, or disaligns and contrasts with it; and b) the *temporality* of its production – either latched to the previous action (which it extends), or in overlap with it. Such second actions are recurrently treated as displaying collaboration and competition at the same time.

Guided participants responding to the guide's emerging projections

When guides provide explanations about an object of interest, they produce long, multi-unit turns. Turns-in-progress constantly project how they possibly continue, and this allows guided participants to anticipate their emergent unfolding and possible completion. Projections occasion a set of possible next actions: A guided participant may (a) complete a guide's turn-in-progress, especially in moments of hesitation or word search; (b) complete a turn-in-progress in early position or in overlap, thereby simultaneously complementing and competing with it; (c) exploit the emerging projections and offer a turn continuation that manifestly competes with the guide's turn-so-far. By seizing these emergent opportunities, the guided participants can claim some form of knowledge, and even an epistemic superiority with respect to the guide.

Completion of recognizably "incomplete" turns

For guided participants, one opportunity to display knowledge consists in completing a guide's recognizably incomplete turn, typically when the guide is searching for a word. In Excerpt 8 the guide (Nina), who is addressing a group of schoolchildren, evokes a legend concerning Ferdinand IV, sovereign of the Kingdom of Naples in the 18th century:

(8) 9202vg2A21b (00:11–00:20)

```
1 NIN    sapete che:: c'è una leggenda che (c'ha) uno dei re di napoli,
         you know tha::t there's a legend which (has) one of the kings of Naples,
2        ferdinando quarto, (0.4) che amava vestirsi da:::
         Ferdinand the fourth, (0.4) who loved dressing a:::s
3        (0.2)
4 GIA ⇒  popolano?
         a commoner?
5 NIN    da popolano, e andare in giro per:^[əh:::
         as a commoner, and hang around in:^[er:::
```

Nina introduces her narration with 'you know tha::t' (l. 1), thus treating the pupils as possibly "knowing." However, the fact that she relates the legend about Ferdinand IV reconfirms her K+ and the pupils' K– status. At a certain point, Nina encounters formulation problems, visible in the lengthening of *da:::* ('a:::s' l. 2) and in the subsequent pause. One participant offers a candidate solution for what becomes apparent as a word search. Gianni's *popolano?* ('a commoner?' l. 4) is syntactically fitted to Nina's turn and she immediately ratifies and integrates the candidate solution in her turn-in-progress ('as a commoner,' l. 5). Word searches thus provide the guided with an opportunity to display their knowledge without challenging the guide's epistemic authority.

Something similar happens in the following excerpt, where a group is visiting a site of architectural interest: The guide (Jean) is commenting on the global structure of a garden:

(9) archivis 3/1.17 couper

```
1 JEA    l'problème, c'est que les jardiniers ont dû euh
         the problem, is that the gardeners had to er
2        (0.2)
3 SOP ⇒  couper, hein.
         cut, huh.
4        (0.1)
5 JEA    bah: euh: oui, de:- euh transplanter: [les arbres
         well: er: yes, to:- er transplant:    [the trees
```

Jean states a problem (l. 1) in the form of a pseudo-cleft. After having uttered the modal verb, which projects that an infinitive verbal form is coming up, he hesitates (*euh* 'er' l. 1), making visible that he is searching for a word. Sophie offers the candidate solution *couper* ('cut' l. 3) and adds the final particle (*hein.* 'huh.'), thereby addressing Jean and checking the adequacy of the word. By so doing, she claims some knowledge about the matter at hand, but also recognizes Jean as the epistemic authority. Jean accepts her proposal, but does so with a slight delay and dispreferred particles, hence continuing his turn with another infinitive verb, *transplanter:* ('transplant:' l. 5). Sophie's epistemic claim is both recognized and rejected through the correction of her candidate solution.

Early completion in overlap

Guided participants may exploit the emerging projections of a turn-in-progress by intervening in the midst of the guide's explanation, as in the subsequent excerpt. The group of schoolchildren is standing in front of *Castel dell'Ovo*, a seaside castle in the Gulf of Naples. The guide (Nina) has just asked them to look for differences and similarities with other castles they have seen. A common consensus is reached: For certain aspects it reminds another castle, *Maschio Angioino* (l. 1). Then the guide details the castle's characteristics:

(10) 9202vg2Al la (90:53–91:12)

```
 1 NIN    ((...)) quindi è tipo maschio angioino e cioè (0.7) fatto
          ((...))  so it's like Maschio Angioino and namely (0.7) made
 2        con^əh quattro torri (0.3) anche cinque (.) əh::^l- (.)
          with^er four  towers (0.3) even   five  (.) er::^th- (.)
 3        ai lati (0.4) mh? poi ci sono:: le murature (.) l'ingresso
          on the sides (0.4) hm? then there i::s the brickwork (.) the
 4        monumentale con [il fossato tutto intor-
          monumental entrance with [the moat all arou-
 5 CAR ⇒                   [i merletti.
                           [the laces.
 6 NIN    i merletti?
          the laces?
 7        (0.5)
 8 CLASS  ((collective laughter))
 9 MAR    əh:::::: ((name)) (.) [non (    ) sono i merletti.
          er:::::: ((name)) (.) [not (    ) are the laces.
10 NIN                          [i merli.
                                [the merlons.
11 CAR    ah i merli.=
          oh the merlons.=
12 NIN    =i me[rli
          =the me[rlons
13 CAR         [(    )
```

Nina is producing a list of characteristic referents (l. 2–4), linguistically formatted as noun phrases. While she is doing so, one of the schoolchildren (Carlo) introduces a further referent in overlap: *i merletti.* ('the laces.' l. 5). Carlo's contribution is syntactically fitted to Nina's turn, in that it occurs precisely after Nina has uttered the conjunction *con* 'with' (l. 4), which projects a noun phrase. Nina interrupts her turn-in-progress (l. 4) and repeats what Carlo just said with an interrogative intonation (l. 6). The other participants treat this as a laughable (l. 8) and produce several comments about the term *merletti* (although only one boy's utterance is understandable; l. 9). Nina then does a repair by introducing what she presents as the alternative appropriate term, namely *i merli.* 'the merlons.' (l. 10). Carlo repeats the correct word prefaced by an *ah*-receipt, thereby both ratifying Nina's correction and displaying recipiency of new knowledge (l. 11).

Thus, Nina explicitly corrects the "wrong" term (*merletti*) that is formally close to the "correct" one (*merli*), but which has a different meaning ('laces' *vs.* 'merlons'). She accomplishes her correction in a straightforward way, without any hesitation, hedges or other additional wording. By doing so, she not only overtly exhibits her epistemic authority, but she also treats Carlo, as an individual who can be bluntly corrected – in other words, as a "schoolboy".

Exploiting ongoing projections: Competing continuations of the guide's turn

Projections emanating from the guide's emerging turn may provide opportunities to produce local completions (Excerpts 8–10). But guided participants may also exploit them to produce more extended continuations, thereby manifestly competing with the guide's ongoing action. This is visible in the subsequent excerpt, where the same schoolchildren are still visiting *Castel dell'Ovo*. Nina is explaining that the last Emperor of Rome, Romulus Augustulus, was kept captive there after his deposition.

(11) 9202vg2Alla (107:06–107:40)

```
1 NIN   ((...)) .h ecco perché (.) è stato anche impiegato- (.)
        ((...)) .h this is why (.) it has also been used- (.)
2       verso la fine dell'impero romano .h per^əh əh:::m:: (0.7)
        towards the end of the Roman Empire .h for^er er:::m:: (0.7)
3       'tk imprigionarvi əh:: l'ultimo imperatore, (0.2) .h romolo
        'tk imprisoning er:: the last Emperor, (0.2) .h Romulus
4       augustolo (.) così dicono le fonti. (.) .h sapete no?
        Augustulus (.) such say the sources. (.) .h you know don't you?
5       l'ultimo imperato:re di ro:ma [.hh
        the last Empero:r    of Ro:me [.hh
6 LIS                                 [sì: che [(   )
                                      [yes: who [(   )
```

```
 7 SOF                                   [°°ˇə- əh:[:°°
                                         [°°er- er:[:°°
 8 NIN                                             [romolo augustolo
                                                   [Romulus Augustulus
 9        (0.3)
10 BEA ⇒  [(che fa-)
          [(who does-)
11 NIN    [.h det[to scherzosamente
          [.h cal[led jokingly
12 SOF ⇒         ['tk deposto ned- ((cough)) quattrocentosettantasei
                 ['tk deposed id- ((cough)) four hundred seventy six
13        dopo cri[sto.
          anno domini.
14 CLASS           [((collective "wow"))
15 NIN    sì.
          yes.
16        (0.8)
17 SAR    dopo la fon[dazione:-
          after the foun[dation:-
18 SOF               [quindi non::- c'abbiamo ancora di [tempo per&
                     [so we don't::- we still have some [time to&
19 NIN                                                  [.h
                                                        [.h
20 SOF    &arri[varci.=
          &get [there.=
21 NIN         [sì.   =sì.
               [yes.  =yes.
22 NIN    .h fu: deposto da odoacre, .h [e con questa data si&
          .h he has been deposed by Odoacer, .h [and with this date is
23 SOF                                  [°mhm°
                                        [°mhm°
24 NIN    &pone proprio la fine dell'impero romano d'occidente. ((...))
          &set actually the end of the Western Roman Empire. ((...))
```

Shortly after having mentioned the last Emperor of Rome (l. 3–4), Nina presents this information as something the schoolchildren should know ('you know don't you?' l. 4). She gets a positive response by (at least) one participant (l. 6), while the teacher (Sofia) produces some non-lexical items, thereby positioning herself as a possible next speaker (l. 7). Nina repeats the Emperor's name, this time emphasizing some syllables (l. 8). Several participants treat the end of this reformulation as a transition relevance place: After a pause, one schoolgirl self-selects (l. 10) but abandons her turn due to Nina's overlapping increment (*detto scherzosamente* 'called jokingly' l. 11). Sofia also comes in in overlap, by adopting the same grammatical resource as Nina to create syntactic dependence from Nina's previous turn, namely a past participle (*deposto* 'deposed' l. 12). However, the information she adds is very different from what Nina was about to say: She mentions the year in which the last Emperor of Rome was deposed (476 AD; l. 12–13). The teacher displays here additional knowledge and thereby acts out her epistemic status. Sofia gets a collective response from the schoolchildren (l. 14), whereas Nina ratifies the

information with *sì*. ('yes.' l. 15), acknowledging the teacher's epistemic status. After a short pause, one schoolgirl engages in further developing the topic (l. 17), but is overlapped by Sofia, who relates the information that she just gave to the curriculum she teaches ('we still have some time to get there.' l. 18–20). In this way, she treats that information as relevant not only with regard to the guided tour, but also to what the class will study in the future. The epistemic stance she displays is conveyed as a means to construct her identity as the "pupils' teacher". Nina adds further historical comments on Sofia's contribution (l. 22–24): She thereby manages not only to reinstall her epistemic authority but also to reaffirm her role as the "guide" of the group, who is in charge of the tour's progressivity.

This excerpt shows how two K+ participants (the guide and the teacher) display their knowledge, and acknowledge each other's knowledge. Interestingly, the schoolchildren respond in different ways to their actions: With regard to the guide, some pupils respond by launching possible turn continuations (l. 7, 10), whereas the teacher gets a maximal response with a collective "wow" (l. 14). These differentiated responses contribute to constructing and modulating the relevant identities of the K+ participants. Explanations given by the guide are less responded to: This is just what the guide is supposed to do. Explanations provided by the teacher are more responded to: They are treated as astounding and pupils assign them a relevance that goes beyond the guided tour, as class-relevant.

In Excerpt 12, a question coming from a visitor is first answered by the guide (Ginette), and subsequently, on the basis of a projected syntactic continuation, by another co-participant (Ann), who engages in an open competition with the guide. The excerpt is taken from a video recording of a group visiting a market street in Paris. Ann is an American who has been living in France for some time and who has already been Ginette's trainee in the past. The group is looking at green asparagus in a vegetable shop. Ginette has just explained that she grew up with white asparagus, whereas green asparagus came on the market later. At a certain point, one visitor, Mary, asks whether white and green asparagus taste different:

(12) cook_mob4–1.43 asparagus

```
 1 MAR    do they taste this different?
 2 GIN    mm not really. i mean i would-=
 3 ANN ⇒ =E:::H [I would say a little bit more [subtle
 4 GIN           [the white is more             [subtle voilà.
                                                        that's it.
 5 ANN    yeah ex[actly
 6 GIN           [voilà. the white is much more subtle
                 [that's it.
 7 MAR    mhm
 8 GIN    voilà.
          that's it.
```

Ginette's first answer (l. 2) to Mary's question (l. 1) is negative and relativizes the difference between the two kinds of asparagus. Ann starts elaborating on it, with a modal verb (*I would-*) projecting an infinitive. She prefaces her turn with a loud stretched sound (l. 3) that projects disagreement, thereby exhibiting a strong epistemic access to the matter at hand. She formulates her disagreeing position by using the same modal verb as the previous speaker (*I would say* l. 3), while Ginette revises her own answer in overlap. Both speakers adjust to each other in a way to concurrently produce a final assessment: Indeed, they simultaneously utter the lexical item *subtle* (l. 3–4). In this way, Ginette strongly reaffiliates with Ann, and this affiliation culminates in the expression of a shared understanding and taste (Goodwin & Goodwin 1987), whereby she radically changes her initial assessment. Both participants continue their turns with agreeing particles: Ann with *yeah exactly* (l. 5), Ginette by uttering twice the particle *voilà* 'that's it' (l. 4, l. 6), the second time precisely after Ann's turn completion. In this way, the two participants compete not only for the production of the assessment, but also for the closing of the sequence. Thanks to the finely timed positioning of her agreement tokens, Ginette is the last speaker to close the sequence; moreover, she manages to produce a final version of the answer, fully in the clear, with an upgraded assessment (*much more subtle* l. 6). Thus, she finally claims her epistemic superiority and her control over the sequence.

Continuing after the end of a sequence initiated by the guide

The completion of the guide's explanation opens up a slot for the guided to expand the sequence. This can be done through responsive actions but also through actions that continue previous ones – either aligning or competing with the guide.

In Excerpt 13 it is again Mary who asks a question to the guide (Ginette) about the difference between two homemade charcuteries spotted in a butcher's window, *rillettes* and *terrines*:

(13) cook-mob3_l3_10_terrineVSrillette.mov

```
 1 GIN    so: *it's something very:*:
              *spreading gesture---*
 2         (0.5)
 3 MAR    s[pread(ful)]
 4 GIN     [shredded,] (.) shredded? (.) hum?
 5 MAR    +spread?+
          +faster spreading gest+
 6        +(0.6)
   mar    +spreading gest->
 7 MAR    sprea[d like a [hum
```

```
 8 GIN        [( )      [yeah, you sp- rille[ttes you spr+ead. voilà.
                                                            that's it.
 9 ANN                                        [(   )
   mar                                                  --->+
10 GIN    [(  )
11 ANN ⇒ [and it has like pieces in [it. like a terrine&
12 MAR                              [oh
13        &is [ve:ry  [spreadable.
14 GIN        [voilà. [voilà.
              [that's it. [that's it.
15 ANN    and it's very smooth, [whereas rillettes has [a lot of (  ) in it
16 GIN                          [voilà                 [mais pas celle-là
                                [that's it             [but not that one
17        pas la terrine de lapin hein. [I I don't spread la t-
          not the rabbit terrine huh.
18 ANN                                  [ah oui:, non mais les terrines
                                        [oh yes:, no but the terrines
19        eh [oui °(  )°
          er [yes °(  )°
```

Ginette is engaged in an elaborate description of *rillettes*. At l. 1 she introduces a further descriptor, thereby projecting an adjective as the searched for item. Ginette and Mary utter some possible lexical candidates in overlap (l. 2–3), producing them with an interrogative prosody and mutually displaying their uncertainty. Ginette initiates a "spreading gesture" in line 1, as soon as the searched for form is projected; Mary repeats the same gesture several times while searching for the word and proposing the candidate solution *spread* (l. 5, l. 7). Being a verb, this item does not comply with the syntactic trajectory projected by Ginette's initial turn (l. 1), but Ginette finally accepts and uses it (l. 8), thus closing the sequence with the final particle *voilà*. At this point, Ann, another member of the group, re-opens the sequence, thereby further expanding Ginette's description with an *and*-prefaced turn (l. 11) referring to *terrines* as being *ve:ry spreadable*. (l. 13). Ginette confirms in overlap (l. 14) and Ann continues, again with an *and*-prefaced turn (l. 15), which is once more confirmed by Ginette's *voilà* (l. 16). However, Ginette now no longer agrees: She introduces a disjoint turn with the connective *mais* ('but' l. 16), thereby rebutting Ann's description. Note that Ginette temporarily switches to French, and that Ann aligns with this language choice in her subsequent turn (l. 18–19). This language change exhibits the transition from a sequence in which both were responding to Mary and providing some information to her, to a sequence in which they argue with each other. Ann's display of knowledge is first acknowledged and accepted, then rejected. In her rejection, Ginette prosodically emphasizes the negation particle *pas* ('not' l. 16), while referring to a more specific object, visible in the window: She is no longer speaking of *terrine* in general but more specifically of 'rabbit terrine' (l. 16–17). In sum, sequence completions

constitute an interesting sequential position that guided participants can exploit to display epistemic autonomy, thereby making visible competing "territories of knowledge" (Heritage 2012). This can have as a consequence a radical change of the activity and the participation framework, with the participants turning away from current actions and recipients, and engaging in an epistemic fight.

A similar situation occurs in the following excerpt, where the guide (Nina) is explaining to a school class the functioning of medieval siege towers. She compares these towers to 25-meter high wooden constructions (called *gigli* 'lilies') that the men of the nearby city of Nola carry through the city during an annual festival:

(14) 9202vg2Alla (80:27–81:20)

```
 1 NIN    ((...)) prima (0.4) vi cost- vi costruivano delle torri di
          ((...)) earlier (0.4) they buil- they built there wooden
 2        legno, (0.5) ((swallows)) le cosiddette pile, (0.3) .h
          towers, (0.5) ((swallows)) the so-called belfries, (0.3) .h
 3        dove (0.2) le guardie, (0.3) °a-° salivano- avete presente i
          where (0.2) the guards, (0.3) °a-° climbed- do you know the
 4        gigli di nola?
          lilies of Nola?
 5        (1.3)
 6 NIN    i gigli?
          the lilies?
 7 CLASS  ((expressions of not knowing by some schoolchildren; 0.6))
 8 NIN    sono questi enormi:[:::
          that's these enormous:[:::
 9 SUS                        [ah sì
                              [oh yes
10 PAT    io sono (andata) (   [   )
          I       (went)   (   [   )
11 NIN                        [ceri altissimi aeh con l'impalcatura
                              [very high candles er with wooden
12        di legno. (.) ecco loro (.) costruivano queste pile, .h che
          scaffolding. (.) okay they (.) built these belfries, .h that
13        sono delle impalcature di legno, .hh e non facevano altro che
          are         wooden scaffoldings, .hh and they did no more than
14        correre a velocità (0.3) impressionante, dove^al di sotto
          running with impressive (0.3) speed,     where   below
15        c'erano tantissimi soldati che trascinavano questa pila di::
          there were many   soldiers who   dragged    this belfry of::
16        di: di legno, .h e poi la^agganciavano alla [torre quadrata.
          of: of wood,  .h and then they attached it to the square tower.
17 SOF                                                [((clears throat))
18        (0.3)
19 SOF ⇒  ∫cus[ami tuttora^a no- a nola quando fanno i gi[gli, .hh&
          sor[ry even now in No- in Nola when they do the li[lies, .hh&
20 NIN       [perché,
             [(why;because),
21 LOR                                                    [le feste sì.
                                                          [the celebrations yes.
```

```
22 SOF   &əh:: vengono traʃportate queste stru[tture da uomini.
         &er:: these structures are       car[ried  by   men.
23 NIN                                        [sulle spalle.
                                              [on the shoulders.
24 NIN   mhm.
         mhm.
25 SOF   per əh- un atto di fede^eh?
         as  er- an act  of faith huh?
26       (0.4)
27 SOF   ques[ta è la moti[vazione.
           th[is is the moti[vation.
28 NIN       [sì.
             [yes.
29 ALD                     [conservare la tradizione.
                           [to preserve the tradition.
30 NIN   qui il [motivo è un pochino diverso.
         here the [reason is a little bit different.
31 SOF          [anzi è^n un atto religioso.
                [in fact it's a religious act.
32 NIN   .h qui il motivo è un tantinello diverso perché
         .h here the reason is a tiny bit different because
33       naturalmente la torre quadrata .h senza polvere da sparo
         naturally    the square tower  .h without   gunpowder
34       quindi ((...))
         thus ((...))
```

In the midst of her explanation about how siege towers were used in medieval times, Nina addresses a question to her audience about the lilies of Nola, thereby initiating a *side sequence* (Jefferson 1972). By asking the schoolchildren whether they 'know' (l. 3) the lilies of Nola – a city of the province of Naples – she makes relevant their identity as "Neapolitans" and refers to a local tradition that is possibly familiar to Neapolitans. Whereas initially the schoolchildren display a K– stance with regard to this issue (l. 7), this changes as soon as Nina starts providing a description of the 'lilies' (l. 8). One of the pupils formulates an *ah*-receipt displaying her shift towards being a knowledgeable participant, whereas another schoolgirl provides evidence of personal experience (l. 10). Nina thus ends her description of the 'lilies' (l. 11–12,), and goes back to her previous activity, i.e. the description of the wooden siege towers (l. 12–16).

As the explanation sequence comes to a possible end, the teacher (Sofia) self-selects: She first clears her throat in overlap with Nina's turn end (l. 17), and then (l. 19) initiates her turn with an apologetic term ('sorry'), by which she exhibits her intervention as 'misplaced'. Her contribution comes about at a transition relevance place, where turn transition is legitimately possible. With regard to the topical organization, Sofia can be seen to further develop the topic that had been treated within the side sequence (l. 3–12). Thus, Sofia accomplishes a "topical backlinking" (De Stefani & Horlacher 2008) to a preceding moment of the interaction. By offering supplementary information (the lilies of Nola are still carried by men), Sofia links

a currently witnessable event to the historical information Nina provided about medieval siege towers, namely that they were dragged by soldiers (l. 15). Sofia thus develops the comparison that Nina had initiated, thereby strongly displaying a K+ stance. This display does not remain unchallenged. Nina responds by completing Sofia's turn-in-progress in overlap (l. 22): She utters the candidate ending *sulle spalle.* ('on the shoulders.' l. 23), which is syntactically attached to Sofia's *vengono traſportate* ('are carried'). The collaborative, uninvited completion of Sofia's turn-in-progress is one way in which Nina manages to exhibit that she is equally knowledgeable as Sofia. Sofia then provides even further information about the men who carry the lilies of Nola, stating that they do it as 'an act of faith' (l. 25). Moreover, she ends her explanation with a final assertion ('this is the motivation.' l. 27), exhibiting what she just said as an irrefutable 'fact'. Sofia here strongly displays a K+ stance. Nina responds with an agreeing 'yes.' (l. 28), but then adds that 'here the reason is a little bit different.' (l. 30): She not only treats Sofia's argument as not relevant for the issue at hand, but she also keeps holding up her own K+ stance. Her turn gets overlapped by Sofia, who further specifies her point (l. 31). Nina recasts her turn clear of overlap (l. 32) – notably with a reformulation of *un pochino* ('a little bit') as *un tantinello* ('a tiny bit') – and this time definitively resumes her explanation about the siege towers, putting their concurrent exchange to an end.

This excerpt shows how competition between two participants claiming independent, complementary, and superior epistemic authority might develop turn by turn over long stretches of talk. It also shows the resources they mobilize to extend, enrich and transform the initial K+ actions, as well as their practices for moving out of competition. This demonstrates the intricacy between epistemic, identity and sequential issues: Displaying knowledge is a way of exhibiting one's relevant identity. It also entails specific rights and obligations relative to sequence organization, e.g. as to who is doing the closing. In the following section we focus precisely on these issues.

Competing for the right to extend the explanation

In the previous sections we have shown how various sequential positions can successively provide the guided participants with occasions for completing, continuing, and expanding the guide's previous 'knowledgeable' action. By doing so, participants both contribute to it but also compete with it, through the display of an autonomous and sometimes superior epistemic stance. With the last excerpt, we show how epistemic claims are intertwined with claims relative to the right not only to contribute to a sequence but also to close it. In sequence-closing environments, 'having the last word' about some matter retrospectively exhibits epistemic and social responsibility with regard to the entire sequence.

Luc, the gardener and guide, is defending a leading principle of garden management: Plants are not grown for the pleasure of humans, but for the needs of the animals living in the garden. Jean, who is responsible for the cultural activities on the site the group is visiting, builds on Luc's description, engaging in "co-guiding" and generating practical problems for Luc, who struggles to hold and reaffirm his control and management of the visit. This episode involves in a crucial way the co-participants' embodied movements and positionings within changing participation frameworks. We join the action as Luc is explaining the philosophy of the garden while he is turned towards a bush, with Yan and Elise looking in the same direction (Figure 1).

(15a) jardivis3/21.00 territoire des animaux

```
1 LUC  .h ici, tous les végétaux,% (0.4) qui ont été eh choisis, sont sont
       .h here, all the plants,    (0.4) that have been er chosen, are are
  luc  >>shows with RH pointing twd the bush-->
  fig                              %fig.1
```

Figure 1. Yan and Elise co-orienting with Luc

```
2      là pou:r euh *(0.2) [pour les animaux. (.) pour nourrir ou +abriter.+
       there fo:r er (0.2) [for the animals. (.) for nourishing or sheltering.
  luc            -->*
3 YAN                      [mhm
  yan                                                          +1 step bck+
4 JEA  voilà.
       that's it.
5      *(0.4)
  luc  *walks away, forward on the footpath-->
```

Towards the completion of the explanation (after an increment, l. 2), one of the visitors, Yan, begins to move, thereby displaying his orientation towards sequence closing (see Broth & Mondada 2013). Jean, who stands at some distance from the group, utters the closing particle *voilà* (l. 4). After that, Luc starts walking away

and engages in the footpath, thereby projecting the continuation of the visit (see Figure 2 below).

Jean now seizes this opportunity to expand Luc's explanation:

(15b)

```
 6 JEA αc'est pas notre espace,% parce que là luc il a mis des p'tites α bordures.
        it's  not our   space,   because there luc he has put  small    borders.
       αpoints-----------------------------------------------------α
   fig                          %fig.2
```

Figure 2. Participants orienting towards Jean

Figure 3. Luc turning towards the group

```
 7      (0.2)
 8 JEA  c'est pas notre af[(faire)
        that's not our bus[(iness)
 9 LUC                    [voilà.* .h c'est in- c'est
                          [that's it. .h it's fo- it's
   luc                        -->*body torque, back to the group-->
10      c'e[st |inter%dit [aux humains ic]i
        it'[s   forbidden [to humans  her]e
11 YAN     [d' |accord.
           [okay.
   jey         |walks forward-->
   fig                %fig.3
12 JEA                  [zone privée]
                        [private area]
13 YAN  [on est privé de rentrer dans leur enc[los
        [we are deprived of entering their enc[losure
14 JEA  [(    )
15 LUC                                        [pask*
                                              ['cos
   luc                                          -->*pivots towards group-->
16      (0.3)
17 LUC  c'est-à-dire que les animaux sont tellement vulnérables et
        that is to say   the animals are  so        vulnerable and
18      tellement cra[intifs, |que i- il fa]ut leur laisser% le le
        so          sh[y,       that o- one ha]s to leave them the the
19 ELI                [(                    )]
   jey                          |stop-->
   fig                                                   %fig.4
```

Figure 4. Yan and Elise orienting towards Luc

```
20      leur [territoire *sinon
        their [territory otherwise
   luc                 -->*walks-->
21 YAN       [leur univers quoi
             [their universe right
22 LUC  voilà
        that's it
23 YAN  leur territoire
        their territory
24 LUC  .h:*: °>alors<° %
        .h::  °>so<°
   luc  -->*stops in front of a tree-->
   fig                  %fig.5
```

Figure 5. Luc's repositioning in front of a bush

Whereas Luc was oriented towards closing the sequence, Jean is not. He offers not only a continuation of the sequence but also a different perspective, thereby displaying independent knowledge. While Luc's garden philosophy was positively focused on the animals, Jean proposes another version, which is negatively centered on the humans (l. 6, l. 8): He explains that humans are not allowed to step into the area reserved for the animals, while delimitating that area with a pointing gesture. As a response, Luc, who was already walking forwards, turns the upper part of his body back to the group (Figure 3): He both confirms what Jean just said (l. 9) and upgrades the radicality of his version ('it's forbidden to humans here' l. 9–10). Yan acknowledges this (l. 11) while the whole group moves forward. Subsequently, Yan

and Jean comment on the 'privacy' of the area reserved for animals (l. 12–14). Luc does not align with them, but resumes his explanation about the animals (l. 15–18, 20), while he turns his body towards the group. All the participants stop and listen to him (Figure 4), and Yan aligns with him with a collaborative completion (l. 21) and a repetition (l. 23).

In this segment, two participants are alternatively contributing to the visit, thereby exhibiting a K+ stance. Their alternation is also visibly implemented in the transformations of the interactional space (Mondada 2009). Initially, Elise and Yan were oriented towards Luc, and Jean was positioned outside the interactional space they were designing (Figure 1). As Jean expands the explanation about the absence of humans in the garden, they reorient their bodies towards him (Figure 2). When Luc turns his body towards the group, they refocus their attention on him, thereby re-establishing him as the main person within the participation framework (Figures 3 and 4).

At l. 22, Luc closes the sequence with *voilà*: He utters the turn-initial particle °>*alors*<° ('°>so<°' l. 24) while positioning himself in front of another bush and preparing a pointing gesture (Figure 5). While Luc is oriented towards a next sequence (l. 24), Jean expands the previous sequence, which Luc had just closed down (l. 25):

(15c)

```
25 JEA  pour| l'humain, il a l'droit lui, *d'a%voir des [petitsτ piédéstals
        for the human, he has the right him, to have    [small   pedestals
26 LUC                                                  [voilà
                                                        [that's it
   luc                                  -->*turns towards what JEA indicates-->
   jey   -->|walk-->
   jea                                                            τ..points-->
   fig                                          %fig.6
```

Figure 6. Jean pointing at a new object

```
27 LUC  des observaτ[toires
                 observa[tories
28 ELI              [ah là, |ah ah h (   )
                    [ah there, ah ah h (   )
   jey                   -->|ELI and YAN stop, JEA walks towards observatory-->
   luc          -->τ
29 YAN  pour [monter
        to   [go up
30 ELI       [i .h hi hi
31 LUC  τvoilàτ .h
        that's it .h
   luc  τpresenting gestτ
32 JEA  regarder| les an[imaux, (                    )
        look at    the animals, (                    )
33 LUC                  [et regarder les animaux mais: voilà.
                        [and look at the animals but: well.
   jea      -->|stops on top of the observatory-->>
34 YAN  c'est gé[ni[al
        it's  fa[nt[astic
35 LUC          [voilà
                [that's it
36 JEA             [voilà%
                   [that's it
   fig                  %fig.7
```

Figure 7. Jean standing on the pedestal

```
37 LUC  et s- *et sans, et sans y aller.
        and w- and without, and without going there.
   luc     -->*turns back to the tree-->>
```

Jean introduces, describes and points at a new object, namely a support made of stone, visible in the bushes ('small pedestals' l. 25). By so doing, he reorients the interactional space: All the participants look at and walk towards the pedestal, including Luc (Figure 6). Luc responds to Jean's action with an early positioned *voilà* (l. 26), produced in overlap with Jean's turn, but not within a transition

relevance place. At turn completion, Luc introduces an alternative name ('observatories' l. 27) for the object that is now the focus of attention, thereby reaffirming his identity as a 'knowledgeable' participant. Elise responds with some laughter (l. 28, l. 30), whereas Yan does a collaborative completion (l. 29). Jean now walks towards the pedestal and steps on it (Figure 7). At this point, the sequence is possibly closed (see also Luc's *voilà* l. 31).

Again, Jean expands the sequence (with the infinite verb *regarder* 'look' l. 32; possibly building on Yan's previous turn). Luc promptly recasts Jean's words in overlap with him, but ends his turn with yet a further *voilà*.(l. 33). Yan then produces a positive assessment ('it's fantastic' l. 34), and only at this point both Luc (l. 35) and Jean (l. 36) close the sequence in a collaborative way, each one proffering the particle *voilà*.

In this excerpt, a participant other than the guide produces a series of sequence expansions, thereby overcoming possible closings initiated by the guide, occasioning re-openings and, at the same time, new opportunities to close this episode. Both participants engage in "co-guiding" in a competitive way. Their competition is not only about identifying occasions in which either participant can proffer a piece of knowledge. The competition is also carried out on the basis of who has the right to organize – and especially to close – the explanation sequence. Luc challenges Jean exactly on this level. Closing down a sequence is not just necessary in order to manage the progressivity of the visit. Rather, it is in sequence closings that participants retrospectively display their epistemic responsibility for the entire episode. Thus, this excerpt vividly shows the intricacy between epistemic competition, organization of the sequence, re-configuration of the interactional space, and the re-negotiation of categories and identities.

Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter we demonstrated how a "guided" participant manages to claim and display epistemic autonomy and even superiority with regard to the "guide". Such actions not only challenge the distribution of knowledge between "guided" participants and "guides", but also the relevance and legitimacy to embody these categories and thus the way in which identities are manifested and renegotiated in interaction.

Our analyses have explored various sequential positions that provide "guided" participants with an opportunity to contribute to the ongoing visit and to exhibit a K+ stance. We have shown how participants seize these opportunities and how they format their turns in these specific praxeological environments. "Guides"

can respond in various ways to an epistemic claim done by a "guided". Hence, our analysis shows how professionals challenged in their expertise and identity deal with such challenges. On some occasions, they simply disclose that they are 'not knowledgeable' (Excerpt 6), thereby possibly complying with a relativization of the guide's epistemic authority. More often, however, we observe that the guides epistemically reposition themselves: They either accept a guided participant's K+ contribution in an unproblematic way (Excerpt 8), or they straightforwardly reject it (Excerpt 5, 7). Furthermore, they may elaborate issues of knowledge more extendedly, for instance when correcting a guided participant's contribution (Excerpt 9), or when engaging in a longer elaboration of the topic (Excerpt 10). In the latter case, guides act as "experts" and may even engage in "teaching" activities.

We have also seen that guided participants may exhibit an alternative category, as "non guided" participants. By displaying a K+ stance, they claim an epistemic authority that is different from the institutional guide's category and epistemic status. This is typically the case of Sofia, who displays her "teacher" identity (Excerpts 11, 14), of Ann, the American who shows to be familiar with French food (Excerpts 12, 13), and of Jean, who exhibits his knowledge of gardening (Excerpt 15). In these cases, the participants manifestly compete with each other, by re-negotiating and re-casting their institutional identities. Excerpts 11–15 differ thus from the initial cases: Whereas short and simple forms of acceptation/rejection do not seem to entail a competition or a negotiation of the participants' identities (Excerpts 1–6, 8–9), more elaborated and expanded responses display that some identity-related issue is at stake. This holds true for Excerpts 11–15, but it is also visible in Excerpt 10, where Nina's straightforward correction of a contribution is one way of treating its author as a "schoolboy", and in Excerpt 7, where the expert "teaches" the visitor about different mating positions.

By using conversation analysis as both a conceptual and a methodological framework, this chapter demonstrates the delicate intricacy between actions done in first and second position, their linguistic formatting, the epistemic claims and displays that participants achieve with them and the establishment and negotiation of participants' identities. This analytic perspective, mobilizing fine-grained transcriptions and descriptions of the interaction at hand, reveals how participants build and negotiate their relevant identities moment by moment. Epistemic challenges are key for reconsidering identity on the basis of participants' actions; epistemic fights are a key locus for observing how participants struggle to re-negotiate, re-affirm and transform their identities and asymmetries.

References

Best, Katie. 2012. "Making museum tours better: Understanding what a guided tour really is and what a tour guide really does." *Museum Management and Curatorship* 27 (1): 35–52. doi: 10.1080/09647775.2012.644695

Broth, Mathias, and Mondada, Lorenza. 2013. "Walking away. The embodied achievement of activity closings in mobile interactions." *Journal of Pragmatics* 47 (1): 41–58. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2012.11.016

De Stefani, Elwys. 2010. "Reference as an interactively and multimodally accomplished practice: Organizing spatial reorientation in guided tours." In *Spoken Communication*, ed. by Massimo Pettorino, Antonella Giannini, Isabella Chiari, and Francesca Dovetto, 137–170. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars.

De Stefani, Elwys. 2013. "Rearranging (in) space: On mobility and its relevance for the study of face-to-face interaction." In *Space in Language and Linguistics: Geographical, Interactional and Cognitive Perspectives*, ed. by Peter Auer, Martin Hilpert, Benedikt Szmercsanyi, and Anja Stukenbrock, 434–463. Berlin: De Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110312027.434

De Stefani, Elwys, and Horlacher, Anne-Sylvie. 2008. "Topical and sequential backlinking in a French radio phone-in programme: Turn shapes and sequential placements." *Pragmatics* 18 (3): 381–406. doi: 10.1075/prag.18.3.02ste

De Stefani, Elwys, and Mondada, Lorenza. 2014. "Reorganizing mobile formations: When 'guided' participants initiate reorientations in guided tours." *Space and Culture* 17 (2): 157–175. doi: 10.1177/1206331213508504

Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Garfinkel, Harold, and Wieder, D. Lawrence. 1992. "Two incommensurable, asymmetrically alternate technologies of social analysis." In *Text in Context: Contributions to Ethnomethodology*, ed. by Graham Watson, and Robert M. Seiler, 175–205. London: Sage.

Goodwin, Charles. 1979. "The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation." In *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, ed. by George Psathas, 97–121. New York: Irvington Publishers.

Goodwin, Charles, and Goodwin, Marjorie H. 1987. "Concurrent operations on talk: Notes on the interactive organization of assessments." *IPrA Papers in Pragmatics* 1 (1): 1–54. doi: 10.1075/iprapip.1.1.01g00

Haddington, Pentti, Mondada, Lorenza, and Nevile, Maurice (eds.). 2013. *Interaction and Mobility: Language and the Body in Motion*. Berlin: De Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110291278

Heritage, John. 1984. "A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement." In *Structures of Social Action*, ed. by J. Maxwell Atkinson, and John Heritage, 299–345. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, John. 2012. "The epistemic engine: Sequence organization and territories of knowledge." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45 (1): 30–52. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646685

Heritage, John, and Raymond, Geoffrey. 2005. "The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68 (1): 15–28. doi: 10.1177/019027250506800103

Jefferson, Gail. 1972. "Side sequences." In *Studies in Social Interaction*, ed. by David Sudnow, 294–338. New York: The Free Press.

Jefferson, Gail. 2004. "Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction." In *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the First Generation*, ed. by Gene H. Lerner. 13–31. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.125.02jef

McIlvenny, Paul, Broth, Mathias, and Haddington, Pentti. 2009. "Communicating place, space and mobility." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (10): 1879–1886. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.014

Mondada, Lorenza. 2009. "Emergent focused interactions in public places: A systematic analysis of the multimodal achievement of a common interactional space." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (10): 1977–1997. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.019

Mondada, Lorenza. 2012. "Garden lessons: Embodied action and joint attention in extended sequences." In *Interaction and Everyday Life*, ed. by Hisashu Nasu and Frances Chaput Waksler, 293–311. Lanham, MA: Lexington Books.

Mondada, Lorenza. 2013. "Displaying, contesting, and negotiating epistemic authorities in social interaction." *Discourse Studies* 15 (5): 597–626. doi:10.1177/1461445613501577

Mondada, Lorenza. 2014. "Bodies in action: Multimodal analysis of walking and talking." *Language and Dialogue* 4 (3): 357–403. doi:10.1075/ld.4.3.02mon

Pierroux, Palmyre. 2010. "Guiding meaning on guided tours." In *Inside Multimodal Composition*, ed. by Andrew Morrison, 417–450. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Pitsch, Karola. 2012. "Zur interaktiven Konstitution von Objekten in einer Museumsausstellung [On the interactive constitution of objects in a museum exhibit]." In *Raum als interaktive Ressource*, ed. by Heiko Hausendorf, Lorenza Mondada, and Reinhold Schmitt, 233–274. Tübingen: Narr.

Sacks, Harvey. 1972. "An initial investigation of the usability of conversational data for doing sociology." In *Studies in Social Interaction*, ed. by David Sudnow, 31–74. New York: The Free Press.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stivers, Tanya. 2010. "An overview of the question-response system in American English conversation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 42 (10): 2772–2781. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2010.04.011

Stukenbrock, Anja, and Birkner, Karin. 2010. "Multimodale Ressourcen für Stadtführungen [Multimodal resources for city tours]." In *Deutschland als fremde Kultur: Vermittlungsverfahren in Touristenführungen*, ed. by Marcella Costa, and Bernd Müller-Jacquier, 214–243. München: Judicium Verlag.

Van De Mieroop, Dorien, and Clifton, Jonathan. 2011. "Standardized relational pairs in interviews with former slaves: Construction, negotiation and alignment." *Narrative Inquiry* 21 (1): 44–67. doi:10.1075/ni.21.1.03van

Watson, D. Rod. 1978. "Categorization, authorization and blame-negation in conversation." *Sociology* 12: 105–113. doi:10.1177/003803857801200106

PART II

Struggling to (de-)construct in-group membership

CHAPTER 7

You're a proper tradesman mate

Identity struggles and workplace transitions in New Zealand

Janet Holmes and Meredith Marra
Victoria University of Wellington

Using a broad and inclusive definition of what counts as a professional, this paper explores the struggle of developing an appropriate identity as part of the transition from legitimate outsider to workplace insider. Drawing on naturally-occurring data from two contrasting contexts, an apprentice on a building site and an intern in a corporate organisation, we explore inbound trajectories. For the builder, the transition to insider involves a process which emphasises new skills; for the intern, her status as a newcomer to the country means her struggles with the enactment of sociocultural norms are made salient. Our analysis demonstrates the ways in which the defining boundaries of professional behaviour are acknowledged, maintained, patrolled and defended in interaction.

Keywords: transitions, workplace discourse, boundary crossing, social realism, apprentice, intern, socio-cultural norms, contextual constraints, identity negotiation, builder, humour, co-construction, gate-keeping, New Zealand

Professional identities

As outlined in the introduction to this volume, the definition of who counts as a "professional" is a contested one. Some take a narrow stance based on a person's specialised knowledge, i.e. lawyers, teachers and scientists (e.g. Sarangi and Roberts 1999), while others adopt an inclusive definition including those who undertake "paid-work-related" activities (e.g. Gunnarsson 2009). In this paper, we adopt this more inclusive definition, drawing on both the traditional professional context of a white collar IT team as well as investigating the building site where various professional trades come together.

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.07hol
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Our particular lens is the negotiation of identity. This is part of the dynamic transition which characterises the trajectory towards attaining a professional identity. Transitions are an omnipresent feature of modern workplaces, but their significance is often overlooked in workplace discourse research. Focussing on significant transitions in their workplace experience, this chapter explores the struggles that two employees face in constructing a convincing professional identity in very different workplace contexts. To this end we first investigate the identity construction of an apprentice builder in his quest for professional status in interaction with his co-workers on a construction site. Next we consider the struggle faced by an intern in the process of integrating herself into a professional team. In each case we examine the ways in which the defining boundaries of professional behaviour are acknowledged, maintained, patrolled and defended.

Identity as a site of struggle

The complex process of identity construction is accomplished in interaction with others in a range of different social contexts. Struggle is inherent in this negotiation between co-constructers. Discourse is a core means through which individuals gradually adopt behaviours which they perceive as normative, and which conform to the systems of belief subscribed to by members of the desired in-group. Thus individuals are constantly making choices shaped by the social context, including the responses of others (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002). This process has been conceptualised by Norton (2000: 127) as a "site of struggle"; identities are multiple and fluid and they emerge, she suggests, through engagement in situated and negotiated encounters, often encompassed within unequal power relations (Norton Peirce 1995, see also Dawson 2014). Our conceptualisation thus aligns with the editors' notion of struggle to demonstrate and enact professional competence coupled with a theoretical understanding that this struggle is in turn shaped by various layers of contextual constraint (see Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011): our participants are in a process of situated learning as they cross boundaries into a new profession, a new team and a new society. The interactional negotiations involved in boundary crossing represent "sites of struggle" par excellence. Constructing our identity occurs within particular workplace contexts and also requires the recognition of "acts of identity" (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985, Tabouret-Keller 1997) by gatekeepers i.e. those with status in terms of the industry, the organisation, the team or the wider social group (some of the layers of constraint referred to above).

Exploring authentic interaction

To explore these different areas of identity struggle, we adopt a social realist stance, using the model we have developed for analysing workplace interaction (Holmes et al. 2011). Social realism provides an account of the relationship between wider social structures and individual agency, proposing that individual behaviour (including language) is influenced by outside "reality" (Coupland 2001, Reed 2005, Ehrlich 2008, Cameron 2009). In other words, our behaviour is constrained by the parameters of broad societal norms and "inherited structures" of belief, power, opportunity, and so on (Cameron 2009: 15). We construct our social identities within the constraints of culturally available, sense-making frameworks or "discourses" (Ehrlich 2008: 160). Our model identifies these social constraints on interactional behaviour at different levels of generality, from the broadest and most encompassing societal macro level through the organisational or professional meso level to the more specific micro level of the CofP or workplace teams (c.f. Vaara 2003, Hecht et al. 2005, Wodak 2008: 208).

In what follows we illustrate the identity struggles engaged in by new members of a profession as they attempt to negotiate their place in their new environments.

At the macro level, we identify relevant socio-cultural pressures and wider New Zealand societal values; at the meso level we consider how these values impact on organisational norms and professional standards; and at the micro level we examine how the norms of particular teams or communities of practice are instantiated, communicated and acquired by individuals in the process of becoming professionals.

Our methodology is well established, involving an ethnographic phase where we observe the normal routines and practices of the participants, and a recording phase when the participants record their ordinary everyday workplace discourse without being observed (see Holmes and Stubbe 2003, Marra 2008). In the two workplaces which are the focus of the analysis below, the core participants carried recording devices for two weeks or more, and all those involved in the recorded interactions agreed to the use of the recordings for research purposes. In the next section we analyse moment-by-moment identity work at the local discursive level.

Identity struggles at work

The two workplace sites selected for our case studies provide a useful contrast: the first is a blue collar skilled workplace, a construction site, and the second is a specialised white collar skilled workplace, an IT company. These two examples also represent both a wide and narrow understanding respectively of what it means to be counted as belonging to a "profession". Within the volume there are examples of other occupations which are less stereotypically understood as professions (see, for example, Ladegaard's analysis of foreign domestic helpers or the tour guide interactions captured by De Stefani and Mondada). These participants have nevertheless gone through a process of "becoming" a recognized member of their communities. This process of *becoming* is our focus here.

The apprentice builder

Our first case study describes the interactional achievements of an apprentice builder (see also Chan in this volume for a discussion of an inexperienced manager). Research on building sites has recently attracted the attention of workplace discourse analysts who earlier were more typically focussed on corporate workplaces (see Angouri and Marra 2011). In a British study, Baxter and Wallace (2009) demonstrate how three white, working class, male builders construct their professional identities through collaborative (and ethnocentric) narratives while travelling in a truck between different building sites. Their analysis illustrates how the builders construct in-group and out-group identities through their talk, increasing solidarity between each other, while excluding groups considered to be a threat. Narratives have also been used by sociologists to explore social aspects of workplaces as they operate within blue-collar, male-dominated and quality-oriented constraints. Styhre (2012), for instance, investigated how personal narratives contributed to the construction of professional identity in the building industry, finding that workers tied their identities to the quality of their work and used narrative to portray a critical view of the industry itself. Applying the lens of corpus linguistics, Handford (2014) investigates the processes and relationships in the construction sector, noting the importance of communication and the salience of the culture on site.

The title for this chapter was taken from a recording made on a residential building site in the greater Wellington region. It neatly captures the emic or insider perspective on identity change and the struggle to enact a convincing professional performance in this context. Extract (1) involves an exchange between Max, an

apprentice builder, and his more experienced team mates about a new drill given to Max by the building site owner.

(1)

```
1.  Max:    this is going to be fun + same same as yours
2.  Tom:    did he give you one
3.  Max:    yeah
4.  Tom:    sweet
5.  Max:    yeah sweet as + we have to label them I guess ++
6.          mine will be the cleanest
7.  TM 1:   I'll fix that [dabs paint on drill] […]
8.  TM 2:   you know you're a tradesman now mate
9.          yeah you're a proper tradesman mate
10. Max:    one day
11.         I've had it for three hours
12. TM 3:   you throw it on the ground like that
13. TM 1:   [laughs] + I'll fix that mate
            [Tradesman 1 puts more paint on drill]
14. Max:    [laughs]: what oh [name] oh: +
15.         I'm gonna get your van eh [general laughter]
```

In this short extract Max, the apprentice, is the focus of teasing which has the indirect function of teaching him what it means to be *a proper tradesman* (lines 8–9).[1] Max comments (line 1) that his new drill is the same as Tom's (an undoubted source of pride since Tom is the foreman). Given this, he suggests that they will need to label them to distinguish them and then adds facetiously *mine will be the cleanest* (line 6), leading one of the other tradesmen on site to dab it with paint. He is then laughingly told that with paint on his drill he is now *a proper tradesman,* implying that workmen's tools should reflect their hard work. A second builder suggests he throws it on the ground and another dab of paint is added (lines 12–14). At this point Max retaliates with a joking threat *I'm gonna get your van eh* (line 15).

This extract illustrates clearly how the building site constitutes a venue for situated learning. These skilled tradesmen expect their tools to be well used and to reflect that usage, rather than to be kept pristinely clean. Through their teasing, Max is introduced to these professional norms and expectations and made aware of the fact that he is still on the inward trajectory towards becoming a professional. However, his ability to manage the interaction with good humour and to respond to their ripostes with one of his own, albeit a rather weak one, suggests he is making good progress toward integration into this particular community of

1. In an earlier paper (Holmes and Woodhams 2013: 289), this extract was analysed from a slightly different perspective.

practice. New Zealand builders generally value informality and humour so learning to participate in the social talk and joking is an important aspect of joining the community of practice (see Holmes and Woodhams 2013). Our data indicates that Max is a generous contributor to both the humour and the social talk which is "skilfully laminat[ed]" with the technical or transactional discourse (Holmes and Woodhams 2013: 292). Nevertheless, as an apprentice he is an obvious butt of humour and hence Max has something of a struggle to "keep his end up" and construct a credible identity as a builder among the more experienced professionals.

Informality is relevant to the practices of these builders. This reflects an aspect of the wider societal New Zealand norms relating to an egalitarian ethic, where hierarchical differences are actively mitigated in favour of appearances of equality (see Holmes, Marra and Vine 2012). On the building site this presents a challenge, since the industry as a whole is one where power and hierarchy infuse almost every interaction, as is evident from our transcripts. This challenge is typically handled by the use of informality and indirectness. While some instructions are very explicit (*just take these staples; grab another bloody ladder; hold it like right there*), many more are expressed in attenuated form (e.g. *these sort of need to be chopped off here don't they*), or less directly (e.g. *er i think those little foam things go there*), especially between experienced builders. Max proves adept at reading indirect and attenuated directives (see Holmes and Woodhams 2013), and thus demonstrates his socio-cultural competence and his ability to manage the relational aspects of workplace talk on the building site.

While Max has many of the relational aspects of working on a building site under control, his status as an apprentice points to the need for him to learn the skills of a professional builder. This is the central area of identity struggle for Max. Extracts 2 and 3 provide instances of opportunities provided by Tom, the foreman, as well as the other professional builders for Max to learn the skills he needs to become a professional builder. In Extract 2 the builders are discussing a new cladding product.

(2)

```
TM1: is there any advantage to it +
     apart from its permanent colour +
Tom: not that i can see +
     they reckon it's guaranteed a hundred years or something
     i think the the um ++ i mean according to them you know
     it's lighter and the colour and because there's no
     face fixing so nothing can rust out
     and all that sort of stuff but ++ i don't know
     [Several minutes of discussion about how and why the
     manufacturer is promoting the product. Tom answers questions
     from the other tradesmen]
```

```
9.        in the instruction thing it said oh you know
10.       in the future if you scratch or dent or whatever
11.       you just just undo the um take the boards off from the
12.       top down and you can reuse them and you know said said
13.       oh it sounds easy but they're basically saying  [laughs]:
14.       pull the whole cladding off your house to get to the
15.       board:
16. Max:  and the bottom ones are probably going to //(       )\
17. Tom:  /oh exactly yeah\\ the door swings into it
18.       or the the ball
19.       or the //+\ the table or the chair +
          [Team all suggest ways in which the cladding will be damaged]
20. Tom:  if you follow the order which we're trying to […]
21.       we're basically gonna have to pull all the windows out +
22.       just enough to get us this channel back in +
23.       but then if you do that
24.       you've got all your head flashings set
25.       that you'd have to set off your windows anyway
26.       then you've got to saw your windows the whole time +
27.       you know
28. TM1:  there's no point foaming the windows then
29. Tom:  oh yeah nah sorry shit don't do that yeah +
```

This is a very technical discussion of the raft of problems the experienced builders foresee with the selected cladding system they are using. Assessing the reliability of the instructions provided by the manufacturer, which make the job sound easy (line 13), Tom points out the major disadvantages and excessive workload that he anticipates on the basis of his experience (lines 21–27). Tom continues questioning the benefits of this cladding system: based on this experience as a builder he would opt for timber weatherboard, as they mention later on, and he is sceptical of this new system. However he is subordinated firstly to Steven, the boss, who in turn is subordinate to the client, and the "plan" is symbolic of this, so Tom must stick to it. We see evidence of the combined extensive knowledge and practical experience of the professional builders, and the discussion offers Max, the apprentice, an ideal learning opportunity.

It seems that Max is not quite following the interactions in the same way that the other tradesman are, especially in terms of some of the shorthand which is used for sense-making. This lack of understanding marks him as an outsider. In Extract 3 he responds to comments by the experienced builders about the look of the cladding. They have described it disparagingly as having a finish like *Maccas* (referring to the cookie cutter design of a McDonalds fast food franchise), i.e. a quick and cheap way of replicating a superior product, resulting in inferior quality merchandise. Max has taken this as being literal, thinking they are discussing a particular McDonalds building rather than delivering a general insult as we see in line 1.

(3)

```
1.  Max: what maccas did they use it on + it's not one in [place]
2.  Tom: oh nah it's just that you know maccas
3.       it looks like it's got that grey stuff
4.       that's about the same lap
5.       i think it's more of a like a flat profile
6.  Max: oh yep
7.  Tom: and just just looks that you know that tinny +
8.       small profile kind of (  )
9.  Max: was that house that [name] bought [road name] road
10.      was that p v c or was that that stuff
11. Tom: i think that's p v c that stuff next to the pole house
12.      that one that's just been built
13.      that had that p v c weatherboard stuff didn't it
14. Max: oh yeah
15. Tom: yeah cos it had the little jointers that were just er ++
16.      you know you could snap them yeah
17. Max: oh yeah yeah yeah
18. Tom: i guess this (looks) probably better than that but ++
19.      and like v- butt joins
20.      you've got to have the vertical to the
21.      [drill starts] flashing jointer thing as well you know
22.      so you know you can't merge your joins in like linear
23.      and make it look like no join kind of thing
```

In this extract Tom takes his role of vocational tutor to Max very seriously, patiently spelling out his assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of different building materials (lines 2–5, 7–8, 15–16), and ending with an explicit statement of the reasons for preferring one to another (line 22–23). Correspondingly, Max enacts his apprenticeship identity by attending carefully (lines 6, 14, 17), and asking relevant questions (lines 1, 9–10) whilst also rehearsing his existing shared knowledge, e.g. by referring to the products used on other houses *was that p v c or was that that stuff* (line 10), and thus asserting some degree of relevant competence.

These extracts indicate how, through their discussion of the materials they are using, the more experienced builders, and especially Tom, introduce Max not only to the technical and shared jargon but also to the standards, norms and values of a professional builder. He is being assisted to notice and learn what is involved in becoming a full-fledged member of the building profession. He is also being inculcated into the interactional norms of this particular community of practice, where teasing, joshing and contestive talk are endemic (see Holmes and Woodhams 2013), and his responses provide evidence that he is steadily learning how to make these transitions.

From intern to co-worker

In a very different professional context, our second case study explores the transition from workplace intern to recognised expert made by a skilled migrant worker (see Clifton and Van De Mieroop in this volume for a similar case study recorded in Europe). Ava, a Chinese migrant to New Zealand, had considerable professional expertise and experience when she was placed in an IT team as part of a supported internship programme.[2] Like Max, Ava was very keen to learn. Extract 4 is taken from recordings at the beginning of her internship. The focus of her learning is the detail of the organisation in which she has been placed as an intern and in this extract she is very directly questioning her mentor, Chris.

(4)

```
1.  Ava:    um i got some questions //um\
2.  Chris:  /sure\\
3.  Ava:    yeah maybe we we (can) take er one hour or
4.          //two (yeah)\
5.  Chris:  /okay let's see\\ how we go
6.  Ava:    um i think firstly i i really need know
7.          our organisation chart
8.          (is) how's it function //er um\ yeah as a people
9.  Chris:  /okay\\
10. Ava:    how do people function and er //who\ who is who [laughs]
11. Chris:  /okay\\
12. Ava:    so //er and just the yeah\
13. Chris:  /okay um maybe maybe\\ er w- we'll draw some
14.         //pictures in a vacuum\
15. Ava:    /oh yeah yeah okay\\ that's fine
            [Chris explains the reporting lines and the various
            teams that make up the organisation, providing
            details of who Ava has met, what people look like
            etc. Ava replies with minimal feedback in most cases]
16. Ava:    okay + how- h- how bout the accounting finance
17. Chris:  oh sorry [he continues his answer]
18. Ava:    mmmm + + + + yep it's quite quite clear and er
19.         so first our our [voc] organisation (   ) so um +
20.         um i mean + yeah i will have to go one by one question
21.         so what the sales person is er in a teamwork +
22.         //um how people + sales people to sell um\
23. Chris:  /yeah um yeah generally \\
```

2. The details of the programme are described in Marra et al. (2012)

This extract provides a range of relevant evidence regarding the challenges presented by transitions at every analytical level. Firstly, and most explicitly, Ava is a newcomer to the organisation since she asks for and receives an abundance of relevant background on its structure from her mentor Chris. Secondly, Ava demonstrates that she has not adopted socio-culturally appropriate strategies of interaction in New Zealand workplaces, i.e. as noted above strategies which are characterised by informality and indirectness. Thirdly, and not surprisingly since this is the beginning of her internship, there is little evidence that she is aware of the norms of this particular community of practice.

Ava opens with a very direct statement *i got some questions* (line 1) and follows up by the suggestion that Chris should devote one or two hours to answering them (line 3–4), a demand which could be regarded as somewhat presumptuous, even though hedged with *perhaps*. Chris's response is relaxed and informal *okay let's see how we go* (line 5). Ava then follows up by asking rather formally (e.g. *firstly*) for information about the organisational chart and people's different function in the organisation (lines 6–8, 10). Later she asks about the *accounting finance* systems (line 16), again in a very direct form. Finally she evaluates Chris's explanations *yep it's quite quite clear* (line 18) in what could be considered a rather superior/condescending manner given her newcomer status, and proceeds to spell out what she sees as the implications of his explanation for her work (lines 20–22). In this exchange then, there are many clues that Ava is not responding to the New Zealand cultural norms of informality and indirectness. One might suggest that she needs to learn to talk in "institutionally credible ways" (Roberts and Campbell 2006: 1), specifically in ways that are the norm in this particular organisation. But equally there is evidence that she is confident of her abilities and professional competence, suggesting that establishing her professional identity will not be such a struggle as establishing her socio-cultural identity as a desirable colleague in this community of practice.

Extract 5 was selected from recordings in the final week of Ava's internship. It follows some (largely positive) feedback Ava has received on a report which constituted a key focus for her time as an intern. Chris is ready to close the discussion and leave his comments and praise at this more general level. Ava insists, however, that he engage with the document further and give her more detailed feedback. It is worth noting that Chris does not fully commit to the issues as recommendations, but instead (somewhat frustratingly for Ava as discussed below) frames the strategies for improving business operations as an ongoing dialogue.

(5)

```
1.  Ava:    this ( ) proble- problem
2.  Chris:  yeah i mean the whole issue on on how we manage faults
3.  Ava:    mm
4.  Chris:  um is something that needs to be looked at within
5.          [organisation]
6.  Ava:    yeah
7.  Chris:  um we're really good at answering the phone
8.          we're really good at talking to the customer
9.          we're really good at taking th- the the issue
10. Ava:    yep
11. Chris:  we're very good at assigning it
12. Ava:    yeah
13. Chris:  but as your report clearly shows there is that
14.         you know you've got a hundred and twenty days
15. Ava:    [laughs]
16. Chris:  you know for something that that has probably
17.         been fixed
18. Ava:    mhm
19. Chris:  um or more to the point you know faults have been open
20.         for a hundred and twenty days and there hasn't been any
21.         action taken on those or at least anything documented
22. Ava:    yeah
23. Chris:  um and that in itself is fundamental to any system
24.         um so and it and it's the thing is is
25.         we need to understand why that isn't happening […]
```

This detailed discussion has forced Chris into responding to Ava's work as more than just a superficial writing exercise for a short-term unpaid intern. Instead he must discuss face threatening comments about organisational weaknesses from someone he is still arguably constructing as an outsider. This is reminiscent of a similar example about marketing strategies discussed in Marra (2012) where his reluctance to recognise Ava's attempt at disagreement continues to cast her as a short term employee rather than a bona fide team member. Here, rather than acting on the suggestions made by Ava, Chris talks about the management of the faults as *something that needs to be looked at* (line 4), and he comments that they still *need to understand why that isn't happening* (line 25). While Ava is confident that she has much to offer by way of expertise based on her prior corporate experience, and through the detailed and thorough report she has presented, this seems difficult for the mentor to manage. It appears that he has constructed her identity as a temporary intern who fits low in the hierarchy, and despite her substantial contribution this seems to have remained unchanged during the period of her internship.

Ava's temporary status is highlighted once again in the final extract where Chris outlines how she will be thanked by her hosts. In this extract, however,

there is evidence that Ava has made some positive progress in her transition, as indicated by her responses to Chris's discussion of planned social activities which are important components of workplace interaction in New Zealand.

(6)

```
1.  Chris:  yeah so no that's excellent um ++++
2.          right that's good okay um alright
3.          well let lets um we better go shopping eh
4.  Ava:    [laughs]
5.  Chris:  alright //um\
6.  Ava:    /are you serious\\
7.  Chris:  what's that?
8.  Ava:    are we cooking?
9.  Chris:  what's that?
10. Ava:    are we cooking?
11. Chris:  yeah we're gonna cook for lunch
12. Ava:    [laughs]
13. Chris:  you're cooking us lunch
14.         we have a barbecue today
15. Ava:    oh really [laughs] okay
16. Chris:  well it's the least we could do
17. Ava:    oh okay I love it
18. Chris:  yeah you have to do that
19.         um so yeah so so thanks very much for all your help there
20.         i think um some some er even if we just implement
21.         one thing that that you've recommended
22.         it's just the whole things gonna be very
23.         it's gonna be worthwhile
24.         so we're very excited about that
25. Ava:    mm
```

In this excerpt Chris again indicates his satisfaction and appreciation of Ava's work (lines 1–2 and 19–23), while also introducing her to an aspect of the team culture, which in this case entails cooking barbecue food for lunch on a person's last day. A farewell morning tea or lunch is a very common event in our workplace data and we have evidence of other interns also responding with surprise (and delight) when they learn of this practice (Marra et al. 2012). Ava is clearly initially incredulous that he is seriously suggesting that they go shopping for barbecue food, as indicated first by her laughter (line 4) and then by her comment *are you serious* (line 6). She is obviously amazed that he proposes that they will cook lunch (*are we cooking?*) but she adapts quickly and responds positively despite his teasing that it is her who will be cooking: *you're cooking us lunch* (line 13). When Chris indicates that they are indeed going to cook a barbecue lunch to farewell her, *it's the least we could do*, (line 16), she responds enthusiastically *oh okay I love it*, (line 17), a very appropriate and appreciative response, indicating that she is happy with the proposal despite how unexpected it was. The data from the final two weeks of her

internship thus suggests that Ava has in some but not all ways succeeded in the struggle to enact her professional identity appropriately in the initially unfamiliar context of a relatively informal and egalitarian New Zealand workplace.

Professional identity across contexts

In the extracts discussed, the professional boundaries that the newcomers are attempting to navigate are highlighted. Applying the social realist model described in Holmes et al. (2011), Max demonstrates how he strives to respond to the challenges involved in acquiring the norms of the building industry by attending to the cues and information provided by Tom and his other colleagues. Similarly, the analysis has provided evidence of Ava's struggles with the influence of New Zealand's societal norms on workplace communication, such as the salience of informality and indirectness in workplace exchanges. And while in many ways they show evidence that they have "learned the ropes", both also provide some indications of their relative outsider status in the teams within which they are located (e.g. Ava's surprise at the farewell barbecue and Max's misunderstanding of the term *Maccas*).

Most relevant to this analysis, however, is the conceptualisation of identity as an ongoing, dynamic and negotiated co-construction between the outsiders and the workplace insiders. These negotiations contribute to the relative success or failure of attempts at the formation of an insider identity. The analysis has highlighted the ways in which the boundaries between insiders and outsiders are simultaneously or alternately acknowledged, maintained, patrolled and defended.

Acknowledging and maintaining the boundaries

In both case studies there is evidence of recognition of the insider-outsider boundaries by the newcomers and the gatekeepers with whom they interact. In the case of Max, the discussion of his status as a *proper tradesman* represents an important statement by the other professionals on the site, and especially the company owner who has provided the new drill, that he has managed to jump a significant hurdle and is on the way to becoming an expert. In the case of Ava, the boundary is acknowledged or made salient both in Extract 5, where she seeks feedback from Chris as the senior who is authorised to evaluate her report, and by her questions about the company structure in Extract 4.

When acts of identity are endorsed by insiders, their acknowledgement of the boundaries also contributes to their maintenance as the status quo. By validating

a newcomer's assertion of relevant knowledge, experience or skill, the insiders implicitly confirm their relevance to insider status. A relevant element in the analysis above is the focus on learning which is inherent in the legitimised transition both participants are undertaking. Extract 2 illustrates explicit teaching of Max by Tom, the foreman who is assigned principal responsibility for his apprentice's progress. Max contributes to the construction of the learning environment by asking questions and relating the new knowledge to his existing understanding. Ava's questions about the company structure in Extract 4 actively place her as an outsider, while also constructing Chris as the insider with the relevant expertise to answer these questions. Both extracts demonstrate how the teacher and learner are involved in a constant (re)negotiation of these boundaries through their reciprocated identity claims.

Patrolling and defending the boundaries

Insiders are also in a position to constantly re-assert and reinforce insider-outsider boundaries. In the analysis above, we show how Chris is able to impede Ava's attempts to establish insider status: from her earliest questions, illustrated in Extract 4, Ava claims membership of *our organisation*, but Chris is still challenging her position more than a month later as shown in Extract 6 where his responses emphasise his responsibility as a host who must be grateful for her efforts: e.g. *it's the least we could do*. The boundaries in the case of Max are less rigid and exclusionary and not so well patrolled, although there is nevertheless some evidence of his lack of insider status. His inability to follow some of the in-group discussion, for instance, signals and reinforces his outsider role (e.g. the in-depth discussion of the pitfalls of cladding in Extract 2). This is further exemplified by his own explicit indication of lack of knowledge (e.g. his misunderstanding of the social meaning of *Maccas*). By failing to adapt the content of their discussion to match Max's knowledge, the other tradesman are, perhaps unconsciously, patrolling the insider-outsider boundary and excluding Max from full team membership. Analysed in terms of co-construction, such exchanges demonstrate that, despite the societal egalitarian ethic noted above, in certain workplace contexts, a power asymmetry surfaces: the insiders seem to have a privileged entitlement to hinder an outsider from claiming insider status by challenging the authenticity of such a claim.

Even when seemingly allowing access to insider status, the instantiation of the power asymmetry may simultaneously re-assert and defend relevant distinctions. For example, the act of the gift of a professional artefact (Max's drill) represents one important aspect of boundary crossing, but the humorous labelling of his newly earned status as a *proper tradesman*, as well as the collegial teasing, draws

attention to the core status of the in-group members compared to Max's still somewhat peripheral status. Despite having a new tool just like his senior, Max is still not a fully-fledged member of the group because it is too clean and unspoiled. Similarly, Chris as a core in-group member is in a position to rebuff attempts by Ava to claim in-group status, instead casting her as a temporary employee. This is accomplished through the act of discussing her report as a final step in her internship (Extract 5) and emphasised with the invitation for the farewell barbecue (Extract 6). Ava's acceptance of the barbecue as an event to mark the end of her participation in the group means she is complicit in the formation of the boundary that Chris appears to be working to patrol.

The participants in each of the case studies create an *us/them* contrast or boundary between the insiders and outsiders (best described by social identity theory, e.g. Tajfel 1974, Tajfel and Turner 1979), a boundary which is, however, fluid and dynamic rather than fixed and static. While Max has some success in claiming a degree of insider status our data provides no evidence that Ava ever manages to gain any degree of in-group status in her workplace team. Her previous experience in corporate work and the obvious expertise which leads to her identifying key issues for the company (acknowledged in Extract 5) are insufficient to change her status from out-group member. The end of her internship means the end of her potential inward trajectory.

Implications and conclusions

Workplace transitions such as those described in this paper are an overt site of identity struggle. In both our selected case studies, the focus participants are involved in potential trajectories from legitimate outsider towards team insider, one as an apprentice and the other as an intern. Their attempts at constructing professional in-group identities are at different junctures both supported and opposed by their colleagues, emphasising the co-constructed nature of all identity work. The boundaries are contested and contestable and recognised as such by all participants.

Our realist model for understanding workplace communication calls for recognition of the relevance of analysis at the levels of team, organisation, industry and society in the workplace contexts in which our investigations took place. This has implications for how we understand the process of negotiating professional status. While both transitions were legitimised within their contexts, it seems that some of the structures represented by our social realist model had greater significance than others. In both cases, there was recognition that occupation-specific

skills (technical and communicative) needed to be learnt; the teacher-student relationships were relatively uncontested. Yet in one case the apprentice was evidently enjoying some degree of success in progressing along the inward trajectory to insider team status, while in the other the intern appeared to be consistently hindered in her attempts to breach the insider-outsider boundary.

The explanation for the differing success of the two participants seems to lie in the relevance of socio-cultural norms which are arguably under-recognised by employers and employees alike (Marra et al. 2012, Marra 2012), a point with important practical implications. For Max, the builder, the transition to insider status involved a process which explicitly emphasised new skills, knowledge and experience – areas where he was demonstrably still a learner; but his invaluable "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986) as a native New Zealander ensured some degree of progress along the inward trajectory to insider status: e.g. relevant socio-cultural knowledge of gender norms, the New Zealand egalitarian ethic and the associated value placed on informality and friendly workplace relationships. By contrast, the status of Ava, the intern, as a newcomer to the country meant her struggles with the enactment of socio-cultural norms were salient, and the trajectory to insider was never fully endorsed by the interactant, her mentor, who negotiated the transition with her. She started her internship unaware of the importance placed on nurturing positive social relations in this community of practice, This, together with her direct questions and her rather formal and even confrontational stance, interactional strategies which signal her cultural outsider status, consign her to permanently peripheral status.

Because transitions are so central to working lives, they form an important site of identity struggle (Norton 2000) which deserves the attention of workplace discourse analysts. Exploring identity negotiation means recognising the unequal power differences between interactants (in terms of status, expertise, and even nationality) and the role these play in the ability of newcomers to successfully engage in the situated, negotiated encounters which support the important trajectory towards attaining a professional identity.

Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to all those who have worked with us as workplace collaborators and who have allowed us to record their interactions. We also thank other members of the Language in the Workplace team and the research assistants who provided valuable help with data collection and transcription. We are particularly grateful to Jay Woodhams who not only worked as a data collector on the building site, but also helped us identify and interpret the extracts we have used in our arguments.

Appendix. Transcription conventions

TM	Unidentified tradesman
[ ] : :	Paralinguistic and editorial information in square brackets; colons indicate start and end.
…	Section of transcript missing
+	untimed pause of approximately one second
//here\ /here\\	Overlapping talk. Double slashes indicate beginning and end.
( )	Untranscribable talk
(yeah)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
[voc]	Untranscribable vocalisation
–	Cut off turn
?	Questioning intonation

References

Angouri, Jo and Meredith Marra. 2011. *Constructing Identities at Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230360051

Baxter, Judith, and Kieran Wallace. 2009. "Outside in-group and out-group identities? Constructing male solidarity and female exclusion in UK builders' talk." *Discourse & Society* 20 (4): 411–429 doi: 10.1177/0957926509104021

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The forms of capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by John G. Richardson, 241–258. New York: Greenwood.

Cameron, Deborah. 2009. "Theoretical issues for the study of gender and spoken interaction." In *Gender and Spoken Interaction*, ed. by Pia Pichler, and Eva M. Eppler, 1–17. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coupland, Nikolas. 2001. "Introduction: Sociolinguistic theory and social theory." In *Sociolinguistics and Social Theory*, ed. by Nikolas Coupland, Srikant Sarangi, and Christopher N. Candlin, 1–26. London: Longman.

Dawson, Shelley. 2014. The complexities of identity co-construction: A case study of two language learners' trajectories towards a desired future. MA dissertation. Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington.

Ehrlich, Susan. 2008. "Sexual assault trials, discursive identities and institutional change." In *Analysing Identities in Discourse*, ed. by Rosana Dolón, and Júlia Todolí, 159–177. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/dapsac.28.11ehr

Gunnarsson, Britt-Louise. 2009. *Professional Discourse*. London: Continuum.

Handford, Michael. 2014. "Communication in the construction industry." In *Routledge Handbook of Language and Professional Communication*, ed. by Vijay Bhatia, and Stephen Bremner, 363–381.

Hecht, Michael L., Jennifer R. Warren, Eura Jung, and Janice L. Krieger. 2005. "A communication theory of identity: Development, theoretical perspective, and future directions." In *Theorizing about intercultural communication*, ed. by William B. Gudykunst, 257–278. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse, and Ethnicity*. Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2012. Politeness and impoliteness in ethnic varieties of New Zealand English. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44 (9): 1063–1076. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.11.006

Holmes, Janet, and Maria Stubbe. 2003. *Power and Politeness in the Workplace*. London: Pearson.

Holmes, Janet, and Jay Woodhams. 2013. "Building interaction: The role of talk in joining a community of practice." *Discourse and Communication* 7 (3): 276–298. doi:10.1177/1750481313494500

Le Page, Robert B., and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marra, Meredith. 2008. "Recording and analyzing talk across cultures." In *Culturally speaking: Managing rapport through talk across cultures*, 2nd ed., ed. Helen Spencer-Oatey, 304–321. London: Continuum.

Marra, Meredith. 2012. "Disagreeing without being disagreeable: Negotiating workplace communities as an outsider." *Journal of Pragmatics* 44 (12): 1580–1590. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2012.06.009

Marra, Meredith, Nicky Riddiford, and Janet Holmes. 2012. "New Zealand's Language in the Workplace Project: Workplace Communication for Skilled Migrants." In *Current Developments in English for Work and the Workplace: Approaches, Curricula and Materials*, ed. by Mark Krzanowski, 93–106. Reading: Garnett Education.

Norton, Bonny. 2000. *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity, and Educational Change*. Harlow: Longman/Pearson.

Norton Peirce, Bonny. 1995. "Social identity, investment, and language learning." *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (1): 9–31. doi:10.2307/3587803

Reed, Michael. 2005. "Reflections on the 'realist turn' in organisation and management studies." *Journal of Management Studies* 42 (8): 1621–1644. doi:10.1111/j.1467-6486.2005.00559.x

Roberts, Celia, and Sarah Campbell. 2006. Talk on Trial: Job Interviews, Language and Ethnicity. DWP Report 344, http://www.dwp.gov.uk/asd/asd5/rrs2006.asp#talkontrial

Sarangi, Srikant, and Celia Roberts (eds.). 1999. *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation and Management Settings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110208375

Styhre, Alexander. 2012. "Identity work in construction industry: Ideal selves, project performance, and disidentification." *Leadership & Organization Development Journal* 33 (7): 632–645. doi:10.1108/01437731211265223

Sunderland, Jane, and Lia Litosseliti. 2002. "Gender identity and discourse analysis: Theoretical and empirical considerations." In *Gender Identity and Discourse Analysis*, ed. by Lia Litosseliti & Jane Sunderland, 1–39. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/dapsac.2.01sun

Tabouret-Keller, Andrée. 1997. "Language and Identity". In *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, ed. by Florian Coulmas, 315–326. Oxford: Blackwell.

Tajfel, Henri. 1974. "Social identity and intergroup behaviour." *Social Science Information* 13: 65–93. doi:10.1177/053901847401300204

Tajfel, Henri, and John Turner. 1979. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel, 33–47. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Vaara, Eero. 2003. "Post-acquisition integration as sensemaking: Glimpses of ambiguity, confusion, hypocrisy, and politicization." *Journal of Management Studies* 40 (4): 859–894. doi: 10.1111/1467-6486.00363

Wodak, Ruth. 2008. "Controversial issues in feminist critical discourse analysis." In *Gender and Language Research Methodologies*, ed. by Kate Harrington, Lia Litosseliti, Helen Sauntson, and Jane Sunderland, 193–210. London: Palgrave.

CHAPTER 8

Indian women at work

Struggling between visibility and invisibility

Abha Chatterjee and Dorien Van De Mieroop
IIM Indore / KU Leuven

Over the last two decades, an increasing number of women have joined the Indian workforce, but, as Indian society is still largely patriarchal, they struggle for full membership in the professional ingroup. Drawing on Lewis and Simpson's '(In)visibility Vortex' (2012), we investigate from a discursive angle how these concepts are talked into being in interviews with female Indian professionals. Zooming in on one interview, we found that the interviewee's stories demonstrate a general tendency towards 'invisibility', but they also uncover gender-based boundaries within the male dominated workplace. Finally, we also discuss how the interviewee's transgression of such boundaries clashes with Indian cultural norms of acceptable female behavior, and instead of leading to inclusion in the workplace, it actually leads to 'visibility' and an emphasis on the interviewee's *otherness* in identity terms.

Keywords: India, gender, narratives, interviews, identity, (in)visibility vortex, inclusion, ingroup, otherness, narrative analysis

Introduction

Since the eighties and nineties there are more women in the workplace in India than there have ever been. There are more job opportunities for women, and thus there is an increase of economic participation of women in rural as well as urban India. According to the Population Census (2011) covering the period 2001–2011; the workforce in this period comprised of 31.6% women.

However, Indian culture is still mainly patriarchal and "nearly 60% of companies in India […] are still at an entry level on the gender maturity scale of the 'Gender Quotient Index' (Barua in Bhattacharyya 2014). Therefore, gender and role stereotyping at work are the norm. Especially when women decide to go to work, they have to overcome many social and cultural barriers (Budhwar, Saini and Bhatnagar 2011). Even though a few organizations provide work enabling

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.08cha
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

facilities such as childcare, many women still largely depend on the support of their family to make a professional career feasible.

In the future, changes in law are expected to bring about important changes, albeit slowly, but steadily. For example, regarding women's participation in Company Boards, the 2013 Companies Law requires for at least one woman director on the Board of listed companies. Of course, a debate on the need for such quotas has followed, as is the case in many other countries around the world. But, as Poonam Barua, the founder-chairperson of the *Forum for Women in Leadership* declares "We have sown the seeds of balanced leadership [in 2013]. If you don't water it, the seed will remain dormant. (…) It is now up to Corporate India to water the seeds so it blossoms into a strong and robust diversity tree." (Barua in Bhattacharyya 2013). In this era of crucial changes for women in the workplace, it is particularly timely to analyze the identity struggles that Indian women face in professional life and we do this by using a managerial perspective on gender in the workplace.

The (in)visibility vortex

Kanter's seminal work *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977) first put gender on the map in management at a time when women in management in the United States were rare. In particular, Kanter drew attention to the fact that there are few women in the workplace (see also Baxter, this volume) and so she strongly focused on the numerical balance of gender. She argued that once women and men were balanced in terms of numbers, with time the dynamics would change. From this numerical perspective, one could argue that the American situation in the seventies largely corresponds to the present situation of women in India, who are currently in the process of entering the corporate world.

Drawing on Kanter's work, these seminal ideas were further developed by Lewis and Simpson (2012), who took a poststructuralist and liberal feminist perspective on the issue and who propose a framework, viz. the so-called (In)visibility vortex, which is intended to uncover "the processes through which gendered hierarchies are perpetuated and concealed" (Lewis and Simpson 2012: 141). The image of the vortex aims to highlight the continuous flow of these processes around the center of masculine norms and power. Importantly, from this perspective, power is associated with visibility and invisibility. First, visibility is related to procedures of surveillance and assessment. Kanter (1977) suggests that these practices cast women in a number of 'role traps', which assign them a stereotypical role from the dominant (masculine) viewpoint, as for example, that of "seductress",

"mother", "pet" or "iron maiden" and which limit the behavioral repertoires of women. Second, invisibility results from the fact that these masculine norms are considered as unmarked, thus rendering them invisible and difficult to challenge. Importantly, in Lewis and Simpson's view, power is not something that comprises a 'fixed amount' to be divided or shared, but it is regarded as mobile and influenced by the dynamic circumstances surrounding it. So these masculine norms may be invisible, but they are still subject to challenge and the oppressed (viz. women) are not viewed as powerless, but "rather the relationship between men and women involves *strategies and counterstrategies of power*" (Lewis and Simpson 2012: 145, quoting Witz and Savage 1992).

So on the one hand, the vortex captures the dynamics of movement in the center where masculine power plays out through practices of surveilling the organization's members (visibility) and of concealing the dominant norms (invisibility). On the other hand, the vortex also aims to capture the "ebb and flow" (Lewis and Simpson 2012: 150) of the turbulence around the masculine norm of an organization that comes from the challenges of the women in the margins. The latter may denounce the privileges of the center by *revealing* the masculine norms, but in this process, they are often "*exposed* as Other and, in response, can be erased or seek to *disappear*" (Lewis and Simpson 2012: 143; emphasis in the original). There are thus three interrelated processes at work around the vortex, namely *revelation*, *exposure* and *disappearance*.

- Revelation reveals the privileges and advantages of the masculine norm – as those who are in the margins of power (women), may see, reveal or perhaps try to accede to its privileges. Therefore effective challenges often come from those closest to the center, so, e.g., women who attain senior positions could challenge the preserve of masculine power.
- Exposure is the result of revealing or challenging the masculine norm or the center of power. This subsequently makes the women visible – and subject to surveilling processes – and this visibility may on the one hand result in vulnerability. On the other hand, some women may revel in the visibility as they seek to demonstrate their alterity. This could in turn also challenge the status quo which would allow women to express themselves openly, thus rejecting the idea of epitomizing the exploited and the rejected.
- Disappearance symbolizes erasure, both in terms of worth and performance. In fact, some women may choose to strategically disappear, either by mimicking the behavior of the men at the power center and thus incorporating the invisible masculine norms or by assimilating into stereotypes (see above: role traps) which makes them visible as a category, but invisible as an individual.

The complexities that surface in the vortex thus lead Lewis and Simpson (2012) to question number based solutions to the issue of gender in the workplace, as earlier suggested by Kanter (1977), and they form an intriguing starting point for considering women's identity struggles in Indian workplaces.

(In)visibility processes from a discursive angle

In this chapter, we aim to study the way in which Indian women deal with the challenges they face in the largely male-oriented workplaces in which they attempt to build their careers. The concepts developed by Lewis and Simpson (2012) are useful as an inspiration and a point of orientation, but at the same time, we argue that women have to deal with these challenges not in an abstract way, but in the day-to-day business at hand, while they struggle to make relevant their identities as competent professionals. Their way of reacting to these challenges is thus not necessarily always consistent with a general tendency towards one of the three interrelated processes discussed above, but rather, people may display various, highly fleeting identities emblematic of one of these processes in the course of their talk. Our approach is thus in line with a social constructionist perspective on communication. From this view, communication is framed "as a process that is instrumental in the creation of our social worlds, rather than simply an activity that we do within them" (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011: 21). Furthermore, a person's identity "is not presumed to be a relatively fixed property of people" (Widdicombe 1998: 201), but rather as fragmented and consisting of a multiplicity of potential selves (Burr 1995: 29, see also introduction to this volume) which may sometimes be in line with one another, but which may just as well be contradictory at times. Especially when investigating the way people interact in 'real life', during their daily activities in which they often have to juggle several tasks at the same time, this fragmented nature of their identities usually surfaces most explicitly.

However, in this chapter, we look into identities that are constructed in the course of research interviews (see data description below for more details and also Miglbauer, this volume). During these research interviews, the situation is quite different from the one as sketched above, as an interlocutor typically "has temporarily stepped out of the flow of […] life", one could even say he or she has sort of "paused" his or her life (Freeman 2006: 133) to talk about the events that happened in the past. Such interviews are specifically designed to elicit narratives "that entail a significant measure of reflection on either an event or experience" (Freeman 2006: 132) and it is precisely this degree of reflection for which such 'big stories' – as these narratives tend to be called (see e.g. Bamberg 2006) – are often criticized. As a person has the opportunity to briefly take a step back from his

or her life during such an interview, one tends to observe the emergence of a life story that is coherent and acceptable according to current-day societal norms and the construction of an identity that is "good, socially proper, and stable" (Linde 1993: 3). So it is not surprising that the images of identity that surface during these big stories are "much "larger," more continuous, and more stable" (Freeman 2006: 134) than what is typically observed when analyzing *normal* day-to-day interaction. However, these "reflected upon and rehearsed" selves (Georgakopoulou 2006: 128) are potentially also subject to challenge, since interviews are not monologues, but they are interactional events (De Fina 2009: 237) in which the interviewer and the interviewee both contribute to the joint construction of meaning and the negotiation of identities. It is from this interactional perspective that we aim to scrutinize Indian women's narratives. In particular, we look into the discussion of their professional lives and focus on narratives in which they reported on how they struggled to "perform acceptable, legitimate social identities" (Mullany 2010: 183, see also Medved and Brockmeier, this volume) in the male dominated Indian workplace.

Data description

We interviewed 24 Indian women who are professionally active in various fields. Their professions ranged from academics over Bollywood script writers to bank employees and doctors. Our interviews take up issues and challenges at the workplace in urban India faced by these women and the means they adopt to tackle them, implicitly or explicitly. For purposes of understanding the gamut of experiences and reactions, we undertake to focus in an in-depth way on the stories of one interviewee. This interviewee was chosen because the stories of the events she encountered during her career illustrated various gender-related tensions which we then aimed to link to her identity struggles and the (In)visibility vortex-model.

The interviewee is in her early thirties and lives in a metro city in India. She has completed her doctoral studies and has worked in several companies (viz. mobile phone companies, media companies) across India in the sales department before coming back to academics, where she has now worked for six years. She was interviewed in 2013 by two female interviewees. Although the interview only lasted for about half an hour, the talking speed was so high that quite a comprehensive view of this interviewee's professional life was obtained. The interview was audio-taped and transcribed following Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Jefferson 2004), resulting in a transcription of over 5400 words.

Analysis

The invisible woman

It is important to note that in the course of the interview, the interviewers topicalized gender in the discussion of the interviewee's career, as we see in the first excerpt we discuss. In this excerpt, the interviewee constructs her professional identity as mimicking that of men, which, in Lewis and Simpson's (2012) terms, makes her femininity 'disappear' as she aligns with the invisible masculine norms.

Excerpt 1.

```
44  IR2  Like during the selection process or erm during your work,
45       also at sales it is erm (.) ↑considered to be a manly domain
46  IR2  (wh[ere it is) you have to do front end w[ork and all th[at
47  IE      [°ya°                                [°ya°          [°ya°
48  IR2  so any kind of prob↓le:ms you faced,
49       the challenges you may (have) faced which you felt you could-
50  IE   From the point of view of select↓ion I think
51       they specifically took me because they found my personality
52       to be very aggressive ·hh and they thought that
53       although it's a job which requires °you know° traits
54       which are more considered to be in a man, but,
55       they still considered me for that role because °I guess°
56       during the selection process I came across (as)
57       someone very aggressive and someone
58       who could do those kind of jobs and erm (2.0)
```

In the question, the interviewer makes gender relevant by qualifying the interviewee's professional domain (viz. sales) as "manly" (line 45). Furthermore, she also implicitly constructs this as potentially problematic, since she probes for potential "problems" (line 48) and "challenges" (line 49). The interviewee then answers this lengthy question by a story in which she describes the alleged reason for her selection, namely that the interviewee was perceived as having an aggressive personality. On the one hand, this characteristic is boosted as it is initially framed as the "specific" reason (line 51) and as it is also repeated twice (in lines 52 and 57), during which it is twice enforced by the adverb of degree "very". On the other hand, however, it is also mitigated by the use of "I think" (line 50) and "I guess" (line 55), which are "shields", a type of hedges which "reflect the degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth-value of the whole proposition" (Prince, Frader and Bosk 1982: 85). Furthermore, even in spite of this shielding hedge, the interviewee refrains from actually saying that she *is* aggressive, but instead she says that "they found" (line 51) her to be aggressive, or that she "came across" like that, which again – through the use of shields – makes the attribution of this characteristic to the interviewee less certain and more vague.

Furthermore, the interviewee implicitly qualifies this feature as a masculine trait in lines 53–55. Again, the interviewee distances herself from this qualification, this time by means of an impersonal description of the requirements for that kind of job (line 53–54), which the interviewee constructs as commonly shared knowledge by means of the insertion of "you know" in line 53. After this depersonalized description of the job as requiring masculine traits, she contrastively states that the reason why she was considered after all is her aggressive style during the selection process (lines 55–57). So a lot of discursive work goes into the potential attribution of this feature to the interviewee, and this can be related to the – again implicitly constructed – categorization of this feature as a masculine trait in lines 53–54. So this clearly reflects the interviewee's struggle between her gender identity and her professional identity, which, due to the masculine norms of the workplace, are constructed as incompatible.

So in this excerpt, it is highlighted that the major criterion in the selection process, is whether a woman can make her feminine traits 'disappear', in Lewis and Simpson (2012)'s terms, and replace them by masculine characteristics. As such, the interviewee's gender becomes 'invisible' and her identity is reduced to that of a professional who copies her male colleague's behavior.

While describing her professional experiences at this manufacturing company, the interviewee often makes a point of not having experienced any kind of favoritism on the basis of her gender, which is 'invisible' anyway (see previous excerpt). For example, in the middle of her discussion of which market segment she was responsible for, the interviewee self-initiates the following story, which she narrates without being interrupted by the interviewers.

Excerpt 2. (turn by the interviewee)

```
364  So °erm° (.) talking about differentiation
365  and the fact that they never maintained >any kind of differentiation
366  between me and the male counterparts >>I will quote an example.<<
367  We were suppose(d) to: I I had I (sort of) established
368  the distribution network in Bom↓bay and now the focus
369  was shifting to Pu↓ne ·h so I had to travel to Pune very frequently
370  and when you travel and you meet these distributors (       )
371  they want sam↓ples they want to see what the product is like
372  and then they want to sell those samples to ↑their retail outlets
373  to see what can be the eventual demand and ↑then
374  they will tell you whether they want to join the channel or ↓not.
375  So: (.) ↑and my allowance allowed me to travel in Volvo ↓buses.
376  I was not allowed cabs because I was a management trainee and
377  (             for) and of course it was not a multinational company
378  so I was travelling in Vol↓vo.
379  So I had to actually carry these big big cartons of (.) samples
380  ↑physically with me (.) erm from Bombay to Pune
381  >although it seems like it was just putting it in the bus and going
```

```
382  but it's not like that< I was living in (city area),
383  from (city area) >I'm taking a train reaching (Dadar),
384  from (Dadar) I'm going to the point where the buses were<
385  and then reaching Pune. h·
386  So, this entire thing I was physically carrying that box
387  and I had no issues because (        ) (you) have to do this
388  because I want to get those distributors around my net↓work
389  ·hh and neither did my ↓bosses feel like you know
390  "she is the girl how will she manage".
391  So, this is an example to say that
392  ↑I guess in sales there is no differentiation.
```

In the initial line of this fragment, the interviewee brings up the topic of lack of differentiation by her bosses ("they" in line 365) again, which she already initiated a number of times before in the course of the interview. In the two subsequent lines, she then formulates a story abstract, in which she immediately frames the story as factual (line 365: "the fact that…") and in which she summarizes the upcoming story by means of a few Extreme Case Formulations (Pomerantz 1986) – namely "never" and "any kind of" (line 365) – as such constructing counters to any potential challenges to her claim (Pomerantz 1986: 219). Furthermore, in this abstract, she makes gender relevant – thus clarifying which type of differentiation she is discussing – by setting up an opposition between herself ("me", line 366) and "the male counterparts" (line 366). The latter formulation not only emphasizes her *otherness* vis-à-vis the dominant ingroup of men, but it also objectifies the male group. The interviewee then announces the story as an example of this general observation (line 366) before she embarks on the orientation phase of the story (Labov and Waletzky 1966). The initial plural perspective ("we", line 367) is almost immediately repaired to a singular perspective, which is maintained throughout the story, thus firmly putting the focus on the interviewee's individual experiences. After giving some background information in which her achievements are also mentioned (lines 367–368), the interviewee starts telling the main part of the story by drawing specific attention to the trip to Pune she had to make "very frequently" (line 369). The upcoming story can be characterized as a habitual narrative (Carranza 1998), in which less focus is on the blow-by-blow effect of the story events and more emphasis is put on the repeated nature of the actions, thus sketching a more holistic picture. However, before fully discussing the details of her frequent trips, the interviewee first briefly accounts for the upcoming discussion by emphasizing the necessity of samples in the sales process in lines 370–374. In this anticipatory account, she not only uses the historic present, but also refers to the storyworld characters as "they" and "you". The latter is a generic you-form, which "brings about a sense of shared agency or experience while still indexing the speaker" (O'Connor 1994: 47), as such stressing the generally shared nature of this practice of offering samples to distributors.

After this brief account, the interviewee picks up the story thread again – as marked by "so" (line 375) – and shifts back to a personal perspective and then describes her mode of travel (namely "Volvo buses", line 375). Again, this is accounted for, both before ("my allowance allowed me to…", line 375) and after (line 376–378) she mentions this type of transport. Again, the insertion of "so" in line 379 marks the end of the account; after which a new element in the habitual narrative is inserted, namely a vivid description of the boxes of samples she was carrying. Their size is emphasized by the repetition of the adjective "big" (line 379) and their relation to the interviewee by the addition of the – prosodically marked – word "↑physically", thus stressing that it was actually a difficult physical struggle for the interviewee to travel with that kind of load. In line 380, the interviewee seems to finish her story, as she has mentioned the trajectory of the trip ("from Bombay to Pune", line 380), but she then holds on to the floor by means of a rush-through in which she counters a potential criticism of it not being such hard work. She then continues by elaborating on the exact trajectory she had to take (lines 382–385) and on the difficulty of switching from trains to buses.

After this additional account concerning the difficulty of the trip, the interviewee switches back to the main story (again marked by "so", line 386) by briefly summarizing the gist of the story. In the subsequent lines, she describes how both she herself, as well as her bosses, evaluated this situation as non-problematic (lines 388–390), and, by inserting a counterfactual direct quote of her bosses' feelings (line 390), she makes gender relevant again. Also, by using the definite pronoun "the" in "the girl" (line 390), she again emphasizes her unique status as a woman in the male dominated world of sales. Finally, the interviewee then concludes the story by explicitly linking it back to her initial story abstract, which she mitigates a bit this time by adding the 'shield' "I guess" (line 392).

So actually, the storyline itself is fairly simple and it can be summarized in one sentence, namely that the interviewee had to travel on public transport while carrying around a heavy load of samples in order to sell the company's products to distributors. This of course raises the question of why the story is formulated in such a lengthy way, and the answer is to be found in the many accounts that are inserted in the story, namely regarding the reason for the need to carry samples (lines 370–374), the mode of transport (line 376–378) and the complexity and length of the trip (lines 381–385). On the one hand, these accounts and details enhance the story's construction of factuality (cf Edwards and Potter 1992), while on the other hand, they also underline the difficulty of the endeavor and thus make the interviewee's effort even bigger. So a lot of discursive work goes into the construction of this story and the factuality of its topic, namely that it is quite a challenge for a woman to carry out that kind of work. But intriguingly, the interviewee then dismisses this challenge in line 387 by saying that she "had no issues"

and she only briefly mentions the reason for that (line 387–388). She thereby constructs herself as someone who repeatedly went through all that trouble without making a fuss about it, and thus as a professional who blends in with the men in the sales' business to the extent that her gender becomes invisible for her bosses and that she, as a professional, becomes 'unmarked' in relation to the dominant masculine norms. So in this fragment, the interviewee constructs her identity as a professional as non-challenged, while at the same time she vividly expresses the physical struggle she had to endure. As such, she demonstrates on the one hand the importance of the invisibility of her femininity for others to take her professional identity seriously, but on the other hand, through her extensive descriptions, she shows the physical difficulties for women to meet these requirements.

The (in)visibility dilemma

For a woman's gender to become invisible in a male-dominated professional context may seem like a matter of just blending in and acting like men, while dealing with occasional challenges – as for example described in Excerpt 3. But in fact, matters are much more complicated as one's differences with the majority group may become invisible on one level, but it is almost impossible to realize this on all levels, causing the struggle for the identity of a 'full' professional to surface again. Also in this interview, the interviewee tends to systematically claim that she has not experienced any gender differentiation, but at certain points she nuances this claim and describes her struggle for inclusion on all levels of professional life, as we see in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 3.

```
133  IE   Like I said, when it comes to ↓work
134       there was no differentiation they expected as much from ↓me
135       they were equally hard with ↓me.
136      But-e:r erm when it comes to when it came to social interaction level
137       that's where I felt that maybe you ↑know (.) [e:r
138  IR1                                                [ok
139  IE   they are a little more closer to the mA:le (.) population than to me
140       be↑cause  they could go out for smokes (.)
141       with them you know during e:r office hours
142       if somebody wants to have a smoke they could go out you know
143       put hand on each other's should[e:::::r (           )
144  IR1                                 [comradery
```

This fragment occurs quite early in the interview and initially, the interviewee repeats a point she has made before, namely that she did not encounter any form of gender differentiation from her bosses ("they", line 134–135). However, as the initial limitative frame suggests (line 133), this only concerns "work", and it is

thus not surprising that in line 136 the interviewee sets up a contrastive frame – as initiated by the contrastive conjunction "but" – in which she shifts the focus to the "social interaction level", as she calls it. Before describing the gender differentiation she encountered in that domain, however, in line 137, the interviewee utters a series of hedges ("I felt", "maybe"), a pause and a hesitation, which downplay and delay her upcoming words, in which she suggests that the bosses ("they", line 139) are closer to her male colleagues than to her. This is also mitigated by the hedge "a little more closer" (line 139) and it is also immediately accounted for by the description of the reason, namely that the men can all go out and have a smoke (lines 140–142) while also showing their friendship in a mildly physical way (line 143). This behavior is then categorized by the interviewer as "comradery" in an overlapping turn (line 144). So instead of questioning whether it would be really impossible for the interviewee to join the men when they have a smoke, the interviewer aligns with her line of reasoning, thus clearly orienting to a set of shared norms about appropriate behavior for a woman.

In this description, the initial three-fold opposition between the bosses ("they"), the "male population" and the interviewee ("me") of line 139 immediately sets apart the interviewee as *other*. In lines 140–141, she drops out of the opposition, which now consists of "they" versus "them", namely the two male groups of bosses and employees. Then, finally, in line 142–143, this opposition evaporates, since she now speaks of a "they" that includes both, formerly opposing, groups. As such, a collectivity of men across hierarchical levels is created, thus constructing herself as a woman in a social position of exclusion, who is powerless against the societal norms.

By orienting to these shared norms, the interviewee on the one hand is not able to join in the professional ingroup – thus losing her struggle for inclusion – but on the other hand, by not breaking the societal norms, she constructs her identity as a good woman and by adhering to these norms, she does not draw attention to her *otherness* in the organization. However, this dilemma between breaking – and hence potentially becoming a member of the professional ingroup – and orienting to these norms – resulting in the identity construction of a decent woman – is clearly something the interviewee is often struggling with, as she does not always make the same choice. This is illustrated in the final fragment, which is broken down in two parts because of its length.

Preceding this fragment, the interviewee is talking about company parties regarding which she "guesses" that "they expected that I would shy away from these parties but I did not". After an initial general discussion, the interviewee then initiates the following story, focusing on a specific example of such a party, which she frames as an "incident" (line 205):

Excerpt 4A.

```
205  IE   In fact, I distinctly remember this one incident (.) e:r hhh·
206       see the guys who handle the PCO segment
207       they are dealing with the kind of clients erm who are like
208       dukandars °you know° the photocopy e:rm shop owners (.)
209       that kind of cat[egory
210  IR1                  [that level
211  IE   that level of people (.) and (there) were a whole lot of them
((7 lines omitted discussing the importance of the dukandars))
219       So, every year there used to be a party for ↓them
((3 lines omitted discussing where the dealers came from and where the
party was held))
223       and to make the party interesting there used to be e:r
224       £bar dancers coming from Bombay£ and (Nasik)
225       although, I mean (.) the sound of it makes it seem as if
226       it is going to be really ba:d and stuff but it was not,
227       it's just that there were bar dancers and they were dancing
228       and it was exciting enough to that (.) kind of people=
229  IR1  =°that quadra[nt° (.) °mmm°
230  IE                [yaa but e:r it wasn't so sleazy al↓so (.)
```

In this fragment, the focus of the story is a party that was set up to enhance relations between her colleagues from "the PCO segment"[1] and "dukandars", which literally means "small shopkeepers" and which the interviewee then specifies further to "photocopy shop owners" (line 208). On the one hand, her colleagues are described in male terms ("the guys", line 206), thus making gender relevant here, while on the other hand, the clients are vaguely, yet repeatedly, sketched as a specific – implied lower – "kind" (line 207, 209) or "category" (line 209) of people. This categorization is corroborated by the interviewer, who makes it more explicit adding a description in terms of "level" (line 210), which is mirrored by the interviewee in the subsequent line. Hence the categories "dukandars" and "bar dancers" are invoked here and their low status is collaboratively, yet fairly implicitly, constructed by the interviewer and the interviewee.

So after collaboratively having categorized these clients at a specific – implied lower – "level", the interviewee continues by stressing their quantity and importance before picking up the thread of the story again in line 219, linking it back to the topic of the party. After a brief orientation phase concerning where the party was held (omitted here for reasons of space), the interviewee names its main feature which makes the story particularly reportable (Labov 2006), namely the presence of "bar dancers" (line 224). The preceding hesitation (line 223), the smile voice with which the words are pronounced and the immediately following account which acknowledges how "bad" it sounds (line 226) all indicate that the topic is situated

1. Elsewhere in the interview, the interviewee explained that she is not in the PCO (= Public Call Office) segment, but in the broadband segment.

in the taboo sphere. The interviewee then quickly continues by explaining that in reality, it was "just" a couple of "dancing bar dancers" (line 227), thus clearly downplaying the taboo nature of the activities. Furthermore, this is then linked again to the low status of the clients the party was thrown for, which is – again – collaboratively constructed with the interviewer, who upgrades the interviewee's categorization "that kind of people" (line 228) to "that quadrant" (line 229), referring to a specific – implied lower – part of society. Initially, the interviewee had already claimed that "just" having dancers (line 227) was "exciting enough" for these clients, but after the interviewer's additional categorization, which emphasizes their low status, the interviewee first aligns with this categorization ("yaa", line 230), but then adds a contrastively framed (hence the initial "but", line 230) refutation of the implied meaning in this categorization, namely that – in spite of the implied category-bound features of "that quadrant" of people – the activities during the party were not "so sleazy" (line 230).

So in this initial part of the story, the interviewee has extensively set the scene for her story, mainly by describing habitual activities (hence the repetition of "used to" in lines 219 and 223) and general characteristics of the kind of people that populate the storyworld that is sketched here. Given the slightly taboo nature of this topic, it is not surprising that a lot of discursive work is invested in mitigating the actual activities and by also framing them as particularly designed for "that kind of" of people, thus further distancing herself from the storyworld characters and their actions. At this point, the role of the interviewee is entirely unclear, and this is solved in the following lines, in which she explicitly addresses the issue of the 'why tell'-question (Bruner 1991: 71) – which is particularly relevant given the taboo sphere of the story – in the first line of the fragment:

Excerpt 4B.

```
231        So, why I am relating this incident in front of you
232        because thi- this was one party where I was actually
233        discouraged to come (.) you know that=
234   IR1  =openly
235   IE   ya I was openly told that "see it would be better
236        if you DO::N't come because they would not like it"
237        but I being me: £I still I went£ hhh· @@
238   IR1  >and you had your set of friends<
((9 lines omitted with a discussion of the company segment the IE's friends
worked in))
248   IE   >so I went and hung out with them for a while and I came back<
249        ·hh the reason I went because I had a point to prove
250        that you know no matter what £I'm going to be there£
251        for all your social parties irr- irrespective (   )
252        I am the only girl in the team it does not matter.
253   IR1  °°hmm hmm°°
```

So in the initial lines of this fragment, the interviewee explicitly accounts for the relevance of this story, demonstrating an explicit orientation to the recipients of the story ("in front of you", line 231), as such linking the story back to the topic of gender differentiation, which, in this case, consists of a discouragement (line 233) to attend that particular party. The interviewer probes further for the way this was communicated to the interviewee, after which the latter inserts direct reported speech to demonstrate how she was discouraged, as such "convey[ing] an air of 'objectivity' about what happened" (Buttny 1997: 480). Interestingly, all agents are left vague, since the passive voice is used twice in relation to the discouragement ("I was discouraged", line 233; "I was told", line 235), but also in the direct quote a vague 3rd person pronominal form ("they", line 236) is used to refer to the people who would disapprove of the interviewee's presence.

In the subsequent line, the interviewee then says that contrary to this advice, she "still" went to the party (line 237) and she accounts for that by referring to her personality ("I being me:", line 237). Instead of probing for this further, the interviewer then shifts the focus to the presence of her friends (which the interviewee had talked about prior to this fragment), which is then discussed in detail (lines omitted here for reasons of space). As such, the interviewer constructs an ingroup between the interviewee and her "set of friends" (line 238), thus emphasizing the distance between the interviewee and the low level *dukandars* (as collaboratively negotiated with the interviewer, see above), of whom it is implied that they would engage in – potentially taboo – activities with the bar dancers. The interviewee then wraps up the story really briefly in line 248 by aligning with the construction of this ingroup and claiming her brief presence at the party. She then explicitly formulates the point of the story in the evaluation phase (Labov and Waletzky 1966) by framing it in terms of conflict and accounting for her presence in ideological gender terms ("I had a point to prove", line 249), which stands in sharp contrast with the ways in which she has previously constructed her identity as a professional whose gender is irrelevant. She then even boosts this in the subsequent line, by implying that she would act on this ideological position in even extremer cases ("no matter what", line 250; "for all your social parties", line 251). Then in line 252, she concludes by stating that gender is irrelevant for her professional identity as a team member, which, as the preceding fragment has proven, is her personal opinion rather than a shared norm in Indian society.

So in this story, the interviewee constructs herself as a member of the professional team, who makes a point of attending company parties, even if this goes against general societal norms. Crucial, though, is that by trying to blend in with the (male) team, she provokes a situation in which she is explicitly challenged, as her description of the open discouragement as well as her own evaluation that

she "had a point to prove" (line 249) indicate. So it is through her struggle for an identity as a competent professional who is a member of the professional ingroup, that the interviewee's *otherness* becomes an object of discussion.

Discussion and conclusion

In the analyses, we have demonstrated that the interviewee displays a general tendency towards aligning with the invisible masculine norms of the workplace and by acting like her male colleagues, she aspires to construct herself as a competent professional whose "gender and marked femininity […] disappear" (Lewis and Simpson 2012: 152). This thus makes her gender 'invisible' and as such, she constructs her identity as an 'unmarked' professional. This irrelevance of her gendered identity is immediately related to (1) her personality, which she claims is perceived as containing typical manly traits (e.g. aggressiveness, see Excerpt 1) and (2) her willingness to carry out physically challenging work (see Excerpt 2). The interviewee thus mimics the behavior of men – cf. 'disappearance' (Lewis and Simpson 2012). On the one hand, she emphasizes this, but on the other hand she normalizes it as well, thus displaying her struggle for membership of the professional ingroup by complying with the unmarked masculine norms of her workplace.

However, while sometimes aligning with societal norms (see Excerpt 3), she sometimes also challenges them in an attempt to struggle for inclusion in the professional ingroup. She does this by going to parties that are discursively constructed as unacceptable for women (see Excerpt 4A and 4B). However, instead of leading to the desired inclusion in the professional ingroup, this results in 'exposure' (Lewis and Simpson 2012), as it draws attention to the interviewee's *otherness*, making her femininity particularly visible. The way she deals with this visibility is a matter of discursive negotiation. On the hand, the interviewee seems to revel in it by stating that she has "a point to prove" (line 249, Excerpt 4B), while on the other hand she minimizes it as she says her gender "does not matter" (line 252, Excerpt 4B), thus exposing her struggle for inclusion in the professional ingroup. So clearly, these processes of 'disappearance' and 'exposure' are closely interrelated, as Lewis and Simpson (2012) emphasized, and they also demonstrate the many contradictions women face in their struggle for a legitimate and *full* position in the workplace.

Finally, it is interesting to look at these findings from the perspective of Holmes et al.'s (2011: 19) multilayered model of intercultural interaction, as this relates particular interactional norms of the workplace to larger organizational and societal norms. From the interviewee's stories, it is clear that her work

experience – especially in the sales domain – was situated in teams which were not only dominated by men in terms of quantity, but also in terms of the acceptability of certain activities in professional social practices. These activities, which specifically allow professionals to 'do collegiality' (Excerpt 3) or to enhance their relations with clients (Excerpt 4A/B), are of course vital aspects of professional life, but they are also, from an Indian societal perspective, exclusively oriented to men. And so women are often not allowed legitimate access to these activities because of cultural constraints and are thus denied full membership of the professional ingroup. Thus, given the interrelated nature of these workplace norms and societal norms (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011: 19), on the one hand, changes in broader societal norms could contribute to changing the male oriented norms of many Indian companies and organizations, while on the other hand, grassroots initiatives for gender equality in the corporate world could yield important societal changes as well. Up till then, Indian women will keep on oscillating between visibility and invisibility in their struggle for a legitimate identity in the workplace.

References

Bamberg, Michael. 2006. "Stories: Big or small; Why do we care?" *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 139–147. doi: 10.1075/ni.16.1.18bam

Bhattacharyya, Rica. 2013. "New company law gives a big push to gender diversity at workplace." *The Economic Times* 24–12–2013. Retrieved December 09, 2014 from http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2013-12-24/news/45540217_1_gender-diversity-poonam-barua-five-women.

Bhattacharyya, Rica. 2014. "Nearly 60% of companies at an entry level on gender maturity scale in India." *The Economic Times* 07-11-2014. Retrieved December 09, 2014 from http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/jobs/nearly-60-of-companies-at-an-entry-level-on-gender-maturity-scale-in-india/articleshow/45063878.cms.

Bruner, Jerome S. 1991. "Self-making and world-making." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 25(1): 67–78. doi: 10.2307/3333092

Budhwar, Pawan, Saini, Debi and Bhatnagar, Jyotsna. 2011. "Women in management in the new economic environment: The case of India." *Asia Pacific Business Review* 11(2): 179–193. doi: 10.1080/136023042000291199

Burr, Vivien. 1995. *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. Routledge: London. doi: 10.4324/9780203299968

Buttny, Richard. 1997. "Reported speech in talking race on campus." *Human Communication Research* 23(4): 477–506. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1997.tb00407.x

Carranza, Isolda E. 1998. "Low-narrativity narratives and argumentation." *Narrative Inquiry* 8(2): 287–317. doi: 10.1075/ni.8.2.04car

De Fina, Anna. 2009. "Narratives in interview – The case of accounts; For an interactional approach to narrative genres." *Narrative Inquiry* 19(2): 233–258. doi: 10.1075/ni.19.2.03def

Edwards, Derek and Potter, Jonathan. 1992. *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.

Freeman, Mark. 2006. "Life "on holiday"? In defense of big stories." *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 131–138. doi:10.1075/ni.16.1.17fre

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 2006. "Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis." *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 122–130. doi:10.1075/ni.16.1.16geo

Holmes, Janet, Marra, Meredith and Vine, Bernadette. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Jefferson, Gail. 2004. "Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction." In *Conversation Analysis; Studies from the first generation*, Gene H. Lerner (ed.), 13–31. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.125.02jef

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.

Labov, Willam and Waletzky, Joshua. 1966. "Narrative analysis: oral versions of personal experience." In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, June Helm (ed.), 12–44. Universiy of Washington Press: Seattle.

Labov, William. 2006. "Narrative pre-construction." *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 37–45. doi:10.1075/ni.16.1.07lab

Lewis, Patricia and Simpson, Ruth. 2012. "Kanter revisited: Gender, power and (in) visibility." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 14(2): 141–158. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2370.2011.00327.x

Linde, Charlotte. 1993. *Life Stories: The Creation of Coherence*. Oxford University Press: New York / Oxford.

Mullany, Louise J. 2010. "Gendered identities in the professional workplace: Negotiating the glass ceiling." In *Language and Identities*, Carmen Llamas and Dominic Watt (eds.), 179–191. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

O'Connor, Patricia E. 1994. "'You could feel it through the skin': Agency and positioning in prisoners' stabbing stories." *Text* 14(1): 45–75.

Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. "Extreme case formulations: A way of legitimizing claims." *Human Studies* 9(2): 219–229. doi:10.1007/BF00148128

Population Census. 2011. (n.d.). Retrieved December 5, 2014, from http://www.census2011.co.in/

Prince, Ellen F., Frader, Joel and Bosk, Charles. 1982. "On hedging in physician-physician discourse." In *Linguistics and the Professions*, Robert J. Di Pietro (ed.), 83–97. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Widdicombe, Sue. 1998. "Identity as an analysts' and a participants' resource." In *Identities in Talk*, Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe (eds.), 191–206. London: Sage.

CHAPTER 9

The dynamics of identity struggle in interdisciplinary meetings in higher education

Seongsook Choi and Keith Richards
University of Edinburgh

In response to shifts in requirements for research funding, interest in interdisciplinary engagement has burgeoned, but as yet the interactional dynamics of interdisciplinary meetings have received almost no attention. This chapter draws on a data set of over 20 hours of audio-recorded talk from 12 different interdisciplinary meetings involving biologists, mathematicians, bioinformaticians and statisticians. Drawing on a combination of applied conversation analysis and quantitative analysis (using the Interactional Discourse Lab developed by one of the authors), it explicates the ways in which disciplinary identities are deployed in the reconciliation of different perspectives on shared problems. In interdisciplinary engagement, the interactive and contingently accomplished process of identity construction is mediated by reference to epistemic rights associated with disciplinary membership, and while there is assumed parity of disciplinary entitlement, in practice the power of a dominant discipline can be invoked by relevant participants in order to establish epistemic precedence.

Keywords: interdisciplinary identity, disciplinary identity, identity struggle, interdisciplinary, discipline, interdisciplinary engagement, Interactional Discourse Lab, research meeting, conversation analysis, epistemics, Biology, Statistics, Systems Biology, drys, wets

Introduction

In response to shifts in requirements for research funding, interest in interdisciplinary engagement has burgeoned (e.g. Moran 2010, Strober 2011), but as yet the interactional dynamics of interdisciplinary meetings have received little attention (but see Choi and Schnurr 2014). While access to discipline-specific rhetorical subtleties and shared understandings might allow intra-disciplinary disputes to be played out in public arenas such as journal pages and conference platforms

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.09cho
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

with a degree of finesse, engagement across disciplines allows no such recourse; here, if anything is at stake it is the discipline itself and its legitimacy within the relevant discourse.

In such contexts, conflicts are realised in the form of struggles to establish epistemic rights to determine what counts as relevant knowledge, which in turn implicates participant identities. In this chapter we draw on recent work on epistemics and the theory of communication proposed by Jürgen Habermas to explicate ways in which a group of researchers engage with aspects of disciplinary identity, both externally and internally. In doing so, we take up the claim in the Introduction to this volume that the construction of professional identities is "closely related to portraying oneself as being competent in a particular profession" (p. 3), considering this not in terms of an expert/non-expert relationship but from the perspective of the engagement of experts from different disciplines, where epistemic claims have particular salience.

Disciplinarity, entitlement and epistemics

The academic discipline has been described as a 'basic unit' within which academics "can determine their place on the map of disciplinary knowledge, alongside the cosmopolitan framework of the 'invisible college'" (Henkel 2000: 19). Where different disciplines are brought together, therefore, more is involved than the straightforward engagement of different funds of knowledge, and research in this area has focused on the collaborative challenges involved. The importance of interaction in this context is brought out by Moran's (2010: 14) definition of interdisciplinarity as "any form of dialogue or interaction between two or more disciplines: the level, type, purpose and effect of this interaction remain to be examined".

This research presents a varied picture in terms of both approach and findings. Lingard et al. (2007) and Paulus et al. (2010), for example, provide accounts of the processes involved in collaborative teams, but while the latter report no internal conflicts, the former identify conflict in the analytical process. The focus in Akkerman et al. (2012) is also on mechanisms of collaboration, but their longitundinal study identifies a shift from an 'I' to a 'we' orientation over time and cautions against treating unity as a straightforward category or something to be pursued in isolation (see Reissner-Roubicek, this volume, for a discussion of personal pronouns in representing teamwork). Instead, they point to the importance of the dynamic interplay of unity and diversity. The closest study to our own is that of Housley (2000), which shows how displays of knowledge and expertise involving experts from different fields are situated achievements, though our analysis goes further in revealing divisions within disciplinary groupings.

In this chapter we draw on Habermas' distinction between three different sorts of rationality: means-end rationality, communicative rationality, and critical rationality. We focus in particular on the second of these, which recognises that claims are contextualised and historically situated and directs attention away from the nature of the claims themselves and towards the ways in which they are dealt with in action. As Rowley-Jolivet and Carter-Thomas (2005: 64) note, most of the work on the rhetoric of academic discourse has focused on written genres leaving unaddressed the ways in which communicative rationality is instantiated through spoken engagement, though there are notable exceptions (e.g. Ochs et al. 1994, Ochs and Jacoby 1997). As we will show, its realisation through the more locally contextualised construction of face-to-face encounters may expose inequalities of disciplinary status that are otherwise hidden beneath the explicitly collaborative orientation of interdisciplinary teams.

The relational element identified by Habermas has also been recognised by researchers in the field of argument, where arguments are characterised in terms of oppositional relationships (O'Keefe and Benoit 1982: 162) and where "a great deal of ordinary argumentation does not take place through straightforward exchange of assertive acts; indeed it often seems to create a purposeful indefiniteness of force and meaning" (van Eemeren et al. 1993: 172). Such arguments are enacted in the context of social structures in which the dynamics of power play a part and one of the criticisms levelled at Habermas by Foucault is that his approach is 'utopian' because it does not allow for relations of power (for a discussion, see Tully 1999: 130–139). The same charge might be levelled at our analysis, which analytically does not adopt a critical perspective. Nevertheless, in exposing inequalities of access to epistemic rights it demonstrates an asymmetry of entitlements that is explicable in terms proposed by Habermas:

> this symmetry of entitlements and obligations is guaranteed if interlocutors have equal opportunities to employ regulatives, that is, if the opportunities to command and resist, to allow and forbid, to make and extract promises, and to answer for one's actions and demand that others do so, are equally distributed
>
> (Habermans 2001: 99)

As Fuller (2002: 191) observes, "a discipline is 'bounded' by its procedure for adjudicating knowledge claims" and participation in shared projects involving researchers from different fields of expertise creates a site of potential contestation in which knowledge claims and disciplinary identities are engaged. Pioneering work by Heritage and Raymond (e.g. Heritage and Raymond 2005) has opened up new lines of enquiry into the ways in which speakers display orientations to knowledge claims and rights of access to relevant knowledge in interaction. Stivers and Rossano (2010), for example, have shown how speakers use different methods

to mark something as belonging to their 'epistemic domain' and Heritage (2012a) has proposed an 'epistemic gradient' from more knowledgeable to less knowledgeable. Statements positioned at the higher end of this gradient, implying 'a claim of primary epistemic and/or moral right' (Heritage and Raymond 2005: 34) are open to challenge. Our approach draws on this in order to explicate the ways in which group members challenge the claims by others by deploying their own disciplinary knowledge to exclusory effect. We place this within the broader context of the hybrid nature of systems biology and the challenges this brings.[1]

Data

We draw on a corpus of over 400 hours of audio-recorded meetings of different interdisciplinary scientific research groups, including large funded collaborative research projects as well as interdisciplinary supervision meetings. Participants come from different disciplines including mathematics, statistics, biology and bio-informatics, and they involve full professors to PhD students. In this paper we draw on the data from the regular meetings of five different interdisciplinary research project groups, amounting to 24 hours of transcribed data from a full data set of over 400 hours of audio-recorded talk. The frequency of the project group meetings varies depending on the number of institutions and participants involved and the length of typical meetings ranges from two hours to eight hours. The ALPHA research team meet every two weeks as all members in this group are from the same institution. The BETA and DELTA group hold quarterly meetings as the members are from three different institutions although the members of the same institutions meet at least once a month. The GAMMA research group, a subgroup of the DELTA group, met a few times to write a journal paper, while the KAPPA group met only twice for the purpose of writing a grant proposal.

Research projects in the area of bio-informatics and systems biology typically comprise two teams: a 'wet' team and a 'dry' team. The former refers to biologists who conduct laboratory experiments, and the latter covers theoreticians (statisticians, mathematicians, bio-informaticians) who analyse biological data with statistical models and computer generated simulations. All the research groups we refer to in this paper involve collaborations between a wet team and a dry team.

1. For the purposes of the chapter we refer to systems biology as a 'subject' to distinguish it from the disciplines within it.

The challenge of hybridity

If the academic discipline is regarded as a 'basic unit' within the academy, this represents a challenge to 'institutionalized hybrids' (Palmer 1999: 242) that draw on different disciplines and hence do not map neatly onto the epistemic domains that inform evaluative decisions. While it may be possible to accommodate them institutionally, their hybridity not only denies them access to conventionalised frameworks of evaluation but at a more fundamental level represents an ontological challenge. In this section and the next, we show how some of the unpalatable consequences of this are accepted by the group. We also show how external threats to the integrity of their subject are represented within the group and how this provides an opportunity for the establishment of shared positions that strengthen ties across the fundamental division between wets and dries.

We begin with two very brief examples revealing how members of the group refer to themselves and how important labelling is in their work. In one sense, despite the fact that "there is no single concise definition of systems biology" (Katze 2013: v), being a systems biologist is unproblematic since the name is widely recognised and there is an extensive body of research associated with it. However, there is no evidence in our data set of any direct reference to disciplinarity, much less a claim to this status within the academy. The orientation of members of this group is instead to a community of researchers working within this diverse field, so that we find Amy referring to "the rest of the systems biology community" (Amy – DELTA-28Apr-002:1911). The use of the term 'community' has been described by Kogan as having "become so promiscuous as to deprive it of meaning" and he notes that academic development needs to be "firmly rooted in the intellectual self-confidence of the discipline and subject areas to which academics belong" (2000: 209). The implications of this are not lost on members of the team, who explicitly recognise the importance of nomenclature in terms of their positioning on the academic map. As the team discuss the early stages of a bid proposal they are preparing, for example, Jack insists that 'we've got to have an official name otherwise we won't know what we're talking about' (Jack – KAPPA-15Apr-001:329).

That this issue in nomenclature is a matter of very pressing financial as well as academic relevance is brought home in the experiences that members of the group have had with funding bodies and their responses to decisions by these bodies. Myers (1990: 60) has argued that the "proposal process … changes the field in a more fundamental way, by challenging the terms in which the subspeciality defines itself" and in Extract 1.1 the team respond to precisely this challenge. They have been discussing arrangements for a bid and the issue of ageing and health as a topic relevant to the bid has emerged. The transcript begins at the end of this discussion.

Extract 1.1

```
001      John:  We defi┌nitely do (xxxxx xxx)┐
002      Gary:         └Healthy helps. Hhhheh┘=
003             =heh┌°heheh°
004      John:      └systems biology or n:ew ways
005             of work┌ing.
006       Ben:         └Well, it w- we can
007             cer┌tainly┐ do ┌tha::t I┐ mean it=
008      John:     └heheh!┘    |        |
009     Gary?:                 └so it w-┘
010       Ben:  =is:: (.) ┌kind┐'v:e
011      John:            └yeah┘
012             (0.3)
013      Gary:  yea:h=
014      John:  ='snot call' the:=you don't call
015             it °>systems biology any
016             mo┌re<° you call it new ways of┐=
017      Gary:    └new ways of wo:rk. (.) yea:h┘
018      John:  =working. Yeah kh!hah┌ahah
019      Paul:                       └or new
020             directions ┌becaus:e  ┐
021      John:             └'s >'at rh┘ight<=
022      Paul:  's use┌ful.
023      John:       └>I'll have to-< we'll
024                      have to remember that.=
                                          [KAPPA-15Apr-001:3051]
```

John's introduction of the topic of the terms in which the proposal will be framed (004), while generally related to the topic of putting a team together for the bid, is neither explicitly marked as a change of topic nor preceded by a process of stepwise transition (Jefferson 1984), which may explain why it is not immediately taken up and needs to be reintroduced (014) after the previous topic has finally played itself out. Whereas the original format simply set up 'new ways of working' as an alternative to 'systems biology', here Mark spells out the fact that the former has now *replaced* the latter ('you don't call it systems biology any more') as the category under which their work falls. His brief burst of laughter, more emphatic than the first, serves to upgrade his implicit evaluation of this change as laughable. Gary's overlapping completion and agreement in line 17 reveals that he is already aware of the change, while Paul goes on to identify 'new directions' as an alternative label. What is interesting up to this point is that, apart from Mark's marking of the change as a candidate laughable (Jefferson 1979), which is not taken up by the group, the change of label is accepted without comment. In fact, Mark's own reaction to the alternative identified by Paul is simply to note that he needs to remember it (023–24). The power of funding bodies to determine the title of panels goes unchallenged, though the implications for the status of their subject is clear.

We return to this extract below, but first offer an explanation of why it might be that the erasure of the name of their subject is accepted with apparent equanimity. It is a commonplace that survival as an academic depends on successful publication in recognised journals and, increasingly, on attracting research funding. With respect to the former, hybridity represents a challenge that must be negotiated via an assessment of the disciplinary identity of reviewers, allowing the relevant output to be adjusted accordingly. Hence we find contributions of the following sort: 'I mean certainly if a biologist reads it they won't even think about it. But if a statistician reads it. (Joan – DELTA 26 May 005:627).

Grant awarding bodies represent a more formidable challenge. The pre-eminence of the discipline within the academy is likely to be reflected in the composition of relevant panels and, in an increasingly competitive environment, hybridity may be regarded unsympathetically. The team has direct experience of the refusal of such panels to recognise their field. An example of this is to be found in the team's discussion of the shift for funding purposes away from the category 'systems biology' to 'new ways of working'. It transpires that this is not merely a change in nomenclature:

Extract 1.2

```
023      John:  I'll have to-< we'll
024             have to remember that.=
025      Paul:  =(xxx ┌xxxx).
026      Gary:        └WE┌LL ACTUally in this:=
027      John:           └It is eh new ways of=
028      Gary:  =studentshi:p,┐
029      John:  working panel ┘ I think.
030      Gary:  In their st┌udent┐ship=
031      Paul:             └yeah?┘
032      Gary:  =>'s same< they've gone even
033             further back that they now say
034             they wa- it jus' says that we
035             want mathematical 'n
036             computation┌al
037      John:             └I thought that was
038             biza::rre.
039      Gary:  HHe>heheh<
040      John:  AB(.)SOlutely:
041      Gary:  °yeah°
042             (0.8)
043      John:  Absolutely=
044      Gary:  =°yeah°=
045      John:  I was stunned by that. 'ts
046             absolutely bizarre.=
047      Gary:  =wu- yeah >┌'s does  ┐n't mention=
048      John:             └°bizarre°┘
049      Gary:  =systems >biology j's say they
```

```
050                want< mathematical 'n
051                computational.
052        John:   yeah
053        Gary:   yeah
054        Ben:    yeah                          [KAPPA-15Apr-001:3051]
```

Gary's overlap with Paul (026), begins with 'Well actually', indicating a shift of emphasis in the topic while signalling that the nature of the contribution has just occurred to him (Clift 2001: 281). The link with the prior topic is made explicit in line 32 but marked as even more regressive in terms of their identity: studentships are available only in mathematical and computational disciplines. What follows is in marked contrast to the prior exchange, where explicit evaluation was absent. John's response (037) to Gary's statement marginally overlaps at the point of syntactic completion and offers an assessment of the changes identified by Gary.

Previous work on assessments (e.g. Pomerantz 1984) has shown how their incremental design allows participants to collectively establish shared perspectives and orientations, and the subsequent talk follows this pattern. John's initial assessment (037–38) is what Fasulo and Zucchermaglio (2002) describe as an 'epistemic IMU [I-marked utterance]', a mitigation device allowing the alignment of speaker and listeners with respect to the claim. Gary's laughter prompts an immediate and emphatic upgrade from John (040), which is repeated following agreement from Gary. In line 45 John upgrades the claim further by claiming to have been 'stunned' by the 'absolutely bizarre' decision. This prompts explicit confirmation from Gary that systems biology was not even mentioned and the sequence concludes with agreement from John, Gary and Ben.

As Tracy and Naughton (2000: 74) observe, '[i]dentity-work refers to the way talk implicates self, partners' identities and, where relevant, the institutional group identity or that of non-present others' and this exchange reveals how the group members orient to a threat to their academic identity as systems biologists. While making no attempt to struggle against the recategorisation of their activity by funding bodies, they nevertheless resist the withholding of the membership category 'systems biologist' from new entrants to their community, representing the decisions of the funding body as 'absolutely bizarre'. The shift from the use of 'you' in Extract 1.1 (014, 016), reflecting an acceptance of the new status quo without reference to the panel, to a 'they' orientation in Extract 1.2 implicates the panel in the decision and thereby establishes them as a legitimate target for criticism. In co-constructing their response to the panel the group share a tacit notion of the essence of their own discipline (Gerholm 1990: 265–66), implicitly affirm their shared identity, and in the process of alignment transcend the wet/dry distinction that characterises systems biology.

Disciplinary identity and epistemic status

The resources available to team members for dealing with external challenges would be problematic if deployed internally, and the data provide no evidence of explicit assessments of the sort displayed in Extract 1.2. Similarly, frequent recourse to oppositional indexicals typified by we/they references would serve only to undermine the collaborative orientation on which the group's success depends. Nevertheless, as we reveal in this section, the division between wet and dry is by no means as balanced as might be expected. While, in Morrison et al.'s terms (2003: 293), these are *vertical* teams in which junior staff collaborate with professors, academic status is less salient than epistemic status.

Although it has been argued that advances in biology involve conceptual shifts rather than discoveries (Mayr 1982), this is not reflected in the balance within this group, where biology and the experiments associated with it dominate. In what follows we first give a sense of how recognition of this features in the talk, following this with a picture of how the balance of contributions is unevenly distributed across the group, and concluding with an analysis of exchanges involving two participants which reveals how their identity as dries plays out in the struggle for epistemic legitimacy.

Wets and dries

Recognition of the fundamental division between wet and dry is displayed throughout the group's exchanges and takes differing forms, all of them confirming the dominant status of biology. At its most basic it emerges as epistemic positioning, as when Alex admits, 'well so I'm fuzzy on the biological interpretation myself but…' (Alex – GAMMA-22-Mar:1798). It also emerges within a joking frame, drawing attention to occasions when members become immersed in their own field at the expense of comprehensibility. On one occasion, for example, after Lucy (a wet) has presented an explanation of what she plans to do ('So in terms of the D-E-Fs I was gonna do an E-C-D, but then I think I could do an E-C-D on the 3C thing'), to general laughter Gary observes, 'No jargon there, then.' (DELTA-28Apr-002:8705). Sometimes the dries bite back. When Gary comments, 'That's if Paul [a dry] does the experiment', Paul waits for the subsequent laughter to die down and replies, *dryly*, 'That would be the safe option.' (For discussion of the relationship between laughter and co-membership, see Tranekjær, this volume.)

Such banter as this is not unusual in collaborative work where members of the team come from very different backgrounds and with different knowledge and skill sets, but as we will now show it is part of a bigger picture in which dries need to struggle in order to establish their epistemic rights. First, though, we provide a picture of their interaction within the group.

The balance of contributions

The research group meetings are essentially exploratory, designed to share understandings of experimental or simulation results produced by post-doctoral researchers who are responsible for conducting biological experiments and generating simulations. The division of labour between the wet and dry teams in these research collaborations is reflected in the interaction patterns as the teams discuss the research progress and decide on what needs to be done next. Figure 1 below shows clearly the uneven levels of participation of the wets and dries of five ALPHA research group meetings. Each of the meetings typically lasted two hours and involved six participants, though not all members were present in some meetings. Each bar represents one meeting, and the gaps represent the member's absence. The y-axis represents each member's turns as a proportion of the total

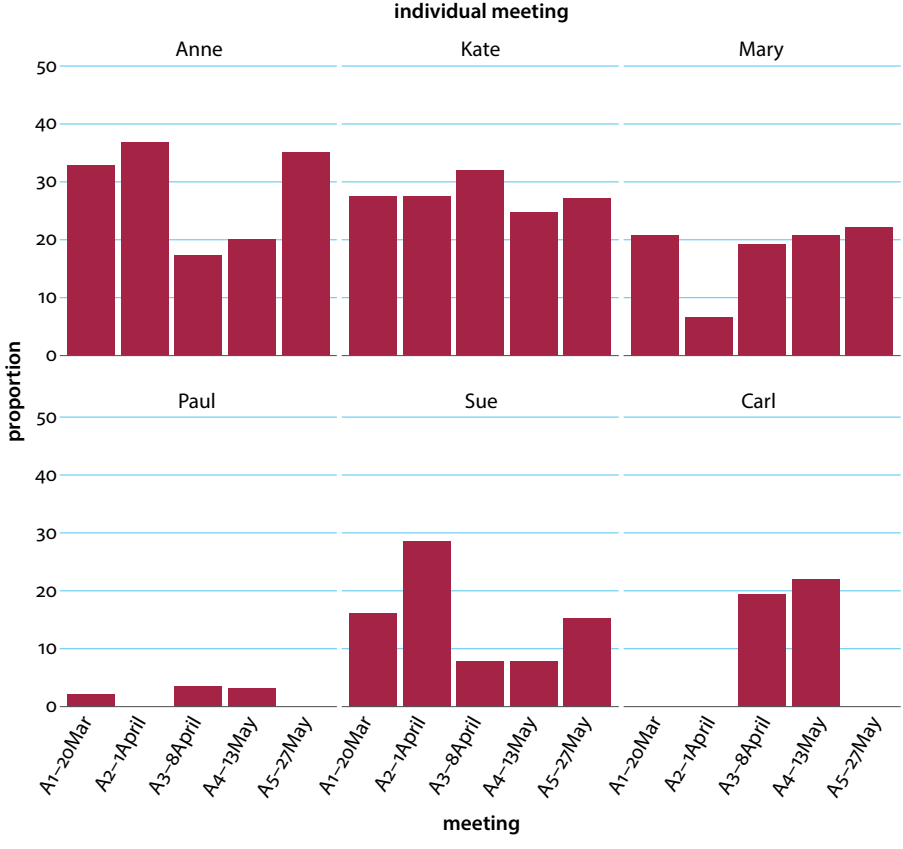

Figure 1. Member's individual participation in five meetings

number of turns in each meeting. The wet team in this research group comprised Kate, the Principle Investigator (P.I.), and Mary, both biologists, while the dry group was made up of two mathematicians, Anne and Carl, a statistician, Sue, and a bio-informatician, Paul. The post-doctoral researchers in this group are Mary and Anne.

While analyses of this sort should be treated as merely indicative, where very clear patterns emerge, as here, they are worth noting as part of the interactional context within which specific exchanges occur. With the exception of Anne, a dry team member, who most closely interacts with both the wet team and dry team and who therefore participates the most in all meetings, the level of participation between the dries and wets is clearly different. In fact, a close look at the exchanges between the two teams at the turn level, represented in Figure 2, reveals not only the uneven distribution of participation but also some restricted relationships between the members.

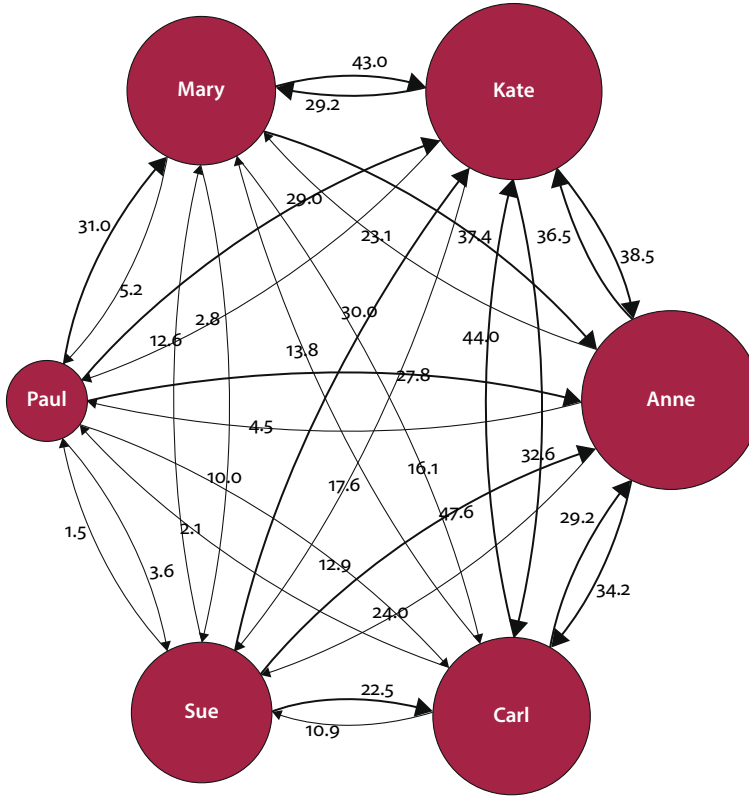

Figure 2. The network of speaker interactions

In this network, the size of circles represents the average proportion of the speakers' overall participation in all five meetings. The thickness of the arrows shows the average proportion of exchanges between the participants, whose numerical values are shown.

There are two sets of relationships that are of particular interest in the group, the first an asymmetric relationship between dries and wets. More turns are directed at the wets (Mary and Kate) from the dries than the opposite. This is expected as, for statistical purposes, the dries need to check or display their understandings of biological data generated by the wets. The wets, however, tend to participate less in discussions around statistical analysis. The other interesting relationship is between Sue, the statistician, and the other dries: her interactions are almost exclusively with Anne, perhaps because their interaction is mostly restricted to these meetings.

The pattern of asymmetric relationships between the dries and wets is a common feature in most if not all bio-informatics and systems biology interdisciplinary research projects. This relationship reflects not only the nature of research projects in these subjects but also their disciplinary identities, including their discipline specific knowledge. Whereas dries are interested in the experimental data, which relates directly to their analysis, this interest is not reciprocated by wets.

Struggling to be heard

Interdisciplinary projects involve the encounter of different epistemic domains (Stivers and Rossano 2010), exposing differences in understanding. Extract 2 provides an example of how one member's pursuit of a line of questioning is closed down by an implicit rejection of her rights, as a dry, to relevant knowledge.

Extract 2

```
45   Sue: Why are the blue ones not (.) the sa:me
46        across
47        (2.0)
48   Sue: across the experiment.
49  Mary: eh just because of the variability of
50        the ↓chip.
51        (1.5)
52  Mary: 'cuz: as much as I trie::d (.) like y'r
53        gonna have a biological effect 'cuz each
54        sample's different.
55   Sue: Oka:y.
56  Mary: So=
57   Sue: =So ┌so if the- if THEIR if their┐=
```

```
58  Mary:     └I don't think there's e- o- ┘
59   Sue: =variability wasn't there (.) you would
60        have
61        (0.4)
62   Sue: they- they'd be all the same.
63        (0.8)
64 Kate?: °HHehuh°
65  Mary: I mea:n: w' ┌try an'┐ get them as:=
66 Kate?:             └Heheh! ┘
67  Mary: =as (.) They're not that bad. Heh!hehheh!
68   ???: ((Very short guttural sound.))
69  Mary: I've had them worse than ┌that.
70   Sue:                          └No I w's jus-
71        trying to understand.                    [ALPHA-13May-004:328]
```

Sue, who has not participated in the discussion up to this point, asks a question about variation in the genes marked in blue, an aspect that has not so far featured in the talk. When Mary's explanation (049–50) is neither acknowledged nor followed up by Sue, she goes on to account for it, including a reference to a 'biological effect', a standard expectation in a biological experiment (something 'y'r gonna have'), arising from differences in the samples. Mary's failure to deliver uniform 'blue ones' is therefore an outcome of biological conditions and not experimental shortcomings. In his discussion of academic territories, which 'embrace what is known, how it is known, and persons' rights and responsibilities to know it', Heritage (2012a: 6) draws an important distinction between *epistemic status*, which is a 'relational concept concerning the relative access to some domain of two (or more) persons at some point in time' (Heritage 2012a: 4), and *epistemic stance*, which 'concerns how speakers position themselves in terms of epistemic status in and through the design of turns in talk' (2012b: 33). The reference to biology is designed as both a response to Sue's question and a claim to Mary's epistemic status.

Deriving from this is Mary's right to determine what counts as an adequate explanation, but when she goes on (056) to begin a new point, Sue's latched turn reclaims the floor and holds this (using loudness and repetition) against Mary's attempt to pursue her point (ll. 58). Sue's hypothetical inference elicits laughter from Kate (ll. 64 & 66) and an explanation from Mary that in specifying the realities of experimentation positions Sue as a dry with no access to the relevant domain of knowledge. Sue's 'so'-prefaced turn (057–62) is hearable as a suggestion and implicitly treated as such by Mary, but in making explicit (070–71) the intended pragmatic force of her claim as merely an attempt to understand, Sue adopts an epistemic stance that concedes to Mary epistemic rights to the relevant topic. The importance of exchanges such as this has been noted by Jovchelovitch:

> encounters between knowledge systems depend on how different knowledges communicate and to what extent the constitution of an intersubjective space of communication allows for recognition or denial of the perspective expressed in the knowledge of the other. (Jovchelovitch 2007: 138)

The way in which the membership category (Sacks 1992) 'dry' is implicitly invoked by Mary in dismissing the epistemic legitimacy of Sue's claim is not confined to this example, and the colonisation of Jovchelovitch's 'intersubjective space of communication' by indexicals such as 'biology' establishes a pattern of epistemic precedence that reinforces the asymmetry reflected in the balance of contributions already highlighted. However, this does not mean that all contributions by dries necessarily reflect a struggle for epistemic parity or that the appeal to biological experience cannot be resisted. We offer Extract 3 as an example of how such struggles can play out.

Extract 3.1

```
001   Paul: =yeah but if you had differences
002         between the different transgenic
003         li:nes (.) then
004         (3.0)
005   Paul: isn't there a problem of just
006         having just one soft type line.
007   Kate: But y'know how it is with: (.) you
008         kno:w: (0.3) a (x)biochem- (.)
009         you kno:w (0.5) biochemical
010         experiments things go ↓wro::ng
011         y┌ou  kn┐ow you don'-=
012   Mary:  └∘yeah∘┘
013   Kate: ·hhh HHHhhh! >like< DKR reactions
014         FAI:l, chip reactions fai:l you
015         know you don't always get a clear
016         result. (.) and so sometimes you
017         got >to do it< several times
018         before you get a clear picture.
019   Mary: ∘mm∘                              [ALPHA-13May-004:622]
```

Paul, a dry, has earlier identified what he takes to be a problem with the error bars on the graph that the group is considering and has received a collaboratively constructed response from Mary and Kate, both wets. We join the discussion at the point where he accepts their response but identifies a further problem arising from differences between transgenic lines. The response this receives is slightly different from that of Mary in Extract 3.1 in that it appeals to Paul's knowledge of experimentation ('But y'know how it is'). Nevertheless, Kate's claim that in 'biochemical experiments things go wrong', to which Mary quietly aligns, is not open to challenge from him, as a dry. While agreeing with this, Paul nevertheless

sidelines it by pursuing his point, initiating this with two 'so'-prefaced turns and leading to the conclusion that the construct they have might be under 'some influence' they don't know about. We pick up the talk with Kate's change-of-state token (Heritage 1984) that signals a shift in her understanding:

Extract 3.2

```
042   Kate: oh and the one control we have
043         is that
044         (0.8)
045   Kate: you know you're getting the same
046         amount of binding as you have for
047         the endogenous promoter which is
048         exactly what you would expect.
049         (4.0)
050   Paul: mmy::e:A↑::h
051         (1.5)
052   Kate: but (.) y'know (.) tr:ue: yes
053         you would have to have a
054         second ┌(soft type)┐
055   Mary:        └I mean  I  ┘did have a:
056         second ┌li:┐ne but the::=
057   Kate:        └yeh┘
058   Mary: =transgene didn' ┌amp ┐lify very=
059   Kate:                 └∘mm∘┘
060   Mary: =well probably due to som:e (.)
061         rearrangement (.) so=
062   Paul: =∘ri:ght∘
063         (0.5)                                [ALPHA-13May-004:647]
```

Kate's elaboration receives slightly dubious assent from Paul (050). His assessment of Kate's contribution here marks a claim to epistemic priority accepted by Kate in her subsequent turn ('true yes'). At this point there is an interesting shift of alignment as Mary's 'I-mean' prefaced utterance (Maynard 2013) provides a response from the experimental perspective that places her outside the wet/dry axis represented by Kate and Paul. However, this alignment is a temporary one as Paul pursues his interest in the graph but from a distinctly dry perspective, concluding with 'would be nice if the second and third didn't differ too much.' This is immediately rejected by Mary as impractical:

Extract 3.3

```
081   Mary: it always diff┌ers.
082   Paul:               └b'cause if I look
083         at it as a reviewer I see okay
084         for- for the mutant they have two
085         li:nes and they have a different
086         result (xx)
```

```
087   Kate: well I'd trust he's repeated it 'n
088         you've got ∘the-∘ the figure on
089         the right hand side which is the
090         one ∘th't∘ we've u:sed on the
091         first one
092         (1.0)
093   Mary: and if you average the two li:nes,
094         (1.3)
095   Mary: ∘which ┌is∘┐ another thing that=
096   Kate:        └mm ┘
097   Mary: =people do sometimes                [ALPHA-13May-004:668]
```

Mary's reference to what 'always' happens represents a claim to epistemic authority and implicitly excludes Paul as having access to the relevant domain of knowledge. Paul's shift of identity to that of reviewer in line 83, however, upgrades his status and reclaims the epistemic rights to assess the experiment as represented in the graph. Delivered in the next position to Paul's claim and disagreeing with it, Kate's response is hearable as an alternative reviewer response rather than as a personal statement and the epistemic recalibration in Mary's return to 'another thing that people do sometimes' suggests that this is how it is received (for a more detailed examination of the relationship between challenges and epistemic authority, see Zayts and Schnurr, this volume).

The exchange concludes with a personal assessment from Paul ('I find this left one more convincing' (ALPHA-13May-004:678)) that is greeted with laughter from both Carl and Mary, the latter expressing the practical impossibility of achieving the end that Paul has described. Despite his earlier success in persuading Kate of the legitimacy of his claim, he is now again positioned as a dry and therefore someone without access to the practical knowledge available to experimental biologists.

Conclusion

As Habermas (1987: 139) has noted, in reaching understanding interlocutors "are at the same time taking part in interactions through which they develop, confirm, and renew their memberships in social groups and their own identities." In this chapter we have focused on an interdisciplinary project, a situation in which success depends on the exchange of knowledge in the pursuit of common understanding, and have shown how deeply this implicates disciplinary identity. We showed how the relevant group aligns against external threats to its identity while also demonstrating a shared but implicit recognition of where resistance is impractical. However, analysis of exchanges within the group reveals that internal

relationships are more complex and that the dominant discipline, biology, serves as an interactional resource that is deployed in ways that reinforce the asymmetrical relationship between wets and dries.

The findings of the chapter add weight to claims of researchers such as Lattuca, who emphasise that the disciplines are "sets of social relationships and practices." (2002: 716). We showed in the first part of the paper where the limits of identity struggles might be drawn, as the group confront an external challenge to their ontological status within the academy. In this situation, despite their recognition that they have "got to have an official name", the hybridity of their subject means that they are powerless to struggle to establish a clear identity when faced with the rejection of this by funding bodies, framing their acquiescence in terms of focusing on science at the expense of politics. Nevertheless, where the threat extends to new entrants to their field, they are prepared to insist on the legitimacy of their hybrid identity.

Within the group itself, we showed how the asymmetric relationship between wets and dries in terms of epistemic primacy generated identity engagements in which the latter struggled to establish epistemic legitimacy in contested areas. The example of Sue demonstrated how the biological orientation of the group legitimised the closing down of her lines of questioning, implicitly rejecting her rights, as a dry, to relevant knowledge. We also showed, with the example of Paul, how such challenges could be rejected and how identity struggles could contribute to the research goals of the group. In explicating the nature of identity struggles, both internal and external, involving this group, we hope to have shown that such struggles, while superficially divisive, might nevertheless serve a unifying function in terms of interdisciplinary engagement.

Although this chapter draws on data from only one subject area, its findings raise interesting questions about the ways in which professional identities and epistemic rights are negotiated in the pursuit of shared professional goals where this involves the engagement of very different fields of expertise. The need to build on this in order to deepen our understanding of the interaction involved is particularly pressing in a world where interdisciplinary engagement is becoming increasingly common in research and business is prepared to reach beyond traditional boundaries when seeking innovative solutions to complex problems.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Systems Biology research project team members for their generous assistance allowing us to record and observe their project meetings.

References

Akkerman, Sanne, Wilfried Admiraai and Robert Jan Simons. 2012. "Unity and diversity in a collaborative research project." *Culture & Psychology* 18(2): 227–252. doi: 10.1177/1354067X11434835

Choi, Seongsook and Stephanie Schnurr. 2014. "Exploring distributed leadership: solving disagreements and negotiating consensus in a 'leaderless' team." *Discourse Studies* 16(1): 3–24. doi: 10.1177/1461445613508891

Clift, Rebecca. 2001. "Meaning in interaction: the case of 'actually'." *Language* 77(2): 245–291. doi: 10.1353/lan.2001.0074

van Eemeren, Frans H., Rob Grootendorst, Sally Jackson and Scott Jacobs. 1993. *Reconstructing Argumentative Discourse*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Fasulo, Alessandra and Cristina Zucchermaglio. 2002. "My selves and I: identity markers in work meeting talk." *Journal of Pragmatics* 34: 1119–1144. doi: 10.1016/S0378-2166(01)00051-0

Fuller, Steve. 2002. *Social Epistemology* (2nd edn). Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.

Gerholm, Tomas. 1990. "On tacit knowledge in academia." *European Journal of Education* 25(3): 263–271. doi: 10.2307/1503316

Habermas, Jürgen. 1987. *The Theory of Communicative Action, Volume 2. Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason* (Translated by Thomas McCarthy). Boston: Beacon Press.

Habermas, Jürgen. 2001. *On the Pragmatics of Social Interaction*. Cambridge Mass.: MIT Press.

Henkel, Mary. 2000. *Academic Identities and Policy Change in Higher Education*. London: Jessica Kingsley.

Heritage, John. 1984. "A change-of-state token and aspects of its sequential placement". In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, ed. by John M. Atkinson and John Heritage, 299–345. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, John. 2012a. "Epistemics in action. Action formation and territories of knowlsdge." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45(1): 1–29 doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646684

Heritage, John, 2012b. "The epistemic engine: sequence organization and territories of knowledge." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45(1): 30–52. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646685

Heritage, John and Raymond, Geoffrey. 2005. "The terms of agreement: indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1): 15–38. doi: 10.1177/019027250506800103

Housley, William. 2000. "Category work and knowledgeability within multidisciplinary teams." *Text* 20(1): 83–107.

Jefferson, Gail. 1984. "On stepwise transition from talk about a trouble to inappropriately next-positioned matters." In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, ed. by John M. Atkinson and John Heritage, 192–222. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jefferson, Gail. 1979. "A technique for inviting laughter and its subsequent acceptance declination." In *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology*, ed. by George Psathas, 79–96. New York: Irvington.

Jovchelovitch, Sandra. 2007. *Knowledge in Context: Representations, Community and Culture*. London: Routledge.

Katze, Michael G. 2013. "Preface." In *Systems Biology* ed. by Michael, G. Katze, v-x. Berlin: Springer-Verlag. doi: 10.1007/978-3-642-33099-5

Kogan, Maurice. 2000. "Higher education communities and academic identities." *Higher Education Quarterly* 54(3): 207–216. doi: 10.1111/1468-2273.00156

Lattuca, Lisa R.g 2002. "Learning interdisciplinarity: sociocultural perspectives on academic work." *The Journal of Higher Education* 73(6): 711–739. doi: 10.1353/jhe.2002.0054

Lingard, Lorelei, Catherine F. Schryer, Marlee M. Stafford and Sandra L. Campbell. 2007. "Negotiating the politics of identity in an interdisciplinary team." *Qualitative Research* 7(4) 501–519. doi: 10.1177/1468794107082305

Maynard, Douglas W. 2013. "Defensive mechanisms: I -mean prefaced utterances in complaint and other conversational sequences". In *Conversational Repair and Human Understanding*, ed. by Makoto Hayashi, Geoffrey Raymond, Jack Sidnell, 198–233. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mayr, Ernst. 1982. *The Growth of Biological Thought: Diversity, Evolution, and Inheritance*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Moran, Joe. 2010. *Interdisciplinarity* (2nd edn). London: Routledge.

Morrison, Philip S., Gill Dobie and Fiona J. McDonald. 2003. "Research Collaboration Among University Scientists." *Higher Education Research & Development* 22(3): 275–296. doi: 10.1080/0729436032000145149

Myers, Greg. 1990. *Writing Biology: Texts in the Construction of Scientific Knowledge*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Ochs, Elinor and Sally Jacoby. 1997. "Down to the wire: The cultural clock of physicists and the discourse of consensus." *Language in Society*, 26: 479–505. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500021023

Ochs, Elinor, Sally Jacoby and Patrick Gonzales. 1994. "Interpretive Journeys: How Physicists Talk and Travel through Graphic Space." *Configurations*, 2(1): 151–171. doi: 10.1353/con.1994.0003

O'Keefe, Barbara J. and Pamela Benoit. 1982. "Children's Arguments." In *Advances in Argumentation Theory and Research*, ed. by Robert J. Cox and Charles A. Willard, 154–183. Carbondale and Edwardsville IL: Southern Illinois University Press.

Palmer, Carole L. 1999. "Structures and strategies of interdisciplinary science." *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 50(3): 242–253. doi: 10.1002/(SICI)1097-4571(1999)50:3<242::AID-ASI7>3.0.CO;2-7

Paulus, Tanya M., Marianne Woodside and Mary F. Ziegler. 2010. "'I tell you, it's a journey, isn't it?' Understanding collaborative meaning making in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 16(10): 852–862. doi: 10.1177/1077800410383124

Pomerantz, Anita. 1984. "Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes." In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, ed. by John M. Atkinson and John Heritage, 57–101. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rowley-Jolivet, Elizabeth and Shirley Carter-Thomas. 2005. "The rhetoric of conference presentation introductions: context, argument and interaction." *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 15(1): 45–70. doi: 10.1111/j.1473-4192.2005.00080.x

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*, Vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell.

Stivers, Tanya and Frederico Rossano. 2010. "Mobilizing response. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 43(1): 3–31. doi: 10.1080/08351810903471258

Strober, Myra H. 2011. *Interdisciplinary Conversations: Challenging Habits of Thought*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

Tracy, Karen and Julie M. Naughton. 2000. "Institutional identity-work: a better lens." In *Small Talk*, ed. by Justin Coupland, 62–83. Harlow: Pearson.

Tully, James. 1999. "To think and act differently: Foucault's four reciprocal objections to Habermas' theory. In *Foucault contra Habermas: Recasting the Dialogue between Genealogy and Critical Theory*, ed. by Samantha Ashenden and David Owen, 90–142. London: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9781446221822.n5

CHAPTER 10

Laughables as a resource for foregrounding shared knowledge and shared identities in intercultural interactions in Scandinavia

Louise Tranekjær
Roskilde University

This paper employs Membership Categorization Analysis to illustrate how laughables are used as a resource for establishing co-membership and identification with professional and 'other' social identities within a range of different work-places in Denmark and Norway. Conversation analytical studies have previously shown how laughables and laughter attend to a range of social functions such as affiliation (Glenn 2010), seeking intimacy and handling 'troubles talk' (Jefferson 1984; Jefferson et al. 1987). This paper focuses on the former of these functions and argues that laughables are a resource to propose co-membership (Erickson and Schultz 1982) and that epistemics (Heritage 2012b; Stivers et al 2011) are central to this process. While previous studies have documented the interrelation of professional and other social categories, this chapter shows that laughables are used by participants to foreground (or background) the relevance of shared identities and that this can work to bridge differences in either professional identities or other identities. The chapter furthermore shows how the shared common sense knowledge proposed by the laughable reveals broader structures of meaning and ideologies involved in local negotiations of identities and category memberships (Billig 1991; Billig 2005; Tranekjær 2014; Tranekjær 2015; Wetherell 1998).

Keywords: Membership Categorization Analysis, Co-membership, Laughables, Intraculturality, Common sense laughable, affiliation, religion, second-language interactions, student counselling, construction sites, internship interviews, ideology

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.10tra
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Introduction

As described in the introduction to this volume (Schnurr and Van De Mieroop, this volume), it has previously been established that identities are constructed and negotiated in talk, and that in work-place or institutional contexts professional identities interrelate with other social identities (Angouri 2011; Angouri and Marra 2011; Antaki and Widdicombe 1998; Bucholtz and Hall 2008; Holmes 2006a; Holmes and Marra 2011; Marra and Holmes 2008; Miller 2013; Speer 2009; Tranekjær 2014; Yeadon-Lee 2012). This sometimes involves struggles of legitimacy, marginalization, evaluation, rights and status in relation to in-group, out-group formations and hierarchies that are established and made relevant within the work-place context. (Button 1992; Campbell and Roberts 2007; Day 1998; Fogtmann 2007; Holmes 2007; Kerekes 2006; Kirilova 2012; Speer 2009; Tranekjær 2015; Van De Mieroop and Schnurr 2014).

This chapter builds on these studies but focuses on the interactional resources employed at various work-places in Denmark and Norway to establish co-membership and affiliation on the basis of the various potentially relevant identities and group memberships available within a work-place, ranging from 'soccer mom' to 'construction worker'. I will illuminate how laughables, or more specifically a type of laughable which I refer to as the common sense laughable, forms a resource for such identification and affiliation that enables the bridging of professional or 'other' differences. Following Holmes and Marra, I define laughables as utterances " which are identified by the analyst, on the basis of paralinguistic, prosodic, and discoursal clues, as intended by the speaker(s) to be amusing and perceived to be amusing by at least some participants". (Holmes and Marra 2002a: 1693). My analytical interest with respect to laughables, however, is to investigate their ability to display and seek co-membership of identity categories rather than to characterize why or whether an utterance is funny or perceived as funny by interlocutors.

Laughables, identity struggles and co-membership

Laughables have previously been described as a central resource for the establishment and maintenance of social relations (Glenn 2010). Some of the relational matters and social functions that have been linked to laughter include seeking intimacy and handling 'troubles talk' (Jefferson 1984; Jefferson et al. 1977; Jefferson et al. 1987). The production of laughables raises certain expectations of what constitutes a shared point of reference and shared knowledge between interactants. In this respect, laughables project recognition and response from the recipient with respect to such sharedness and they can therefore be used as a reference to

establish, accept and reject co-membership. In this study, co-membership is to be understood as a mutual orientation by interactants towards a shared membership of particular categories (Tranekjær 2014). Further studies on the role played by humor in work-related settings, which resonate with the central arguments I make in this chapter, deserve to be mentioned. A central reference is Holmes and Marra's (2002a) large scale study of workplaces in New Zealand which emphasises the role of humor in the establishment of workplace culture and (gender) identities. From a community of practice perspective, they describe various types and functions of humor at the workplace and highlight how humor can be used as a means to characterise differences in both workplace culture and in the communicative styles employed by men and women (Holmes 2006b; Holmes and Marra 2002a). My emphasis on the interactional phenomenon of laughables in this chapter is more narrow in scope than a study of humor as such, and it illuminates a particular function and type of laughable rather than patterns of humor found in different communities and/or social groups. Holmes and Marra's broader and comparative perspective on humor is however valuable, not least because of their emphasis on differences and similarities within and between various workplace cultures, which presents a critical challenge to absolute and rigid notions of culture as overarching and large-scale structures such as nation-states. In this way, their research points to the fact that different ways of 'doing' professional identity can be found in different types of work-places, and that different patterns in the way humour is used are found in blue-collar, white-collar, public or private work-places. This suggests that humor plays a role in the cultural performance of different professional identities. What is not shown in their studies, however, is how laughables can momentarily foreground and seek out shared identities and memberships, that challenge or go against the dominant discourses and identities within a particular work context, such as 'transportable' (Zimmerman 1998) identities related to language, nationality or religion.

Another study which deals with the identification practices related to non-institutional or transportable identities is Day's study of ethnification processes in a Swedish blue-collar work-context (Day 1998). Though he does not deal with the teasing or joking involved in the negotiations of identity taking place, he illuminates, like Holmes (2006a; b), how identity struggles in work-contexts often occur at the intersection between professional and 'other' identities. His study shows, contrary to the findings presented in this paper, how ethnic identities present a barrier rather than a resource for the employees, and that the ones being ethnified actively engage in strategies of resistance against the ethnic categories proposed.

In my study, the categories proposed through the laughables are, however, propositions of co-membership rather than propositions of difference, and the

laughables are central to displaying that the identification that is achieved is outlining an inclusive rather than exclusive membership status. Other studies have illuminated the boundary-marking 'we' function of humour, such as Lynch's study of humor as a resource for constituting a shared identity of 'being chefs' (Lynch 2010) or Davies' (2010) study on class differentiations in Alabama. Holmes and Marra present a similar argument in a different paper (2002b), namely that humor functions as a way of negotiating intergroup relations and group boundaries. They argue that humor is culturally specific in its dependence on shared knowledge. However, both Holmes and Marra's and Lynch's approach to cultural differences, social identity and intergroup relations is distinguishable from the one presented in this chapter by its sociolinguistic emphasis on outlining differences in types and functions of humor between particular groups or communities such as men and women, Pakeha and Maori, and different workplace cultures. Such studies emphasise particular contexts or communities of practice, rather than the micro dynamics of how laughables can be used to propose a range of different professional or non-professional identities, alliances and struggles within a range of different work-places.

Membership categorisation and epistemics

The methodological framework applied in this chapter, Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA), is interactional and is based on the field of research known as Conversation Analysis which grew out of the sociological field of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967; Garfinkel and Sacks 1970) and was is a method developed by Sacks (Hester and Eglin 1997; Lepper 2000; Sacks 1972a; Sacks 1972b; Sacks 1995a; Sacks 1995b; Silverman 1998; Stokoe 2012; Watson 1997). The application of an MCA framework allows for a fine-grained investigation of the intricate processes of inclusion and exclusion that occur as employees attempt to manage their various professional and non-professional identities at work. MCA illuminates the shifting identifications with various types of cultural memberships (Speer 2009) that sometimes conflate and other times intersect with particular institutional settings such as a workplace context. In this respect, my research objective is not to characterise groups and intergroup relations but to describe how interactants use laughables as a strategy and resource as they navigate between a multitude of (non-) available identities and categories and attempt to determine which are relevant and shared among interlocutors within a given context and which are not. While Holmes and Marra (2002a) show how particular communities of practice are characterised by sharedness in their 'ways of doing humor', I will show how

a particular form of laughable is also a particular 'way of doing sharedness'. In other words, I aim to show that laughables in themselves are a resource for processes of inclusion. Membership Categorization Analysis systematically unfolds how interlocutors make sense of one another by organizing themselves in relation to various membership categories, for example man, employer, migrant, white etc. These various membership categories are culturally organized into collections, Membership Categorization Devices(MCD's) such as family, race, languages etc. and linked to particular actions and behaviors through a shared cultural *common sense* (Garfinkel 1967). The relation between categories and category-bound actions are governed by certain rules of interpretation, which inform the way we hear and see actions as directly bound to and indicative of a particular category membership. The most famous example of this, explained by Sacks, is that when we see a baby cry and a woman picking the baby up, we naturally assume that the woman is the mother of the baby since the action of 'picking up a baby' is culturally linked to the category mother.

Furthermore, within CA, many studies have dealt with the issue of knowledge and the ways in which it is negotiated and established by interactants as part of their mutual orientation and organisation in relation to one another (Evnitskaya and Morton 2011; Heritage 2012b; Heritage and Raymond 2005; Landgrebe 2012; Raymond and Heritage 2006; Stivers et al 2011). Epistemics, as a study of knowledge, deals with the content dimension of interaction. As formulated by Heritage, the knowledge that people make claims to and negotiate in interaction can be seen to form part of the driving force or the 'engine' (Heritage 2012a) of the apparatus of talk. With respect to the establishment and negotiation of identities, De Stefani and Mondada (this volume) show how negotiations of epistemics can be a resource for challenging institutionally defined identity positions. Within CA-studies of epistemics, as well as of laughables, there has been an emphasis on function rather than content, that is, how people negotiate epistemics and use laughables rather than what they negotiate and laugh about. I will argue that in the case of the common sense laughable, it is the actual sharedness in knowledge alluded to by the laughable which is central to the function of establishing co-membership. While Stivers et al (2011) describe how laughter can be seen as a display of epistemic incongruence, the examples I have chosen in this chapter illustrate how the production of laughables can also be seen as a method for suggesting epistemic congruence and co-membership.

Data

A range of work-place interactions form the basis of the findings presented in this chapter, and I have chosen to show examples from three of these, namely student counselling meetings, internship interviews and construction site interactions. Since the purpose of the present chapter is not to compare or characterise these contexts of interaction but rather to illuminate how the common sense laughable is used to manage identity negotiations, I will not engage in an elaborate description of these contexts. However, a brief introduction is needed in order to understand the transcripts. The data has been anonymised and transcribed according to common standards in Conversation Analysis.[1]

The student counselling sessions, some of them office interactions and some service counter interactions, were video recorded by Spencer Hazel and myself in a Danish university.[2] They were mostly two-party sessions between a student counsellor, who was a fellow student employed by the university and students at the university. In some of the recordings, the counsellor or the student or both were 'International students'.[3]

The internship interviews were audio recorded as part of my Ph.d. research.[4] The interactions took place at different types of blue-collar and pink-collar work-places, though mainly nursing homes and kindergartens, and they involved a job counsellor, an employer and a migrant internship candidate. The migrants came primarily from a range of non-Western, Muslim countries and they all spoke Danish as a second language. The employers were all native Danes. The job counsellors were all, except for one, native Danes and all interviews were conducted in Danish.

The construction site data is taken from a large corpus of video-recordings from a construction site in Norway, collected by Professor Jan Svennevig and Ph.D. student Kamilla Kraft from the MULTILING centre at Oslo University. Professor

---

1. Transcription notations for transcripts derived from the program CLAN, based on the system developed by Gail Jefferson, printed in J. M. Atkinson and J. Heritage 1984 (eds.) Structures of social action; studies in conversation analysis (pp. ix–xvi). Cambridge University Press

2. The recordings where collected as as part of a large project on Cultural and Linguistic Practices at the International University (CALPIU), funded by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities.

3. 'International student' is an ambiguous emic category used by the participants to refer to a range of different types of 'non-Danish students', ranging from a single-semester exchange students and full degree students with or without citizenship

4. This research was part of a larger research project called Learning and Integration, also funded by the Danish Research Council for the Humanities in 2004–2007

Svennevig has kindly agreed to let me use an extract of this data since it shows an excellent example of the common sense laughable being used in struggles between not only different linguistic identities but also different class identities. The recordings involve blue-collar, white-collar, Swedish and Polish construction site workers, as well as a Norwegian researcher making the recordings.

Analysis

The first example is from a student counselling interaction where SAL, who is the student, and TOD, who is the counsellor, are both 'International' Students, speaking in English. TOD is from Australia and SAL is from the Philippines, both second language speakers of Danish. TOD and SAL are talking about the Danish lessons that SAL is taking at a language school and how that will eventually lead her to pass the exam called 'Studieprøven'.

(1)

```
1     SAL:  aha ⌜er yeah yeah⌝
2
3     TOD:      ⌞erm because you h⌟ave er
4           e- it's 'cuz you will have at the end
5           (0-2) l- I mean the goal at ⌜least to⌝ get the thing called
6           studie prøven
7
8     SAL:                                ⌞mm⌟
9     PPP:  (0.5)
10    SAL:  mm=
11
12    TOD:  =⌜and that's that⌝ thing that says now I can speak=
13
14    SAL:    ⌞yeah that⌟
15
16    TOD:  = danish like a dane sort of thing
17
18    SAL:  Hfm. huh huh huh
19
20    TOD:  whatever that is (0.7) er⌜m⌝
21
22    SAL:                            ⌞yeah⌟
23
```

The laughable is produced by TOD in lines 12–16 where TOD explains that the passing of 'Studieprøven' implies native-like proficiency in Danish. SAL's statement is formatted in a minimal way without the prefaces that are found in other types of laughables such as humorous stories. Furthermore, it is not accompanied by a first laugh from TOD, which makes it potentially ambiguous as a laughable

since SAL cannot know for sure whether it is actually meant as a humorous utterance. As stated by Glenn (2003), first laughs are the clearest way of requesting a laughter response from another participants but it can also be done by using other means such vocal feature, body language and idiosyncratic language. (Glenn 2003; Haakana 1999). Here, the utterance by TOD (16) is marked in a way that allows it to be interpretable as a laughable, and SAL responds to it as such (18). The knowledge made relevant here, and which both participants seem to share, is both the fact that 'Studieprøven' is the highest level of proficiency one can achieve within the educational program for Danish as a second language. But most importantly, and this is what this particular laughable hinges on, it is the shared knowledge that passing 'Studieprøven' does not necessarily imply that one can speak Danish like a Dane. What is being expressed here by SAL and TOD, who are both highly proficient second language speakers of Danish is their knowledge of the narrow boundaries of the category Danish speaker and the difficulties second language speakers of Danish have in *passing* (Alexander 2004; Fogtmann 2007; Tranekjær 2014) into this category due to the predominance of a monolingual ideology in Denmark (Karrebæk 2013). In this way, the laughable is used as a resource to both formulate and share knowledge and experience of the identity struggles involved in claiming and being granted membership of the category Danish speaker.

Despite the affirmative recipient laughter by SAL, TOD further elaborates the laughable (20) and hereby highlights the problematic and ambiguous construct of 'Danish as a Dane'. This elaboration works not only to further disambiguate the irony of the laughable that he has produced, or his humorous intention to begin with, but also as a display of the ideological struggle which forms the backdrop of the identity struggles that the participants are alluding to. SAL again confirms this (22).

In this example, we see how in instances of common sense laughables, the appeal to a shared epistemic territory is at once the premise and the social function of the laughable. SAL would in other words not understand this as a laughable if she did not share the knowledge, which is proposed, and the laughable invites confirmation of this sharedness. In this respect, laughables are not merely an invitation to laugh but they present an invitation to confirm a sharedness in knowledge of categories and category-bound actions. In this particular case, it would be referring to the meaning of being a non-native speaker of Danish, who does **not** speak Danish like a Dane, and the sharedness in membership of this category. This laughable is thus employed as a resource for the establishment of not only affiliation but of sameness or shared experience about taking 'Studieprøven', speaking Danish as a second language, and struggling for acknowledgement and acceptance as Danish speakers within a cultural, institutional and ideological context

that positions both interlocutors as migrants, language learners or International Students in Denmark.

With respect to previous research on epistemics and laughter, this extract presents some interesting findings. As shown in the previous literature on epistemics, epistemic status and stance are central to determining whether an utterance is conveying or seeking information. Heritage (2012a) shows that 'unknowing' formats invite elaboration and sequence expansion, while more 'knowing' formats invite confirmation and sequence closure. Heritage (2012b: 6) also argues that when an interactant takes the epistemic stance of 'unknowing', s/he is inviting for an elaboration and thus projects a possible sequence expansion, whereas an interactant who takes a 'knowing' epistemic stance, creates a preference for inviting confirmation and sequence closing. In Example 1, there is no request for information and there is no request for confirmation of new knowledge either since both seem to take the stance of 'knowing'. This kind of shared knowledge is exactly what seems to be proposed and supported by the laughable. This is one possible explanation for why the response laughter is followed by further elaboration of the knowledge proposed. In other words, what we have here is not an invitation to confirm something that SAL does not know but rather for her to engage in confirmation and laughter about what they both already know. Thus, Example 1 is illustrative of how a common sense laughable is formulated based on assumptions about sharedness in knowledge linked to particular category memberships and how this makes it a possible resource for the assertion of co-membership of the 'foreign student' category and the particular struggle related to this.

In the second example, taken from the internship interview data, the interactional context of the laughable was slightly more disaffiliative than in the previous example. In the internship interview, the attempt to establish co-membership and affiliation is used by the job consultant who often spoke in defense of, on behalf of, and for the candidates (Tranekjær 2011; Tranekjær 2015). In this case, the laughable works as a resource for establishing and foregrounding sameness rather than difference between the employers and the candidates, which thereby paved the way for affiliation in a non-affiliating setting. The following extract is a good example of this. Here the laughable works to diminish the stereotyped difference between Islam and Christianity by foregrounding the candidate's membership of the category 'moderately religious' and thereby elegantly establishing the candidate's distance from the category 'radical' or 'fundamentalist', which are often associated with Islam within a Danish context.

Example 2 is taken from an internship interview at a home help company, where the candidate (CAN) is going to assist elderly people in their private homes with cleaning, personal hygiene and grocery shopping. The extract follows from

a discussion about whether the candidate has a problem with buying particular groceries such as pork and alcohol. It should be noted that the candidate wears a headscarf during the interview and is thereby identifiable as a member of the category Muslim. Prior to this particular sequence, the employer (EMP) and a present co-worker (WOR) have stated that any reluctance to buy liquor and pork will not be accepted since it is part of the job. The candidate has denied such reluctance, which is followed by EMP producing a story of previous Muslim employees who refused to buy beer. The extract begins with EMP expressing her critical opinion about this refusal. The laughable is produced by the job consultant (CON) as a response to EMP's critical argumentation.

(2)

```
EMP:  og for eksempel vil de ikke købe for eksempel to øl eller
      sådan noget lignende de kan ikke tage to øl ik altså

      and for example they will not buy for example two beers or
       something like that they can not take two beers right

CON:  ne:j
      no:

EMP:  fordi man ikke drikker det behø- derfor kan man jo godt købe
      to øl med to øl med til en kunde ik

      because one does not drink it need- one can still buy
      two beers for two beers for a client right

CON:  [det jo] det
      [that's] right

CAN:  [.hja]
      [.hyes]

EMP:  ja
      yes

CON:  Men jeg tror zabaida de:t sådan som er mit indtryk hun e:r (.) .h
      ligeså Muslim som de fleste danskere er kristne

      but i think zabaida tha:t as far as i understand she i:s (.) .h
      as much Muslim as most Danes are Christian
(0.2)
WOR:  ja:
      ye:s
(0.5)
WOR:  så du:
      so you:
```

```
37  CON:  såh. håh. håh. [håh heh. håh. håh. håh. [.heh]
38         soh. heh. heh. [heh heh. heh. heh. heh. [.heh]
39
40  WOR:                  [ja]                      [ja ja]
41                        [yes]                     [yes yes]
42
43  CON:  man er det men øh (0.3) men man er ikke følsom med det
44        one is it but eh (0.3) but one is not sensitive about it
```

Given that the category 'Muslim' has already been made relevant prior to this extract and is now 'hanging in the air' (Day 1998) as an available interpretative and interactional resource, we see how EMP's utterance manages to establish a distinction between two different categories of Muslims. On the one hand those that refuse to ("they will not", line 4) or cannot ("they can't", line 5) touch or handle alcohol, and on the other, those who do not drink alcohol but agree to buying it (13–14). The presentation of these two categories is clearly valorized: The former is presented as irrational and radical, while the latter is portrayed as commonsensical and accommodating through the use of the conditional formatting 'because…then' (line 13) and the particles 'jo' and 'ik' (13–14). Such particles translate in English into "right" and they work, in this extract, as an appeal to shared knowledge and common sense. The categorical distinction between two different kinds of Muslims established by EMP, namely the categories 'radical Muslims' and 'moderate Muslims', works to enable EMP to criticise the actions of the previous Muslim employees while still maintaining the possibility of an internship position for this particular candidate. Furthermore, EMP's statements work to define the boundaries of normativity within which the candidate has to maneuver by characterising sanctionable versus desired actions, behaviours and religious practices. Thus, the utterance by EMP can be regarded as important because it projects a very particular expectation of a next action to follow. The candidate (CAN) is in this way expected to align and affiliate with the critical evaluation of the 'no drink-no touch' behaviour of the previous Muslim employees and expected to express willingness to accommodate her religious practices to the needs of the Danish elderly. However, the candidate only responds minimally with an aspirated, low voice agreement (20) which is overlapped by the consultant (CON) who has already previously (8) shown recipiency and agreement with EMP (lines 8 and 17). Given that EMP was looking to be convinced by CAN that she belonged to the category 'moderate Muslim' rather than 'radical Muslim', EMP did not get a persuasive response from CAN. The laughable produced by CON in line 28 is formulated as a way of remedying the shortcomings of CAN's response which works to propose CAN's membership in the category requested by EMP. In this respect, the laughable works not only as an interactional rescue but also as a

categorical defense strategy reflected in the way the laughable is formatted as an objection to a previous argument ('but I think', line 28). While CAN could have chosen to contest CON's interpretation of CAN's religiousness, the participation framework and the speech situation as such make such a choice unlikely. Objecting to CON's defense on CAN's behalf as a 'moderate Muslim' would seem not only interactionally unlikely but also unwise in relation to both closing the topic and closing the deal. Finally, in line 35, WOR shows acceptance of CON's defense of the candidate implied in the laughable.

Meanwhile, there is another underlying establishment of co-membership taking place, which takes the form of an appeal to the shared knowledge about the 'moderate or non-religious Danes'. The employee (WOR) acknowledges this in line 32, who was the one to initially open up the issue of 'problems with liquor and port' by recounting the experiences with previous Muslim employees. This is evident in the implied categorisation by CON of the candidate as a 'moderate Muslim' similar to the 'moderate or non-religious Danes'. However, rather than letting WOR finish her (re)-formulation of what CON has implicitly stated about CAN, CON engages in a pursuit for the absent laughter by initiating a first laugh. The fact that it is WOR who claims recipiency of the laughable, confirms the sharedness in knowledge and membership of the category 'moderately religious' but also displays WOR's understanding that the laughable was produced for her and not CAN. Here, the laughable can be seen as a formulation (Heritage and Watson 1979), an interactional resource for summarizing or reformulating what the candidate has expressed in the interaction prior to this extract, that is, her previous acceptance of buying pork and alcohol. To summarise, in this example, the laughable works as a strategy for displaying acceptance of and inclusion in the category 'moderately religious' while simultaneously supporting the defense of CAN as being 'moderately religious'. The laughable hereby forms an instrument to seamlessly weave together and bridge categories initially established as oppositional and characterized by struggle.

The final example is from a completely different workplace context, namely a Norwegian construction site, where the identity struggles play out in relation to bridging differences in nationality and language by means of establishing a shared professional membership and knowledge as blue-collar construction workers. The extract is from a construction site meeting where the site manager (JOH), who is Swedish, is discussing the ordering of supplies with the construction worker (TOM), who is Polish, and a sales representative (ALF), who is also Swedish. A Norwegian researcher, JAN, is also participating.

(3)

```
TOM:   o:g ((ser på JOH)) (0.7) [hva heter det] på norsk?

       a:nd ((looks at JOH)) (0.7) what's it called in Norwegian?

ALF:                               [fem og femti,]

                                    fifty five

       (1.8) ((TOM makes scissors with fingers))
TOM:   °klippe°,

       °cut°,

JOH:   JA, e:m: he he he. en hovednøkkel.

       YEAH, e:m: he he he. a main key.
       (1.5)

ALF:   en hovednøkkel ja. ↑ja m- ↓ja.

       a main key right, ↑yeah m- ↓yeah.

JOH:   he he hva er det för nåt?= ((peker på ALF))

       he he what is it?= ((points to ALF))

ALF:   =en boltesaks.=

       =bolt tongs.=

JOH:   =boltesaks. he [he] ((peker på TOM))

       =bolt tongs, he he ((point to TOM))

TOM:                  [bo-] bol te saks? ((JOH viser med hendene))

                      [bo-] bolt tongs? ((JOH shows with hands))

ALF:   [ja.]

       yeah.

JOH:   [bo]ltesaks ja.

       bolt tongs yeah.

(1.1)  ((TOM nods))

JOH:  °boltesaks°

      °bolt tongs°
```

```
52        (0.9)
53
54  JOH:  ja det va hovednøkkel.
55
56        yeah it was main key.
57
58  ALF:  []ho- hovednøkkel ↑ja he he he he he he he he]
59
60        ma- main key ↑yeah
61
62  JOH:  []he he he he he he he he he he he]
63
64  JAN:                 [er det svensk det?]
65
66                       is that Swedish?
67
68  JOH:  [nei nei eh det va- det va] en tullgrei. [he he he]
69
70        no no eh it was- it was  a joke thing.
71
72  ALL:  [he he he he he he]                      [he he he]
73        (2.2)
74
75  ALF:  e:h stor eller liten? o
76
77        e:h large or small?]
```

The extract begins with the initiation of a wordsearch by TOM (line 1), who is a second-language speaker of Norwegian, for the term 'bolt cutters', which is a tool needed by the workers. JOH, who is addressed through gaze as the recipient of the request for word assistance is unable to immediately provide the correct term (line 14), as he is also a second language speaker of Norwegian, and after some hesitation provides a humorous alternative, 'hovednøkkel' or 'master key', supported by a laughter initiation. This term alludes to the symbolic properties of a 'boltesaks', namely that it is a tool that burglars or prisoners use to gain access (or exit) through metal fences. The laughable in this way forms a resource for bridging language differences but it also works to establish co-membership of the category 'construction worker' through seeking confirmation of assumed shared knowledge of the symbolic meanings of this tool. ALF acknowledges and confirms this assumption in line 19, as in the other examples briefly and without laughter tokens, and JOH renews the request for assistance in finding the correct term, this time directed at ALF, who finally comes up with the term 'boltesaks'. After some cooperation by JOH, TOM and ALF in confirming and rehearsing the term boltesaks, JOH returns to the laughable term 'hovednøkkel'. This generates laughter from ALF and JOH, and now makes the researcher JAN request an explanation for whether 'hovednøkkel' is a Swedish term, which displays his lack of knowledge of the term as well as its' humorous qualities. With this question,

JAN displays non-membership of the category 'Swede' but more importantly, by assuming that his lack of understanding is due to language issues he accentuates his outsider position in relation to a category membership and knowledge shared by the others. JOH does not explain the content or gist of the laughable, and thereby underlines the exclusion of JAN as a potential recipient of the laughable. This reinforces the implicit assertion made by the laughable, that a particular shared knowledge and identity is expected from members of the category 'construction site workers', in relation to which JAN is an outsider. What we see in this example, as was also found in the previous two examples, is how the laughable works as a strategy for subtly foregrounding similarities, alliances and co-membership. In this particular example, we furthermore see how such demarcation of membership boundaries can also involve appointing outsiders and non-members, who are not in the knowing. As such, this data in particular provides a case in point of the complexities of identity struggles that can be illuminated through an MCA approach and the importance of focusing on the content dimension of epistemics and laughables alike.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown how laughables can be used to foreground co-membership and sameness on the basis of a proposed sharedness in specific knowledge. The *common sense laughable* is one possible resource for this construction of co-membership. This finding contributes to work-place studies that investigate the role of epistemics in negotiations of identity categories (De Stefani and Mondada, this volume). It points to the fact that identities can be established and challenged not merely by negotiations of who knows more but also by members displaying common sense expectations about the knowledge linked to particular category memberships and proposing co-membership through proposing shared knowledge.

I have argued that the common sense laughable is a resource used in identity struggles occurring in various different work-place settings, such as the internship interview, the student counselling office, and the construction site. In all of these settings, and any other work-place settings, the intercultural (Dervin and Risager 2015) reality of various social identities intersecting one another imply that individuals continuously struggle to manage the identification of themselves and others in relation to shifting memberships and groupings within a given context. Other studies have shown how professional identities are established, intersected and shaped by the performance of 'other' identities related to language (foreign language speaker, multilingual speaker) (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014; Mondada 2004) or gender (Angouri 2011; Holmes and Marra 2011). This study, however,

has illuminated the micro-dimension of this process and shown that laughables are one of the resources employed to foreground (or background) the various non-professional memberships and identities that are transported into a workplace context. As such, they can be used as a resource for both maintaining and challenging institutional or organizational boundaries. In the example from a student counselling session, co-membership of the category 'foreign student' was in this way established as a sameness that backgrounded the institutional difference in the professional identities of 'counsellor' and 'student'. In the second example, from internship interviews at a residential home, I showed how laughables can be especially useful as a strategy for managing identity struggles in settings where the stakes are higher and where the identity performance and evaluation is more central. Here the laughable facilitated the establishment of a shared category of 'moderately religious', which worked to defend the candidate's ability and willingness to undertake the tasks required in the internship. In the final example, from a construction site, it was shown how laughables can be used as an affiliative resource among co-workers in an environment where national and linguistic differences are a premise of professional and social relations. Here the humorous allusion to shared knowledge related to being blue-collar workers helped to bridge such differences and managed to foreground insider identities reinforced in this case by an opposition to the excluded other, 'the academic'.

While characterising the common sense laughable as a resource for such identity struggles in these different workplaces, some particular features and characteristics have appeared based on the examples presented above. Common sense laughables appeal to a confirmation of assumed shared knowledge among participants who are already in 'knowing.' They do not propose or suggest new, surprising or even shocking knowledge, and they occur primarily in affiliative environments, though they can also work as a remedying strategy in non-affiliating environments. Given that common sense laughables address epistemic territories that are assumed to be shared by the producer and the receiver, they are not, as many other types of laughables, dependent on many of the interactional resources that signal or flag that a laughable is being produced, such as first laughs and prefaces. Rather, they are often quite minimal in their formatting. While they request confirmation of shared knowledge, the fact that they are produced to an audience that is expected to be equally 'in the knowing' means that they do not lead to a closing. Instead, they are often accompanied by elaborations after the affiliative response by the recipient, which enables further foregrounding of sharedness and, potentially, further laughter. Being an affiliative resource, common sense laughables are in this sense invitations or openings for joint exploration of and elaboration on topics, experiences or beliefs that are assumed to be shared by the producer and receiver(s).

On that note, a final remark should be made. Based on what I have presented, the common sense laughable may seem like the perfect tool in any kind of identity struggle because it can be employed to transcend difference and foreground sameness. However, while it may be employed to produce co-membership, it is limited by not only the institutional but also the broader cultural and discursive context within which a specific encounter is situated, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. This means that co-membership can only be established in relation to categories and subject positions that are accepted and recognisable as meaningful and expected within a given context. This presents a challenge for the performance of controversial or marginalised identities, as well as for the transcendence of normative identities defined by the majority. By proposing and accepting particular knowledge territories and categories through respectively producing and affirming a laughable, we are simultaneously subjecting ourselves to the 'truth' of particular epistemic territories and subject positions. In this way, the common sense laughable is an excellent example of the disciplinary power of laughables described by Billig (2005). However, as shown in this chapter, the structures of common sense also hold the seeds for challenge and the common sense laughable bears witness to the potential of highlighting and establishing memberships and identities that go against the grain of the defined boundaries of the work-place. The chapter in this way contributes to work-place studies of gate-keeping processes (Holmes 2007; Kerekes 2006; Roberts and Campbell 2005) by pointing to the common sense laughable as a resource for managing marginalized identities in hierarchical work-place environments and asymmetric institutional encounters. The common sense laughable is in that regard not only a useful resource for interlocutors but also for researchers who engage with cultural analysis or cultural critique from an interactional perspective. Laughables, ultimately, illuminate the culturally established boundaries of normativity and deviance within which processes of identity, power, inclusion and exclusion occur.

Abbreviations

Character	Function	Character	Function
⌜	top begin overlap	≋	≋turn continuation
⌝	top end overlap	≈	≈latching
⌞	bottom begin overlap	°	°softly°
⌟	bottom end overlap	??	??unsure??

References

Alexander, Bryant Keith. 2004. Passing, Cultural Performance, and Individual Agency: Performative Reflections on Black Masculine Identity. Cultural Studies. *Critical Methodologies* 4: 377–404. doi:10.1177/1532708603259680

Angouri, Jo. 2011. 'We are in a masculine profession … ': Constructing gender identities in a consortium of two multinational engineering companies. *Gender and Language* 5: 373–403. doi:10.1558/genl.v5i2.373

Angouri, Jo and Meredith Marra (eds) 2011. *Constructing Identities at Work*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi:10.1057/9780230360051

Angouri, Jo and Marlene Miglbauer. 2014. 'And then we summarise in English for the others': The lived experience of the multilingual workplace. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 33: 147–72.

Antaki, Charles and Sue Widdicombe (eds) 1998. *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage Publications.

Billig, Michael. 1991. *Ideology and Opinions*. Studies in Rhetorical Psychology London: Sage.

Billig, Michael. 2005. *Laughter and Ridicule. Towards a Social Critique of Humour*. London: Sage. 24

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2008. Finding identity: Theory and data. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication* 27: 151–63. doi:10.1515/MULTI.2008.008

Button, Graham. 1992. Answers as Interactional Products: Two Sequential Practices Used in Job Interviews. In *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*, ed. by Paul Drew and John Heritage, 200–12. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Campbell, Sarah and Celia Roberts. 2007. Migration, ethnicity and competing discourses in the job interview: synthesizing the institutional and personal. *Discourse & Society* 18: 243–71. doi:10.1177/0957926507075474

Davies, Catherine Evans. 2010. Joking as boundary negotiation among "good old boys": "White trash" as a social category at the bottom of the Southern working class in Alabama. *Humor* 23: 179–200.

Day, Dennis. 1998. Being Ascribed, and Resisting, Membership of an Ethnic Group. In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 151–71. London: Sage.

Dervin, Fred and Karen Risager (eds) 2015. *Researching Identity and Interculturality*. New York: Routledge.

Erickson, Frederick and Jeffrey Schultz. 1982. *The Counselor as Gatekeeper: Social Interaction in Interviews*. New York: Academic Press.

Evnitskaya, Natalia and Tom Morton. 2011. Knowledge construction, meaning-making and interaction in CLIL science classroom communities of practice. *Language and Education* 25: 109–27. doi:10.1080/09500782.2010.547199

Fogtmann, Christina. 2007. *Samtaler med Politiet*. Copenhagen: Copenhagen University.

Foucault, Michel. 1971. *The Discourse on Language. The Archeology of Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books. 25

Garfinkel, Harold. 1967. *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Garfinkel, Harold and Harvey Sacks. 1970. On Formal Structures of Practical Actions. In *Theoretical Sociology*, ed. by John C. McKinney and Edward A. Tiryakian, 337–66. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Glenn, Phillip. 2003. *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511519888

Glenn, Phillip. 2010. Interviewer laughs: Shared laughter and asymmetries in employment interviews. *Journal of Pragmatics* 42: 1485–98. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2010.01.009

Heritage, John. 2012a. The Epistemic Engine: Sequence Organization and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45: 30–52. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646685

Heritage, John. 2012b. Epistemics in Action: Action Formation and Territories of Knowledge. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45: 1–29. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646684

Heritage, John and D. Rod Watson. 1979. Formulations as conversational objects. In *Everyday Language. Studies in Ethnomethodology*, ed. by George Psathas, 123–62. New York: Irvington.

Heritage, John and Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68: 15–38. doi: 10.1177/019027250506800103

Hester, Stephen and Peter Eglin. 1997. Membership Categorization Analysis: An Introduction. Culture in Action. In *Studies in Membership Categorization Analysis*, ed. by Stephen Hester and Peter Eglin, 1–25. Washington D.C.: International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis & University Press of America.

Holmes, Janet. 2006a. *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Gender Identity through Work-Place Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9780470754863

Holmes, Janet. 2006b. Sharing a laugh: Pragmatic aspects of humor and gender in the workplace. *Journal of Pragmatics* 38: 26–50. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2005.06.007

Holmes, Janet. 2007. Monitoring organisational boundaries: Diverse discourse strategies used in gatekeeping. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 1993–2016. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2007.07.009

Holmes, Janet and Meredith Marra. 2002a. Having a laugh at work: how humour contributes to workplace culture. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34: 1683–710.

Holmes, Janet and Meredith Marra. 2002b. Humour as a discursive boundary marker in social interaction. In *Us and Others*, ed. by Anna Duszak, 377–400. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.98.23hol

Holmes, Janet, Mereith Marra. 2011. Leadership discourse in a Maori workplace: negotiating gender, ethnicity and leadership at work. *Gender and Language* 5: 317–42. doi: 10.1558/genl.v5i2.317

Haakana, Marku. 1999. *Laughing Matters. A Conversation Analytical Study of Laughter in Doctor-Patient Interaction*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Jefferson, Gail. 1984. On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In *Structures of Social Action Studies in Conversation Analysis*, ed. by John Maxwell Atkinson and John Heritage, 346–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jefferson, Gail, Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff. 1977. Preliminary Notes on the Sequential Organization of Laughter. In Pragmatics Microfiche. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Jefferson, Gail, Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff. 1987. Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy. In *Talk and Social Organization*, ed. by Graham Button and J. R.E. Lee, 152–205. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Karrebæk, Martha Sif. 2013. "Don't speak like that to her!" Linguistic minority childrens socialisation into an ideology of monolingualism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17: 355–75. doi: 10.1111/josl.12035

Kerekes, Julie A. 2006. Winning an interviewer's trust in a gatekeeping encounter. *Language in Society* 35: 27–57. doi: 10.1017/S0047404506060027

Kirilova, Marta. 2012. *All Dressed Up and Nowhere to Go: Linguistic, Cultural and Ideological Aspects of Job Interviews with Second Language Speakers of Danish*. University of Copenhagen.

Landgrebe, Jeannette. 2012. *Epistemic and Material Resources for Sense- and Decisionmaking in Collaborative Processes of Innovation and Design*. Kolding: University of Southern Denmark.

Lepper, Georgia. 2000. *Categories in Text and Talk*. London: Sage Publication. doi: 10.4135/9781849208727

Lynch, Owen. 2010. Cooking with humor: In-group humor as social organization. *Humour* 23: 127–59.

Marra, Meredith and Janet Holmes. 2008. Constructing ethnicity in New Zealand workplace stories. *Text & Talk* 28.397–419. doi: 10.1515/TEXT.2008.019

Miller, Elizabeth R. 2013. Positioning selves, doing relational work and constructing identities in interview talk. *Journal of Politeness Research-Language Behaviour Culture* 9: 75–95.

Mondada, Lorenza. 2004. Ways of 'Doing Being Plurilingual' in International Work Meetings. In *Second Language Conversations*, ed by Rod Gardner and Johannes Wagner, 18–39. London: Continuum.

Raymond, Geoffrey and John Heritage. 2006. The Epistemics of Social Relations: Owning Grandchildren. *Language in Society* 35: 677–705. doi: 10.1017/S0047404506060325

Roberts, Celia and Srikant Sarangi (eds) 1999. *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in medical, mediation and management settings*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sacks, Harvey. 1972a. An Initial Investigation of the Usability of Conversational Data for Doing Sociology. In *Studies in Social Interaction*, ed. by David Sudnow, 31–74. New York: The Free Press.

Sacks, Harvey. 1972b. On the Analyzability of stories by children. In *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, ed. by John Gumperz and Dell Hymes, 329–45. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Sacks, Harvey. 1995a. Lecture 6: The MIR Membership Categorization Device, Fall 1964-Spring 1965. In *Lectures on Conversation*, ed. by Gail Jefferson, 40–48. Cambridge: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444328301

Sacks, Harvey. 1995b. Lecture 8 'We;' Category-bound activities, Spring 1966. In *Lectures on conversation*, ed. by Gail Jefferson, 333–40. Cambridge: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444328301

Silverman, David. 1998. *Harvey Sacks. Social Science & Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Speer, Susan A. 2009. Passing as a transsexual woman in the gender identity clinic. In *Theorizing Identities and Social Action*, ed. by Margaret Wetherell, 116–38. Bassingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Stivers, Tanya, Mondada, Lorenza, Jakob Steensig (ed.) 2011. *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511921674

Stokoe, Elizabeth. 2012. Moving forward with membership categorization analysis: Methods for systematic analysis. *Discourse Studies* 14: 277–303. doi: 10.1177/1461445612441534

Tranekjær, Louise. 2011. I praktik som dansker. *Nordand – Nordisk tidsskrift for andrespråksforskning* 6: 7–35.

Tranekjær, Louise. 2014. Discursive ethnography – a microanalytical perspective on cultural performance and common sense in student counseling interviews. *Identity and Interculturaliy – Reflexivity in Research Methodology*, ed. by Fred Dervin and Karen Risager, 125–150. Abingdon: Routledge.

Tranekjær, Louise. 2015. *Interactional Categorisation and Gatekeeping: Institutional Encounters with Otherness*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Van De Mieroop, Dorien and Stephanie Schnurr. 2014. Negotiating meaning and co-constructing institutionalisable answers: Leadership through gate-keeping in performance appraisal interviews. *Journal of Pragmatics* 67: 1–16. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2014.03.008

Watson, Rod. 1997. Some General Reflections on 'Categorization' and 'Sequence' in the Analysis of Conversation. In *Culture in Action: studies in Membership Categorization Analysis*, ed. by Stephen Hester and Peter Eglin, 49–75. Washington D.C.: International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis and University Press of America.

Wetherell, Margaret. 1998. Positioning and interpretative repertoires: conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse & Society* 9: 387–412. doi:10.1177/0957926598009003005

Yeadon-Lee, Tracey. 2012. Doing Identity with Style: Service Interaction, Work Practices and the Construction of 'Expert' Status in the Contemporary Hair Salon. Sociological Research Online 17. doi:10.5153/sro.2726

Zimmerman, Don H. 1998. Identity, Context and Interaction. In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki and Sue Widdicombe, 87–106. London: Sage.

CHAPTER 11

Workplace conflicts as (re)source for analysing identity struggles in stories told in interviews

Marlene Miglbauer
University College of Teacher Education Burgenland

Workplace conflicts are often realised on the interactional level and occur when two identities intersect. If one of them is regarded as contested, this may lead to identity struggle. By applying Positioning Theory (Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann 2004), this chapter draws upon narratives about such workplace conflicts expressed in interviews, and analyses the locus of different kinds of identity struggles as well as which identities are constructed. The findings show that identity struggles are initiated by clashes of norms and expressed either in the story or in the interview by drawing heavily on dialogue/reported speech. The analysis also shows that identity construction is reflexively linked to the story and the interview so as to reinforce each other.

Keywords: positioning, narratives, workplace conflicts, identities, identity struggle

Introduction[1]

Workplace conflicts can take many forms, from small disagreements with co-workers/superiors via subtle to overt discrimination (De Dreu and Gelfand 2008). Whereas overt discrimination such as sexual harassment (Bell et al. 2002) is a case for prosecution, subtle discrimination is more difficult to grasp (Rowe 1990; Dipboye and Halverson 2004; van Laer et al. 2011). Subtle discrimination is defined as "low-intensity conduct that lacks a clear intent to harm but nevertheless violates social norms and injures targeted employees" (Cortina 2008: 55). It can be based on gender (Lawler and Bae 1998), ethnic background (Krings et al. 2014), sexual preferences (Willis 2012), religion (Ghumman et al. 2013), age (Posthuma et al. 2012), and disabilities (Snyder et al. 2010). Whoever is discriminating, the

1. I would like to thank Dorien Van De Mieroop, Richard Alexander, Stephanie Schnurr and two anonymous reviewers for valuable feedback on an earlier draft of this article.

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.11mig
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

instigator behind this behaviour is exerting power as well as establishing group boundaries based on what society regards as norms.

Subtle discrimination may be the starting point for conflicts in the workplace when realised on the interactional level (Willis 2012). Research shows that despite its name, subtle discrimination may be as consequential as overt discrimination (Jones et al. 2013). The receivers of this kind of behaviour tend to be people who have traditionally not been powerful in the workplaces, e.g. women (Davidson and Burke 2012), people of different ethnic backgrounds (Aslund and Skans 2010) and in a broader sense also new employees (Vogelpohl et al. 2013).

This chapter addresses such conflicts of norms which are realised on the interactional level at work. Instead of taking these conversations as data, this chapter is taking a different perspective by analysing narratives about these conflicts embedded in interviews. By exploring how workplace conflicts are narrated by employees, this chapter shows which identities are constructed in the story as well as during the interview. Further, the analysis reveals that these conflicts arise when two identities intersect of which one is regarded as the marginal identity in this context. The examples in this chapter show such identity struggles, in particular, when attempting to gain in-group membership (see Clifton and Van De Mieroop, this volume).

In the workplace, employees construct various identities such as individual, collective, situated and discourse identities (Zimmerman 1998) as well as narrative identities (Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrin 2007) in their interactions (see Schnurr and Van De Mieroop, this volume). Research relevant for this chapter is situated in two strands: identity construction in the workplace and identity construction in narratives/interviews. Identity construction in the workplace focuses on how identities are constructed in talk-at-work (Drew and Heritage 1992) using data gained in various genres of workplace talk, such as meetings (e.g. Markaki and Mondada 2012), small talk (e.g. Holmes 2003) and speeches (e.g. Van De Mieroop 2006). In this context, various identities, including professional identities, focus on the profession (e.g. Schnurr and Chan 2011), and various social variables intersecting with professional identities have been analysed. Regarding the latter, studies have explored social variables such as gender (e.g. Tannen 1999; Holmes 2006), ethnic identities (e.g. Day 1994), age (e.g. Angouri 2012), and other identities, e.g. the identity as new employee (e.g. Blåka and Filstad 2007), and identity as foreign language speaker (Markaki and Mondada 2012).

The intersection of professional identities with other social variables can also be found in studies on identity construction in narratives. In connection with workplaces as a locus of such research, studies use narratives told in the workplace and analyse how identities are constructed through storytelling at work (e.g. Dyer and Keller-Cohen 2000; Holmes and Marra 2005; Young 2009). Another set of

studies focuses on identity constructions in narratives *about* the workplace (e.g. Lutgen-Sandvik 2008; Reissner 2010; Ruohotie-Lyhty 2013). This chapter contributes to this set of research by focusing on how identity construction at work can be analysed in narratives embedded in interviews. Further, by specifically highlighting how identity construction in the story world and in the interview interdependently reinforce each other, it is possible to identify more facets to identity construction in this context.

The next section discusses interviews as an interactional site of workplace identity construction. I am also introducing the theoretical approach before presenting the data and providing the analysis of three examples of workplace conflicts and identity struggles manifested in interviews.

Narratives in interviews as resource for identity constructions

Wortham et al. (2011: 42f) regard interviews as being "embedded in and continuous with habitual discursive action". In interviews, most identity work is often achieved through storytelling (Johnson 2006; Baynham 2011), thus narratives are regarded as important sites for the construction of identities (e.g. Schiffrin 1996; De Fina 2003; Schnurr and Van De Mieroop this volume).

Narratives are "privileged forms of discourse which play a central role in almost every conversation" (Labov 1997: 395). In interviews, stories may be self-instigated or elicited by the interviewer. By relating narratives, narrators perform social action and position themselves with respect to interviewers and audiences (Wortham et al. 2011: 43). Thus a useful concept to approach identity construction in narratives and in interviews is the notion of positioning. Positioning focuses on "the way in which the discursive practices constitute the speakers and the hearers in certain ways and yet at the same time, they are a resource through which speakers and hearers can negotiate new positions" (Harré and van Langenhove 1999: 17). These positions are "locally occasioned and designed, they are temporally and situationally flexible, and they are multifaceted" (Deppermann 2015: 370).

Consequently, the concept of positioning has been applied to the analysis of narratives. Hatoss (2012: 50) specifically refers to narratives in her approach to positioning, which she defines as a "discourse analytical concept well suited to capturing the dynamics of identity processes in discourse and allows for the dual focus in analysing both the narrated event (the story) and the narrating event (the interview)". Applying positioning theory to narratives was first done by Bamberg (1997/2004). His influential theory combines three aspects – the story, the performance and the self – to analyse positioning in interactions that include narratives.

Drawing heavily on Bamberg, Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann (2004) focus specifically on temporal and interactive sources of positioning and distinguish between positioning levels 1 and 2 in more detail.

Bamberg's level 1, which addresses how the characters in the story are depicted and placed in relationship with one another, is divided into level 1a and 1b. The former named *Positioning of story characters vis-à-vis each other* puts the focus on reported dialogues and in particular, on how the narrator enacts these dialogues. The latter called *Positioning story characters by narrative design* emphasises the narrator evaluating the characters and their actions in the story world.

Bamberg's Positioning level 2 (how the speaker positions him/herself towards the audience by telling the story) is divided into four sub-levels in Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann's model. *Self-positioning of the teller by extra- and meta-narrative self-reflexive activities* (2a) denotes that speakers, by taking a stance towards their past selves and any past events, not only position their narrated self in the story but also the current self in the communicative event. This is done by activities such as commenting and evaluating the story from the present point of view. *Interactional positioning by narrative design* (2b) points at how speakers position themselves towards the listener by their story design, such as being a victim or a hero. In the remaining two sub-levels, the listener has a more conspicuous role. At the level *Interactional positioning by meta-narrative activities of the teller* (2c), the teller formulates assumptions, asks about the listener's knowledge, and gives explanations to the listener. Any reaction on the part of the listener/interviewer and how these reactions contribute to positioning both the teller and the listener is subsumed in sub-level 4 called *Interactional positioning by the story recipient* (2d).

The aspect of temporality is an important characteristic between positioning level 1 and positioning level 2. Level 2 is ongoing talk as it evolves in real time and consists of reporting facts, explaining aspects and giving opinions on various topics – usually in the present. A story (level 1) refers to actions that occurred at some point in the past, which are usually chronologically ordered, and "involve[s] the interplay of characters with interests, motives, emotions and moralities" (Watson 2009: 429). A story is included in the ongoing talk and may follow the structure of Labov and Waletzky's (1967) narrative model.[2] Deppermann (2015: 380) points out that "[t]emporality, the representational and performative design, and the in-

2. Labov and Waletzky developed six categories of a story's structure. The *abstract* consists of a short summarising statement; the *orientation* reveals information about the time, place, people, activity and situation in the story. The 'heart' of the story is the *complicating action* which leads to the *resolution* that recapitulates the final key event of the story. The *evaluation* makes the point of the story clear and the *coda* signals the story's end and returns to the point at which the story began in a conversation.

teractivity of storytelling are the systematic sources for the manifold potentials of positioning in narratives" and draws attention to the fact that analysing an interview by applying these different levels of positioning and their interplay, more facets of the self could be identified.

Identities are constructed at both levels during the interview because even though identities were constructed in the past when the story occurred, they are also constructed during the interview setting. Further, positionings in the story and during the communicative event in which the story is told may be "at odds", as this chapter will show.

Data

The data for this chapter comprises interviews that were conducted with Croats and Serbs who work in international companies in Croatia, Serbia and Austria respectively. The interviews were part of a larger project on workplace characteristics in South-Eastern Europe (Miglbauer 2010). The interviewees were asked about their workplace, their work in particular and any related issues, such as corporate communication, teamwork, workplace discrimination, etc. The interviewees were chosen because due to the transformation of the economy since the 1990s they belong to the first generation of South-Eastern Europeans who, for instance, work as investment bankers, financial analysts and brand accountants in international companies.

The interviews are semi-structured but the interviewees were free to decide which topic they wanted to talk about in detail. The interview setting is regarded as discursive work that constructs social reality. Accordingly, the interview is a performance of the self with and for the interviewer, and the role of the interviewer needs to be accounted for in the analysis of the data (Angouri and Miglbauer 2014; Van De Mieroop and Clifton 2014).

The interviews were conducted in English as English served as the lingua franca between the interviewees and the interviewer. Despite English not being the mother tongue of either party, the level of English was exceptionally high.

The three examples that I discuss in more detail below are taken from interviews with female employees in their early 30s who work at international companies in Croatia, Serbia and Austria respectively. Their stories have in common that they are all initiated by the interviewee and disclose a conflict – either in or with the workplace and in relation to identity struggle. The conflicts are based on professional identities intersecting with gender (Example 1), ethnicity (Example 2) and being new to the workplace (Example 3).

Identity struggles in the workplace

The data presented here reveal various kinds of identity struggle resulting from a conflict due to a clash of norms/attitudes. The analysis explores three aspects: (1) which identities are constructed and, above all, how they are constructed; (2) what kind of identity struggle is revealed, and (3) at which level this struggle takes place.

Example 1: The struggle with being accepted in the workplace

The first interview extract[3] shows a workplace conflict due to the intersection of gender and professional identities. Prior to the extract, the interviewee, who works in Croatia, talks about the difficulty of juggling private life and work life as a woman. In particular, she addresses the challenges a female employee faces in the business sector in which the interviewee works. In the extract below the interviewee recounts a conversation she had with her superior in which attitudes about women in this line of work are revealed.

(1)

Positioning level 2	**Positioning level 1**
(1) I never had a problem (..) to you know put things in perspective even uh (.) you know uhm (..)	
	(2) that relates to this conversation I had with my superior because uh (.) he expr- some doub- expressed some doubts if some clients would uh (.) probably prefer if uh their investment banker was male rather than a female
(3) because uh this is uh very (..) uhm (..) kind of conservative society where uh male (.) males are really (..) males are really uhm (..) kind of taken seriously by other males and sometimes probably uh men don't want to take advice from a female and they don't want her to tell him what to do okay I can understand that but uh my point is that I never had a problem to really put things in place	

3. See transcription convention in the appendix.

(4) immediately if I s- saw

(5) and there have been some (.) cases

(6) if I saw that uh I was not taken seriously but it took maybe five minutes (.) before I just you know said okay (.) now this and this it will be this way I'm telling you (.) you will do it (.) like that and (.) never I had (.) any problems I am taken seriously very f- ((laughs)) really fast

In Section 1, by providing an evaluation from the present point of view (*positioning level 2a*), the interviewee constructs herself as a rather self-confident and successful employee, who knows how to be taken seriously in her job, which the adverb 'even' points to. The story in Section 2 functions as a background to her constructing herself as a self-confident employee. She introduces gender as something that is emphasised by others and which could pose an obstacle to the company's success. The superior is positioned as doubtful and insecure whether the employee's gender may be relevant in business (*positioning level 1b*). The superior is also positioned as hiding behind the clients' attitudes (*positioning level 1a*). It is not obvious whether the superior uses the clients as pretexts for hiding his own opinion on that matter. The interviewee stays distanced in this section when reporting her superior's words because she refers to herself in the third person singular.

This is also the case in Section 3 where she provides background information about how the society regards women. She switches from the terms 'males' to a more specific 'female' to a very specific 'her' and 'him' as if to recount a hypothetical story. She constructs herself as a knowledgeable person who complies with the behavioural rules in an interview by displaying information to the interviewer (*positioning level 2c*). The end of Section 3 is a repetition of Section 1 and another positioning of herself as a successful, tough, self-confident female employee on positioning level 2a. The repetition or the reiteration of part of someone's speech is a function to convey a particular message in speech but here it also has a structural function. Following Labov and Waletzky's narrative model, this is the coda, which brings back the listener to the beginning of the story in Section 2.

In Section 6 the identity struggle, which is hinted at in Section 2, is further revealed. The interviewee acts out such a situation at the end of this quote by using direct speech. The other character in her story is not introduced as a specific character/person but is addressed with a generic *you* (O'Connor 1994). On this positioning level 1a, she constructs herself as a self-confident, successful, even an authoritarian professional who had to fight to be taken seriously despite her gender identity. Her laughter at the end of her story can be regarded as the evaluation of herself at the time when the situations recounted in the story occurred (*positioning level 1b*).

Laughter is an important part when recounting stories and evaluating identity constructions from the past (Glenn 2003), as also the other examples will show.

In regard to the site of the workplace conflict in this interview extract, the workplace conflict in the form of subtle discrimination based on the interviewee's gender is acted out in Sections 2 and 6. The interviewee also refers to discrimination on a broader societal level in Section 3 in order to incorporate her individual experience into a broader picture.

Example 2: The struggle with feeling excluded in the workplace

This example shows the intersection of individual ethnic identity and professional identity in a workplace situation and how this workplace conflict impacted on the employee's behaviour in the workplace.

Before this interview extract, the interviewee, who works in Austria, talks about being the "odd one out". She draws a clear distinction between herself and the group of her co-workers and provides examples of aspects in which she detected differences and encountered problems. The extract below is about different approaches to humour which the interviewee attributes to cultural differences.

(2)

Positioning level 2	**Positioning level 1**
(1) also they didn't accept jokes (.) they were like very insulted (.)	
	(2) once I phoned a colleague (.)
(3) and I usually phone him several times per day he also calls me several times per day it's :we calling each other all the ti-: ((laughing))	
	(4) and once he was not in the office and uh a colleague of him Austrian picked the phone and he said (.) no he's not here and I said
(5) I wanted to make a joke I WAS in good mood	
	(6) and said :no actually I want you to hear: ((lower sexy voice)) and he was totally puzzled totally (.) he said I beg your pardon what do you-how can I help I said come on it's a joke I will tell him to call you back it like-:then it was shock I made a joke: ((high pitched voice)) and he was so insulted and so official after that (.)

(7) and then no jokes with people
here they don't understand I mean
they don't tell each other jokes
maybe it's not the way how you
make jokes this country and my
country (.) but it was REALLY
one year struggling with with
people and I really when I wanted
to make joke uh I I did I stopped
you know I (.) protect ((laughs))
myself to to (insulting) and NOW
after one year they also uh uh
used to (.) used to my my way
of culture my way of expression
and they NOW start appreciat-
ing start making jokes with me
as well and uh laughing at some
jokes they accepted me finally now
some-somebody who I have every
day contacts but still I am very
cautious with others (..)

In Section 1, the frame of the story, by pointing out problems her colleagues had with her humour, at positioning level 2b the interviewee constructs herself as an outsider by highlighting the contrast between *them* (the colleagues) and *her* (the foreigner). The story that starts in Section 2 functions as a supporting argument for her colleagues not understanding her humour. She frequently interrupts her storytelling (Sections 3 and 5) to provide background information. She complies with the rule of offering information to the interviewer (*positioning level 2c*), who does not know about the interviewee's daily routines. She also interrupts her individual identity construction in Section 3. She positions her colleague as a person who includes her in the workplace. He is constructed as 'the only nice person in this place' (*positioning level 1a*). By referring to this work friendship, she constructs a collective identity.

In Section 4, the scene for the story is set (the orientation part according to Labov and Waletzky's terminology). By drawing upon a membership categorisation device (Sacks 1972), the interviewee positions the person who picked up the phone as Austrian. In itself this categorisation would not convey a specific meaning except to provide background information. Yet, taking the context into consideration and the interviewee drawing heavily on the binary 'I and the others' based on nationality/ethnic/linguistic background, this categorisation is not positively connotated. She applies direct speech (*positioning level 1a*) to recount

the conversation in Section 6. In this brief conversation she constructs herself as humorous. In the workplace context jokes can have different functions (Marra and Holmes 2007). The interviewee applies humour as a form of relational practice to build solidarity (Fletcher 1999). She uses prosodic features when she animates the colleague's words (Goffman 1981) and talks about his reaction. She positions him as puzzled by repeatedly using the adverb of absoluteness ('totally') (*positioning level 1a and 1b*). She voices her irritation about the colleague's reaction to her joke. Her high-pitched voice indicates that she is still irritated about this when recounting this story. She constructs herself as a humorous and quite daring co-worker in this story as well as an irritated interviewee who cannot believe that the colleague considered her behaviour as serious instead of as a joking behaviour.

In Section 7 on positioning level 2a, the interviewee constructs herself as a foreigner who is not included in the workplace. Broadly speaking, she constructs herself as a person who has been confronted with subtle discrimination, but it can be argued that the conversation is a misunderstanding based on individual differences. Yet, the interviewee attributes it to different cultures of humour. The impact on her work behaviour is also shown in this extract on the structural level. Like in Example 1, the interviewee embeds her individual experience in the broader societal/general context.

The identity struggle is revealed in Section 7. Her identity as humorous person is not suitable for the workplace nor does it match her construction of a legitimate professional identity. This part shows that she started suppressing this aspect of her personality in order to create a more legitimate and professional identity in order to achieve in-group membership.

Example 3: The struggle with conforming to the workplace

The third example does not focus on a workplace conflict between two or more people. Rather, it is the interviewee herself who found herself confronted with differing norms in her new workplace.

Before this extract, the interviewee, who works in Serbia, talks about how she succeeded in landing this job and the interviewer asks her about the most interesting aspect the interviewee encountered when starting to work. In her answer the interviewee offers her first experience with the new company and tells the following story.

(3)

Positioning Level 2

(1) uh (.) :to me the most interesting aspect and I can tell you like the first experience that: ((smiling)) I had with this new company is (.)

Positioning level 1

(2) they had they had the business briefing

(3) which means that the whole company gathers there and then the performance from the last three months including the most important events from different functions is reviewed (.)

(4) so there was I coming from the NGO

(5) and I'm a psychologist by my basic uh background by the way (.)

(6) and uhm they uh start with the presentations which have uhm (.) boxers like fighting each other which are us and our competitors and like :how we're gonna kill them and smash them and show them and we're gonna win win win and I was like huh where the (fuck) did I come you know I mean these people are so aggressive this is crazy I want to get (out) and: ((laughing))

(7) I was telling I always tell this story to (.) all the people who know me and for example my (.) colleagues other psychologists they were like and you were thinking let's make a peace workshop you know (.) uh but then you know after I (.) it's it's a matter of weeks when you really :get brainwashed: ((laughs)) and you're completely into that kind of terminology and (.) I mean it's just a different culture different uhm company culture :in comparison to the NGO: ((laughing)) I mean you can imagine how everybody is (.) peace love and friendly to each other and let's all fight for the (.) benefits of the world and equality and lalala and here it's not it's all about profit and (.) fight the other sides so that you can win

In Section 1 the interviewee smiles during the first part of her speech, indicating she is telling a 'funny story'. The interviewee starts her story introducing the setting (Section 2). By using the 3rd person plural pronoun 'they', she places her story-self outside the business briefing. She interrupts her storytelling to give an explanation (Section 3), thus constructing herself as an information provider to the interviewer (*positioning level 2c*). She introduces herself in the story (Section 4) with an inversion, making it very explicit that she is a new employee with a different background. She indexes group membership as a former NGO employee (*positioning 1b*). She again interrupts her storytelling in order to explain her professional experience in more detail to provide more background information to the interviewer. By doing so, she specifically constructs herself as a psychologist using a membership categorisation device (Sacks 1972) and "openly embrac[ing] an identity" (De Fina 2011: 269).

In Section 6 she again discloses not being part of the business briefing by referring to active presenters and herself as passively sitting there listening to them. She imitates and animates the presenters' speech by using direct speech. Through her reaction to this expected kind of mind-set of employees she constructs herself as a confused and, later on, as an insecure novice (*positioning level 1a*). The presenters are positioned as aggressive while she feels insecure because of being in the wrong place. Importantly, during this part of the storytelling, the interviewee laughs almost continuously. This laughter may be interpreted as being the evaluation of the story and of her story-self at the moment of speaking. She is no newcomer anymore because at the time of the interview she had been working at that company for some years. Deppermann (2015: 379) calls this feature *double indexicality of the self*.

Section 7 comprises a summary of her experience, where she contrasts her background with her current work life. She adapted quickly to her new workplace, she has matured (*positioning level 2a*), and she moves from using the first pronoun singular to the generic *you*. By using *you* (instead of *we psychologists*), she distances herself from her past self. Yet, she does address "the figure of the self in [her] own past" (O'Connor 1994: 48). She seeks acknowledgement from the interviewer by using the pragmatic device *you know* and the generic *you* which "indexes the self as generically or commonly like others in that position" (O'Connor 1994: 48) in order to construct a shared identity with the interviewer (*positioning level 2b*). She emphasises different company cultures (peace workshop vs fighting like boxers). The use of the spatial adverb 'here' towards the end of the extract shows that she has indeed mastered the transition to the new company. She is now the experienced employee who is amused by her novice identity, which can be seen by the long stretch of laughter when pointing out the comparison between boxers and employees at this particular company.

The identity struggle is revealed in Section 6 as her identity as novice clashes with her (former) professional identity as a psychologist with experience in the local NGO sector. The identity struggle is situated in the story. Later on in the interview, she says that 'competition in itself was not important in the world where I came from', again emphasising the different working environments/cultures. However, the struggle was resolved because she successfully entered the capitalist postsocialist world by becoming used to the corporate culture and norms that are present there.

Discussion

I have discussed three examples of how workplace conflicts realised on the interactional level can reveal identity struggles in the workplace. The employees were confronted with subtle discrimination (Examples 1 and 2) in a situation of conflict as a minority identity interfered with professional identity. This interference led to an identity struggle due to either maintaining or striving to gain in-group membership. As the analysis has shown, this struggle can be extrinsically initiated (by a conflict at work) as in Examples 1 and 2, or intrinsically instigated (by the person having an internal conflict) as in Example 3.

In regard to the locus of the identity struggle in the context of interviews, there are two levels involved. Either the struggle is revealed in the story that is told (mostly in extrinsically instigated conflicts) or in the interview, which is most likely the case when the conflict is intrinsically instigated.

Approaching the data applying Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann's Positioning Theory has proven fruitful in two ways. First, the analysis reveals more facets of the self as identity constructions occur in the story and in the interview. Most importantly, identity constructions on both levels are interrelated and in particular, when they are "at odds" (Deppermann 2015: 380), new aspects to identity construction are revealed. In Example 1, the identity construction of being a successful and assertive female employee is the same in both the story and the interview, and both levels reinforce each other. Example 2 shows how different identities are constructed in the story and the interview. In the story, the interviewee constructs herself as quite a daring and humorous colleague, while in the interview she constructs herself as a foreigner who is neither understood nor accepted by the colleagues. In Example 3 the same identity of a newcomer is constructed on both levels but differs in how it is constructed. In the story, the interviewee constructs herself as a confused and lost new employee, whereas in the interview, her identity as new employee is constructed as something that is funny and to be laughed about due to the distance between the interviewee's former and current self (*double indexicality*

of the self). Further, all the interviewees incorporate their identity constructions originating in workplace conflicts into the broader societal context indicating their situation is not unique. The interviewees also managed to solve their identity struggle by either highlighting the 'mainstream' professional identity or adopting an altered acceptable professional identity.

Second, the stories in the examples include a recounting of past conversations. The interviewees apply direct and reported speech, which, according to Buttny (1998: 49) is "reserved for capturing the most crucial or interesting parts of the narrative". Positioning level 1b in Lucius-Hoene and Deppermann's Positioning theory specifically focuses on how story tellers enact reported speech. In the examples the interviewees use prosody in their direct and reported speech to recount these conversations. Tannen (2007) introduces the term "constructed dialogue" for stories in which tellers "voice" narrated characters (Wortham et al. 2011). Tellers do not just regurgitate previously uttered words but, depending on the purpose, shape them into new contexts. These contexts determine why a story is told in the first place. They can be used to transmit a message, make a point, offer moral evaluation or implied critical judgement about events, discourses or situations (Polanyi 1985). The stories in this chapter serve as examples in order to support the argument made in the interview prior to the telling of the story. Yet, the analysis also shows how this enactment of reported speech contributes to identity construction since all the characters involved are positioned and, importantly, stance in the storytelling adds more facets to the construction of various identities.

Future research in the field of identity constructions in the workplace could benefit from looking for workplace identities in narratives outside the workplace context. Stories emerge in communication and that 'surrounding' communication (e.g. interviews, focus groups, small talk, lectures) may be highly valuable data. Researchers would not only be able to analyse the function of the story in the specific context but also how the recounting of events impacts identity construction by reporting conversations, transcending positioning levels and thus shaping each other.

References

Angouri, Jo. 2012. The Older I Get the less I trust People: Constructing Age Identities in the Workplace. *Pragmatics* 22(2): 255–278. doi:10.1075/prag.22.2.04ang

Angouri, Jo, and Marlene Miglbauer. 2014. "'And Then We Summarise in English for the Others': The Lived Experience of the Multilingual Workplace." *Multilingua – Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 33(1–2): 147–172. doi.org/10.1515/multi-2014-0007

Åslund, Olof, and Oskar Nordström Skans. 2010. "Will I See You at Work? Ethnic Workplace Segregation in Sweden, 1985–2002." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 69(3): 471–493. doi: 10.1177/001979391006300306

Bamberg, Michael. 1997. "Positioning Between Structure and Performance." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7: 335–42. doi: 10.1075/jnlh.7.42pos

Bamberg, Michael. 2004. "'I Know It May Sound Mean to Say This, but We Couldn't Really Care Less about Her Anyway': Form and Functions of "Slut Bashing" In Male Identity constructions in 15-year-olds." *Human Development* 47: 331–353. doi: 10.1159/000081036

Bamberg, Michael, De Fina, Anna, and Deborah Schiffrin. 2007. *Selves and Identities in Narrative and Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/sin.9

Baynham, Michael. 2011. "Stance, Positioning, and Alignment in Narratives of Professional Experience." *Language in Society* 40: 63–74. doi: 10.1017/S0047404510000898

Bell, Myrtle P., McLaughlin, Mary E., and Jennifer M. Sequeira. 2002. "Discrimination, Harassment, and the Glass Ceiling: Women Executives as Change Agents." *Journal of Business Ethics* 37(1): 65–76. doi: 10.1023/A:1014730102063

Blåka, Gunhild, and Cathrine Filstad. 2007. "How Does a Newcomer Construct Identity? A Socio-Cultural Approach to Workplace Learning." *International journal of lifelong education* 26(1): 59–73. doi: 10.1080/02601370601151406

Buttny, Richard. 1998. "Putting Prior Talk into Context. Reported Speech and the Reporting Context." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31(1): 45–58. doi: 10.1207/s15327973rlsi3101_3

Cortina, Lilia M. 2008. "Unseen Injustice: Incivility as Modern Discrimination in Organizations." *Academy of Management Review* 33(1): 55–75. doi: 10.5465/AMR.2008.27745097

Davidson, Marilyn J., and Ronald J. Burke. 2012. "Women in Management Worldwide: Progress and Prospects–An Overview." In *Women in Management Worldwide: Progress and Prospects*, ed. by Marilyn J. Davidson, and Ronald J. Burke, 1–20. Farnham: Gower.

Day, Dennis. 1994. "Tang's Dilemma and Other Problems: Ethnification Processes at Some Multicultural Workplaces." *Pragmatics* 4(3): 315–336. doi: 10.1075/prag.4.3.02day

De Dreu, Carsten K., and Michele J. Gelfand. 2008. Conflict in the Workplace: Sources, Functions, and Dynamics across Multiple Levels of Analysis. In *The Psychology of Conflict and Conflict Management in Organizations. The organizational frontiers series*, ed. By Carsten K. De Dreu, and Michele J. Gelfand, 3–54. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis Group/ Lawrence Erlbaum.

De Fina, Anna. 2003. *Identity in Narrative: A Study of Immigrant Discourse*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/sin.3

De Fina, Anna. 2011. "Discourse and Identity." In *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, ed. by Teun Van Dijk, 263–282. London: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9781446289068.n13

Deppermann, Arnulf. 2015. "Positioning." In *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina, and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, 369–387. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Dipboye Robert, and Stefanie Halverson. 2004. "Subtle (and not so Subtle) Discrimination in Organizations. In *The Dark Side of Organizational Behaviour*, ed. by Ricky Griffith, and Anne O'Leary-Kelly, 131–158. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Drew, Paul, and John Heritage (eds). 1992. *Talk at work: Interaction in Institutional Settings* (Vol. 8). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dyer, Judy, and Deborah Keller-Cohen. 2000. "The Discursive Construction of Professional Self through Narratives of Personal Experience." *Discourse Studies* 2(3): 283–304. doi: 10.1177/1461445600002003002

Fletcher, Joyce K. 1999. *Disappearing Acts. Gender, Power, and Relational Practice at Work*. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge.

Ghumman, Sonia, Ryan, Ann Marie, Barclay, Lizabeth A., and Karen S. Markel. 2013. "Religious Discrimination in the Workplace: A Review and Examination of Current and Future Trends." *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 28(4): 439–454. doi: 10.1007/s10869-013-9290-0

Glenn, Phillip J. 2003. *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511519888

Goffman, Erving. 1981. "Footing." In *Forms of Talk*, ed. by rving Goffman, 124–159. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harré, Rom, and Luk van Langenhove. (eds). 1999. *Positioning Theory: Moral Contexts of Intentional Action*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hatoss, Aniko. 2012. "Where Are You From? Identity Construction and Experiences of 'Othering' in the Narratives of Sudanese Refugee-background Australians". *Discourse and Society* 23: 47–68. doi: 10.1177/0957926511419925

Holmes, Janet. 2003. "Small Talk at Work: Potential Problems for Workers with an Intellectual Disability." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 36(1): 65–84. doi: 10.1207/S15327973RLSI3601_4

Holmes, Janet. 2006. *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Gender Identity through Workplace Discourse*. Malden: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9780470754863

Holmes, Janet, and Meredith Marra. 2005. "Narrative and the Construction of Professional Identity in the Workplace." In *The Sociolinguistics of Narrative*, ed. by Joanna Thornborrow, and Jennifer Coates, 193–213. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing. doi: 10.1075/sin.6.10hol

Johnson, Greer C. 2006. "The Discursive Construction of Teacher Identities in a Research Interview." In *Discourse and Identity*, ed. by Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 213–232. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.011

Jones, Kristen P., Peddie, Chad I., Gilrane, Veronica L., King, Eden B., and Alexis L. Gray. 2013. "Not so Subtle a Meta-Analytic Investigation of the Correlates of Subtle and Overt Discrimination." *Journal of Management* 42(6): 1588–1613. Prepublished 10/11/2013. doi: 10.1177/0149206313506466.

Krings, Franciska, Johnston, Claire, Binggeli, Steve, and Christian Maggiori. 2014. "Selective Incivility: Immigrant Groups Experience Subtle Workplace Discrimination at Different Rates." *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 20(4): 491. doi: 10.1037/a0035436

Labov, William, and Joshua Waletzky. 1967. "Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience. In *Essays on the verbal and visual arts*, ed. by June Helm, 12–44. Seattle: Washington University Press. Reprinted in the Journal of Narrative and Life History 7: 3–38.

Labov, William. 1997. "Some Further Steps in Narrative Analysis." *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7: 395–415. doi: 10.1075/jnlh.7.49som

Lawler, John J., and Johngseok Bae. 1998. "Overt Employment Discrimination by Multinational Firms: Cultural and Economic Influences in a Developing Country." *Industrial Relations: A Journal of Economy and Society* 37(2): 126–152.

Lucius-Hoene, Gabriele, and Arnulf Deppermann. 2004. *Rekonstruktion Narrativer Identität: Ein Arbeitsbuch zur Analyse Narrativer Interviews*. Wiesbaden: VS.

Lutgen-Sandvik, Pamela. 2008. "Intensive Remedial Identity Work: Responses to Workplace Bullying Trauma and Stigmatization." *Organization* 15(1): 97–119. doi:10.1177/1350508407084487

Markaki, Vassiliki, and Lorenza Mondada. 2012. "Embodied Orientations towards Co-Participants in Multinational Meetings." *Discourse Studies* 14(1): 31–52. doi:10.1177/1461445611427210

Marra, Meredith, and Janet Holmes. 2007. "Humour across Cultures: Joking in the Multicultural Workplace." *Handbook of Intercultural Communication* 7: 153–172.

Miglbauer, Marlene. 2010. *Postsocialist Globalised Workplaces in Croatia and Serbia: Work Characteristics, Gender and Identities*. Unpub PhD thesis, University of Vienna.

O'Connor, Patricia. 1994. "'You Could Feel It Through the Skin': Agency and Positioning in Prisoners' Stabbing Stories." *Text* 14(1): 45–75.

Polanyi, Livia. 1985. *Telling the American Story: A Structural and Cultural Analysis of Conversational Storytelling*. Norwood, N. J.: Ablex Publishers.

Posthuma, Richard A., Wagstaff, Maria F., and Michael A. Campion. 2012. "Age Stereotypes and Workplace Age Discrimination." In *The Oxford Handbook of Work and Aging*, ed. by Walter C. Borman, and Jerry W. Hedge, 298–312. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reissner, Stefanie C. 2010. "Change, meaning and identity at the workplace." *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 23(3): 287–299. doi:10.1108/09534811011049617

Rowe, Mary P. 1990. "Barriers to Equality: The Power of Subtle Discrimination to Maintain Unequal Opportunity." *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 3(2): 153–163. doi:10.1007/BF01388340

Ruohotie-Lyhty, Maria. 2013. "Struggling for a Professional Identity: Two Newly Qualified Language Teachers' Identity Narratives during the First Years at Work." *Teaching and Teacher education* 30: 120–129. doi:10.1016/j.tate.2012.11.002

Sacks, Harvey. 1972. "An Initial Investigation of the Usability of Conversational Data for Doing Sociology." In *Studies in Social Interaction*, ed. by David Sudnow, 31–74. New York: Free Press.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1996. "Narrative as Self-Portrait: Sociolinguistic Constructions of Identity." *Language in society* 25(2): 167–203. doi:10.1017/S0047404500020601

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Angela Chan. 2011. "Exploring Another Side of Co-leadership: Negotiating Professional Identities through Face-Work in Disagreements." *Language in Society* 40(2): 187–209. doi:10.1017/S0047404511000030

Snyder, Lori A., Carmichael, Jennifer S., Blackwell, Lauren V., Cleveland, Jeanette N., and George C. Thornton >III. 2010. "Perceptions of Discrimination and Justice among Employees with Disabilities." *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal* 22(1): 5–19. doi:10.1007/s10672-009-9107-5

Tannen, Deborah. 1999. "The Display of (Gendered) Identities in Talk at Work." In *Reinventing Identities: The Gendered Self in Discourse*, ed. by Mary Bucholtz, A. C. Liang, and Laurel A. Sutton. 221–240. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tannen, Deborah. 2007. *Talking Voices: Repetition, Dialogue and Imagery in Conversational Discourse*, (2nd edition). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511618987

Van De Mieroop, Dorien. 2006. "Identity Construction in Institutional Speeches: The Crucial Role of Pronouns." *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics* 2: 81–103.
Van De Mieroop, Dorien, and Jonathan Clifton. 2014. "The Discursive Management of Identity in Interviews with Female Former Colonials of the Belgian Congo: Scrutinizing the Role of the Interviewer." *Pragmatics* 24(1): 131–155. doi:10.1075/prag.24.1.06mie
Van Laer, Koen, and Maddy Janssens. 2011. "Ethnic Minority Professionals' Experiences with Subtle Discrimination in the Workplace." *Human Relations* 64(8): 1203–1227. doi:10.1177/0018726711409263
Vogelpohl, Darla A., Rice, Susan K., Edwards, Mary E., and Christopher E. Bork. 2013. "New Graduate Nurses' Perception of the Workplace: Have They Experienced Bullying?" *Journal of Professional Nursing* 29(6): 414–422. doi:10.1016/j.profnurs.2012.10.008
Watson, Tony J. 2009. "Narrative, Life Story and Manager Identity: A Case Study in Autobiographical Identity Work." *Human Relations* 62(3): 425–452. doi:10.1177/0018726708101044
Willis, Paul. 2012. "Witnesses on the Periphery: Young Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Queer Employees Witnessing Homophobic Exchanges in Australian Workplaces." *Human Relations* 65(12): 1589–1610. doi:10.1177/0018726712457795
Wortham, Stanton, Mortimer, Katherine, Lee, Kathleen, and Elaine Allard. 2011. "Interviews as Interactional Data." *Language in Society* 40: 39–50. doi:10.1017/S0047404510000874
Young, Kathryn S. 2009. "I Have a Student Who…: An Exploration of Societal Norms Embedded in Co-Constructed Narratives." *Narrative Inquiry* 19(2): 356–371. doi:10.1075/ni.19.2.08you
Zimmerman, Don. 1998. "Identity, Context and Interaction." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki, and Sue Widdicombe, 87–106. London: Sage.

Appendix. Transcription conventions

(.)	indicates a pause of one second or less
(..)	indicates a pause of two seconds or more
((laughs))	additional information
[word]	indicates original word was made anonymous
:word: ((laughs))	indicates speaking and laughing simultaneously
WORD	capital letters indicate emphasis
wor- dash	indicates word was cut off by speaker; eh/ehm fillers

CHAPTER 12

Identities on a learning curve

Female migrant narratives and the construction of identities of (non)participation in Communities of Practice

Jonathan Clifton and Dorien Van De Mieroop
University of Valenciennes / KU Leuven

Recent large scale immigration to Europe means that it is now faced with questions of identity that present immense challenges and opportunities which carry with them huge social, political and economic stakes. Using narrative analysis as a methodology and Lave and Wenger's notion of the Community of Practice (CofP), this chapter seeks to shed light on migrant workers' stories as reifications of their identities-in-transition as they (try to) engage with practice and so struggle to move, or fail to move, from outsider to insider status within their host communities. Findings indicate that for a successful trajectory from the periphery to core membership to take place, it is necessary for the identity 'newcomer' to become relevant, rather than gender or nationality related identity categories. We speculate that (non)participation in a CofP may have implications for wider societal concerns of inclusion and exclusion.

Keywords: Community of Practice, migrant, narrative analysis, identity navigation, gender, agency, ingroup/outgroup, exclusion, nationality

Introduction

Large scale immigration to the European Union has been welcomed by some as a necessary condition for long-term stability and economic growth, yet at the same time others have treated it as a threat to national identity and social, political and economic security. However, a recent report from the Transatlantic Council on Migration suggests that even though issues relating to immigration may point to cultural differences, the real issues "are socioeconomic in nature" (Papademetriou 2012: 2), and that therefore these issues should be tackled, *inter alia*, in the workplace. From this perspective the workplace becomes a key location

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.12cli
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

in which migrant workers struggle for acceptance in their host communities. The workplace, however, is not a homogenous entity, rather it is made up of a series of intertwined communities of practice (CofPs) (Lave and Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998). These can be defined as "an aggregate of people who, united by a common enterprise, develop and share a way of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs and values – in short practices" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999: 186). Key to the concept of CofPs is learning, meaning that newcomers start on the periphery of the community and, by acquiring skills and competencies, they can progress to become full members of the community. This learning process is conceived of as:

> a social phenomenon constituted in the experienced, lived-in world, through legitimate peripheral participation in ongoing social practice; the process of changing knowledgeable skill is subsumed *in processes of changing identity* in and through membership in a community of practitioners; and mastery is an organizational, relational characteristic of communities of practice.
>
> (Lave 1991: 64, italics added)

Thus, from this perspective, learning is commensurate with changing identities (Lave 1991: 68). These identities evolve as individuals struggle to progress from legitimate peripheral participation in a CofP to full membership. Legitimate peripheral participation refers to the fact that because newcomers are on the periphery of practice, they do not yet have the competence required to be a full member. However, through engaging with practice, individuals learn the skills that will lead to fuller membership. This inward bound trajectory from the periphery to full membership entails a change in identity because acquiring competence through practice and developing an identity as a member of a community are two sides of the same coin (Lave 1991: 66). On the other hand, if participation is marginalized and the possibility of an inward bound trajectory is denied, participants may be kept on the boundaries and may even be excluded from the community, thus becoming complete outsiders or non-participants. Therefore, a CofP, as Wenger (1998: 120) puts it, "can be a fortress just as it can be an open door". It is thus an important locus of insider and outsider identity work that allows migrants "to make sense of themselves and others through their forms of participation in and contribution to the community" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1999: 186).

The nexus between CofPs and identity is one that has proved to be particularly fruitful from a discursive perspective, as a way of investigating how individuals make sense of themselves and the workplace. For example, using transcripts of naturally-occurring talk as data, Ostermann (2003), Holmes (2006), and Holmes and Schnurr (2005 and 2006) use the notion CofPs to access the interplay between gender and professional identities, and Holmes, Marra, and Vine (2012) use CofPs as a backdrop to study leadership and ethnicity. However, one of the key aspects

to identity construction within the framework of CofPs, is its transition and development over time – something that cannot be caught in the here and now of interaction.

Therefore, the novelty of this chapter lies in the fact that it differentiates itself from much previous work on identities and CofPs because, rather than looking at the achievement of an identity within a CofP as it emerges in everyday interaction, we use narrative data drawn from interviews with immigrants which provide a site for reflection on a changing identity in relation to the inward bound trajectory of learning.

Using interview data "creates opportunities for understanding that are largely unavailable in the immediacy of the moment" (Freeman 2006: 154). Narratives have, of course, already been studied within the context of CofPs (see, for example, Freed 1999, and Holmes 2005). However, little of this research looks at the transformation of identities over time during the CofP-learning process (though see, Bathmaker and Avis 2005, Davis 2006, and Tsui 2007). In particular, this chapter aims to gain a greater insight into the construction of the meaning of being a migrant worker and so we look at migrant identities in terms of the struggle for insider status as *a form of practice*, reified in stories, that allows individuals to account for changing identities. Finally, we are then able to link these narratives to wider discourses of integration and exclusion and the ideologies that drive them since as De Fina (2006: 356) notes, "stories provide models of the world in which actions and reactions are related to identities and therefore represent and conceptualize social relationships". As such, in our study, we also aim to take into account some of the criticisms that the notion of the CofP has received. In particular, critics have pointed out that a CofP is not set in a social vacuum, but rather that the importance of the local context of the workplace with its particular set-up in terms of hierarchical power differences and a climate of trust or distrust, as well as the broad socio-cultural environment is crucial for the success of the CofP-learning process (for an overview of these criticisms, see Roberts 2006). We argue that studying interview data, characterized by a certain reflexive distance between the there-and-then of storytelling and the here-and-now of narrating, will allow us to get a grasp on the broader picture.

Method – narrative analysis

In order to analyze migrant narratives of (non)participation in CofPs, this chapter uses stories elicited through interviews. As Wagner and Wodak (2006) note, interviews are a way of stimulating interviewees to tell stories that are illustrative of life episodes. Interviews were chosen as data since they provide privileged

access to identities "because the purpose of narrating is precisely the creation of an autonomous, unique self in discourse" (Johnstone 1996: 56). Such interview-elicited narratives are sites of reflection that allow the interviewee to go beyond the immediacy of the moment and which thus enables them to create a larger, more continuous and more stable self (Freeman 2006: 134) that otherwise would be unavailable for analysis.[1] This narrative distance is especially important in migrant narratives since, as Baynham (2006: 395) notes, "narratives of migration and settlement unsettle and challenge stable senses of self" and thus to capture this notion of being on a learning curve, an environment which promotes reflection on temporal aspects of changing identities over time is necessary.

Following Bamberg (2011), the discursive construction of identity can be conceptualized as the navigation between dilemmatic positions, notably between: agency and control; difference and sameness; and constancy and change. The dilemma of agency and control can be summed up as whether the interviewee positions him/herself as acting upon the world, or as the world acting upon him/her (Bamberg 2011: 106). Sameness and difference revolves around the interviewee's positioning in relation to other identities and the drawing of boundaries around themselves and others "so that individual identities and group belongings become visible" (Bamberg 2011: 105). The dilemmatic nature of constancy and change across time relates to the fact that, on the one hand, no change would amount to a monolithic, static, and boring identity, yet, on the other hand, radical change would lead to unpredictability and chaos. Thus as Bamberg (2011: 104) notes: "speaking subjects are required to navigate this dilemma by positioning who-they-are in terms of *some* form of continuity, constructing their identities in terms of *some* change against the background of *some* constancy (and vice versa)" (italics in original).

The negotiation of these three dilemmas inherent in identity work corresponds neatly to central themes in Lave and Wenger's notion of CofPs. First, the notion of navigating between continuity and change is central to Wenger's notion of an inward bound identity of participation which entails a reification of experience. Second, essential to this move, or failure to move, from the periphery to full membership is the notion of drawing up boundaries. This is because members of a CofP develop their own idiosyncratic ways of dealing with each other and they develop a repertoire of shared references that outsiders find difficult to enter. Thus boundaries establish distinctions between insider and outsider (Wenger 1998: 120). This is reminiscent of Barth's (1969) classic study of ethnicity and boundaries whereby the social organization of boundaries between groups leads to inclusion and

1. This is a point for which interview data have also been criticized (see e.g. Georgakopoulou 2006).

exclusion and the dichotomization of the others as strangers. CofPs can therefore be a locus of inclusion for migrant workers since boundaries between CofPs can be crossed by newcomers who establish legitimate peripheral participation and embark upon an inward bound learning trajectory which may ultimately lead to full membership of the community. However, on the other hand, CofPs can be ways of maintaining non-participation or marginality which prevents an inward bound trajectory from the periphery to the core. Crossing, or failure to cross, such boundaries is thus an integral part of identity work in migrants' stories of success or failure. Third, in terms of agency and structure, Wenger (1998: 13 ff.) perceives the social nature of learning as mediating between the pre-existing structure of the CofP and the individual as agent. Hence we aim to look into the way in which the interviewees in our data construct their identities in relation to the CofP-learning process, while navigating between these dilemmatic positions of agency/control; difference/sameness; and constancy/change.

Data

The data for this chapter come from a larger corpus of semi-structured research interviews with migrant workers of different generations about workplace experiences in their host countries (viz. France, Belgium, and the United Kingdom). For these analyses, we decided to focus on first generation immigrants to the European Union and we selected two interviews which contained narratives of (non)transition from the periphery of a CofP to its core. Both were conducted in English by the same interviewer, who is a first generation migrant himself. The first interview, with a female post graduate student given the pseudonym Leila, is a story of non-transition from the periphery to fuller membership. Leila is an Iranian in her thirties with an M.Phil from a British university. At the time of the interview she was without work pending a visa application and she talks about her experiences in a food processing factory in the south of England prior to being 'let go' on account of these visa problems. The second extract contains a narrative of successful transition from the periphery to the core. It comes from an interview with a Ukrainian woman in her twenties, given the pseudonym Yulia. She is also a graduate, and she has a master's degree from a French university. In the story she recounts her successful integration into a French engineering company and more widely the realization of what she describes as 'the European dream'.

Analysis

Leila – a narrative of exclusion

The first analysis concerns a story of marginality which Wenger (1998) distinguishes from peripheral participation because the latter means that an individual has the potential to become a core member, whereas marginal members are prevented from full participation and thus always remain on the periphery. In terms of identity work, the interviewee constructs her identity as someone with a potential and willingness to change which is not realized as she is not allowed to fully enter the CofP for an extended period of time, due to UK employment law. We discuss this in relation to Excerpt 2, but first we show a story that emerged in Leila's description of her experiences in the factory.

Excerpt 1. Interview with Leila

```
1.  IR but=but what about your experiences in the factory
2.  IE er you (.) know sorry you know as usual I want to learn everything good or bad
3.     I want to learn you know it's experience for me it was a good experience you
4.     know I learned for example that first thing it was (.) very good you know I learned
5.     that er when they say eight hours is for working for example nine to five or
6.     anything er in this country it's not like Iran maybe it could be seven hours and
7.     fifty minutes you know  [ or    ] just you know one hour for lunch or break time
8.  IR                         [uhu]
9.  IE (etcetera) and they are very strict about that (.) it's not like Iran you know let's go
10.    and talk on the phone one hour two hours [  £no no£  ] it's very strict here yeah
11. IR                                          [((chuckle))]
12. IE you know and er one day I had problem you know had problems lady I couldn't
13.    stay there and I said really I have to go home (.) and she say to me okay write a
14.    letter I say oh my god can't write anything [ you know] I'm not well finally she
15. IR                                             [((chuckle))]
16.    said me okay you can go=it was around twelve o'clock afternoon four you know
17.    only I think four or five hours she said okay you know in (.) Iran I talk to my
18.    manager not well okay go Leila go home you can go this this part we have to
19.    appreciate you know everything if I'm working eight hours eight hours is eight
20.    hours work you know and I like this system and I like it was very good you know
```

After the interviewer asks Leila a very broad question about her experiences in the factory, hence not making relevant any specific identity categories (compare with Excerpt 3 below), she immediately stresses her strong desire to learn, as is underlined by the Extreme Case Formulation (Pomerantz 1986) "everything good or bad" (line 2) and the repair containing a positive – loudly pronounced – adjective (line 3: "experience (…) good experience). This is interesting, as she is working in a low-skilled job and so there is not so much to learn in terms of technical skills, as critics of the CofP-approach have pointed out (Roberts 2006: 635). Moreover, Leila is overqualified for such a job, and so this expression of her willingness to learn

displays that she does not look down on unskilled work and that she approaches it as positively as possible.

Leila then elaborates on this learning experience by giving an example about working "eight hours", thus referring to a general – instead of a job-specific – norm of the CofP that she is learning to adapt to. She assesses this experience positively – even before voicing the example – hence aligning with the norms of the CofP she struggles to aspire to (line 4: "it was (.) very good you know"). In terms of identity work she thus stresses her desire to be on an inward bound trajectory which breaks down the borders between herself and confirmed members of the CofP.

However, as the use of 'they' indicates, these boundaries are not yet broken down and this difference is made explicit in terms of nationality (line 6: "it's not like Iran"). As such, Leila makes this specific identity category relevant in her story. She then sketches the situation in Iran, after which she embarks on a contrastive story which exemplifies these differences. First, she formulates the story abstract[2] in line 10 ("it's very strict here"), and then quickly moves to the complicating action in which she describes that when she was ill and asked to leave work early, she was not immediately allowed to leave. These events, as well as the resolution (lines 14 & 16: "she said me okay you can go"), are largely narrated through a reported exchange (Buttny 1997) between Leila and her boss, which adds liveliness and an air of authenticity to her story. Then, a parallel hypothetical anecdote, consisting of a reported exchange between Leila and a hypothetical Iranian boss, is narrated and implicitly contrasted with the English work situation. In the story, Leila thus stresses difference, yet interestingly in the coda of the story she positively assesses the English working practices (line 20: "I like this system and I like it was very good") and using a generic "we" (line 18) she advocates appreciating everything as a way of adapting to the norms of the CofP.

However, there is a 'but', and from line 21 onwards she mitigates the positive evaluation of the story about her going off work sick and her volition to learn, to adapt, and to cross borders.

---

2. According to Labov and Waletzky (1967), stories can be broken down into the following constituent parts: the abstract which encapsulates the upcoming story; the orientation which sets up the story identifying the time, place and characters involved: the complicating action (i.e., what happens); the resolution which describes how the complicating action is resolved; the evaluation which gives the point to the story; and the coda which bridges the gap between the storyworld and the present.

Excerpt 2. Interview with Leila

```
21. IE and erm yeah for example I didn't like that you know they didn't er accept me here
22.    first for my visa and you know they prefer Polish people even without you know
23.    any high school paper like that it's not fair because of my nationality or
24.    my=or anyway I didn't like that
```

In lines 21 following, she elaborates on the initial positive coda which illustrates that despite her willingness to learn and to be on an inbound trajectory towards full membership, she is kept at the margins because "they didn't accept me here" (line 21), hence stressing difference both through the deictic pronominal form "they" and the geographical form "here". The referents of these deictic forms are vague, and they could range from specific, viz. the management at her workplace, to more general, viz. the employment system in the United Kingdom. This referential vagueness is not solved in the rest of the turn, thus allowing various interpretations. However, as Leila accounts for her non-acceptance in terms of visa-issues and by comparison to other migrant groups (viz. Polish people, line 22), she points to legal issues inherent to the UK employment system that is more lenient towards migrants with EU-citizenship. Thus a more general reading seems likely and so the scope of Leila's claims is thus implicitly broadened to acceptance in CofPs in workplaces across the UK.

It is important to note that the opposing group of EU-citizens, exemplified here by the Polish, are qualified further, as she adds: "they prefer Polish people even without you know any high school paper" (line 22–23). Thus, she presents herself as an outsider and contrasts this with the Polish, who are accepted even though they have lesser qualifications and are thus implicitly constructed as having less right to be there. Hence, the latter are presented as legitimate peripheral participants who can thus aspire to insider status through their ability to engage in practice. Leila then evaluates this situation of exclusion as "not fair" (line 23) and explicitly attributes it to her nationality, which outweighs her qualifications and desire to learn, and thus also to the UK employment system, which denies her legitimate peripheral participation in the CofP.

This, therefore, constructs a meta-narrative of exclusion and of disempowerment. In terms of agency, Leila presents herself as passive and disempowered because, despite positively evaluating working practices and expressing a desire to learn – in spite of the unskilled job that does not require a lot of learning –, she is excluded, fails to cross the borders, and is positioned as an outsider by others ("they"), who "prefer" to give the opportunity to be part of the CofP to outsiders with lesser qualifications who happen to be prioritized in the employment system ("Polish people"). Interestingly, instead of framing her exclusion in terms of an 'us-versus-them'-dichotomy, as research has demonstrated is often the case (see e.g. Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil 2004), she only refers to such a dichotomy in the

third person ('them-versus-them', namely: Polish people versus English people). Regarding her own position, however, she talks into being a dichotomy between herself ('me') as opposed to a group ('them', either the English or the Polish). This is emblematic for her exclusion from any community, which is further underlined by her distancing from the norms of her former community in Iran on the one hand, while on the other hand, being rejected by the English host community in spite of displaying her willingness to adhere to the norms of English professional CofPs.

This, therefore, constructs a meta-narrative of exclusion and of disempowerment. In terms of agency, Leila presents herself as passive and disempowered because she is excluded due to UK employment law. Moreover, regarding difference and sameness, her marginality in relation to the CofP is further underlined by her distancing from the norms of her former community in Iran. And in terms of change, she displays her willingness to adhere to the norms of this new CofP and to change her identity to 'fit in', but again, this results in failure and rejection by the English host community.

Yulia: a narrative of inclusion

In the second part of our analyses, we present quite a different story, namely one of success on an inward bound trajectory from the periphery to full membership of the CofP. In this process, the interviewee portrays herself as an active participant in the struggle to move past gendered and nationally defined boundaries.

The excerpts we present here come from a long discussion of the interviewee's high skilled job in a French engineering company. This topic is initiated by the interviewer's question in line 1, which actually makes relevant different aspects of the interviewee's transportable identity[3] (Zimmerman 1998), namely: age ("young"), gender ("female") and nationality ("French").

Excerpt 3. Interview with Yulia

```
1.  IR so being young and female in a French company how is that how does it work
2.     (1)
3.  IE I erm the company what about me I feel I feel that there is no equity between
4.     female and male parties and erm erm I think that what about salary but also
5.     variation I dunno when they make some decisions er they think that erm male that
6.     man are more reliable they probably have the ideas=better ideas but if I think that
7.     if you improve your decisions your thoughts you'll be heard also
8.  IR uhum yeah so if you=if you really push if you're kinda of ambitious and quite
```

3. Transportable identities according to Zimmerman (1998: 91) are identities such as ethnicity, age, or gender which "tag along with the individual" because they are visible. Despite their visibility these identities are not necessarily made relevant to the interaction, though they can become relevant at any time.

```
9.      strong then (.) then it's okay
10.     (1)
11. IE yes and I think actually what's the most important is professional results so if you
12.     show that your idea er worked↑ so this could be the argument er in the future
13.     negotiations
```

In response to the interviewer's question, Yulia first selects gender as the pivotal identity category and this can be related to the typical male dominated workplace (cf. Excerpt 4) in which women are still considered to be outsiders (cf. Baxter, this volume), thus making gender a salient issue of 'difference'. She generally states that there is no equality between males and females (line 3–4), regarding salary and other aspects (line 4–5), and that men are judged more positively (line 6: "more reliable (…) have the ideas=better ideas") than women by the management, who are vaguely being referred to as "they" (line 5). Yet she also formulates a contrasting statement, initiated by the conjunction "but" (line 6), which is fairly vague (line 7: "I think that if you improve your decisions your thoughts you'll be heard also").

In the subsequent line, the interviewer formulates an understanding check, which foregrounds professional actions (line 8: "really push") and personality traits (line 8: "ambitious and quite strong") as a possible antidote for this gender bias. The interviewee confirms this and further specifies her initial vague statements by highlighting the importance of professional results (line 11) and demonstrable success (line 12) as a way of overcoming gender discrimination. Through this contrasting statement, she already shows signs of empowerment, which are further developed in excerpt four below in which the interviewer probes for a concrete example.

Excerpt 4. Interview with Yulia

```
14. IR uhu .hh and again do you have any concrete examples of=of that↑ or is it just a
15.     feeling you have
16. IE I have erm concrete examples erm (.) er in my previous work 'cause I was
17.     working in the engineering company and er erm in the export department I was
18.     er one woman .hh only one woman and er seven men they try during the (.) our
19.     meetings the direction[4] was only hearing and asking the men especially in the
20.     engineering field
21. IR yeah
22. IE and erm erm so in the beginning of course I couldn't er give out some interesting
23.     ideas (.) but then after six months I er got in touch with the
24.     engineers and er I was implicated in the instant profit and I erm er my work it
25.     was especially in the marketing and trying to erm explain the product=the
26.     complicated product to the clients that's why I need t=to know the product from
27.     A to Z and er er after that I had the arguments that I know the product very well
28.     and er that's why I had=I had a voice .hhh
29. IR uhu
30. IE in some decisions
```

4. Probably meaning management, 'Direction' being the French for 'the management'.

In lines 16–18, in the orientation phase of the story, Yulia immediately foregrounds her exceptional status as a woman in this workplace in which she is outnumbered by men, hence explicitly framing her story in terms of gender. In the beginning of the complicating action (line 19), she constructs her initial identity as a disempowered woman, thus talking into being the gendered-identity of an outsider in a masculine world. The resolution to the story comes in lines 23 and following and in the coda in line 28 and 30 in which, through the use of the first person singular in the active form, Yulia constructs herself as an agentive participant, struggling against the world, rather than being acted upon. She thus constructs a degendered and empowered 'heroic self' which breaks down the borders that could keep her in the margins, and so, in the end, she has "a voice" (line 28). Interestingly, as she constructs a dichotomy here between herself and "the clients" (line 26), she foregrounds her identity as a professional, rather than further emphasizing her gender. Furthermore, she qualifies this professional identity further as an expert, since she explicitly stresses the complexity of the matter, as for example the emblematic repair in line 25–26 illustrates ("the product=the complicated product"). The interviewer reciprocates this identity work by reframing Yulia's story in terms of "any new person" (line 32) to the company rather than being a specifically gendered issue, as we see in Excerpt 5 discussed below.

Excerpt 5. Interview with Yulia

```
31. IR uhu so maybe it's a question of getting experience getting the product knowledge
32.    and that would be the same for anybody in a company you know any new person
33.    in a company it takes a little time to know the product
34. IE know the product and also find the people find the person who share with you the
35.    values and er is ready to help you to understand how the company work and
36.    which is the organizations erm and also
```

In line 34, Yulia agrees with the interviewer's assessment that being at the periphery is not a question of gender but is more related to a novice identity and that acquiring competence in terms of product knowledge is one way of moving to the core of the CofP. However, whilst agreeing with this, Yulia also adds to this by explicitly stressing the importance of finding experienced colleagues who "share their values" with newcomers and "who are ready to help" them (lines 34–35). Interestingly, she uses the generic 'you' which indexes a shift in perspective from the personal story of a unique and singular set of events specific to herself to a generic narrative of events that happen repeatedly and regularly to a particular group of people over time (Baynham 2006: 382). Thus, the identity 'novice', rather than a gendered or national identity, becomes relevant and the trajectory from the periphery to being a full member of the CofP is explicitly framed as a question of learning through contact with full members of the community. By invoking such a generic perspective, Yulia suspends the 'uniqueness condition' of her story and

as such takes on a public speaking position (Baynham 2006: 382–383), thus telling the story of any 'newcomer' for whom she acts as a spokesperson. As such, this use of the generic form is thus emblematic of her empowerment, which runs as a central thread through her story.

Then, after a segment during which the interviewee reiterates the need for a newcomer to be supported by an experienced oldtimer, the interviewer sums up the talk so far, as marked by the concluding adverb "okay" (line 51).

Excerpt 6. Interview with Yulia

```
51. IR okay so y=you're <re:latively> happy in France
52. IE I think you can say that because erm I think that here I have this
53.    opportunity to build my career by myself and err for the moment till today I've
54.    found the solutions by myself and I know that in my country in the Ukraine it
55.    wouldn't be possible err without some relations I don't know friends
56. IR ((chuckle))
57. IE to go ahead £yeah£ he it's very corrupt the currency it's very high
58. IR so [its its ]
59. IE    [ in the ] Ukraine
60. IR so it's the land of opportunity
61. IE yes we could say the European dream .hhh ((laugh))
62. IR Yeah↑ okay °that's° okay↓
```

In the initial line, the interviewer reframes this personal story – which gradually developed into a general story from a generic perspective – as a 'migrant story' by explicitly mentioning the geographical location (viz. France), hence making this – initially mentioned (see Excerpt 3, line 1), but further disregarded – identity category of nationality relevant again. In line 52, Yulia agrees with this assessment and she then stresses her active role in her struggle to build a career in the host country ("build my career by myself"). Importantly, this is framed as an "opportunity" that is only possible "here" (line 52), thus aligning with the relevance of the geographical reference initiated by the interviewer in line 51. She continues to underline her empowered position (line 53–54: "I've found the solutions by myself"), which is then contrasted with the corrupt situation in the Ukraine in which such empowerment "wouldn't be possible" (lines 54–57). Although the interviewee initially says: "in my country" (line 54), hence stressing her national membership, she immediately self-repairs to a neutral reference (line 54, and also 59: "in the Ukraine"), thus further refraining from making her membership of this country explicit. So the interviewee aligns with the interviewer's framing of her answer as a migrant story, and by setting up a contrast between the positive situation in France and the negative situation in the Ukraine, she distances herself from her country of origin. In the subsequent line, the interviewer sums this up by concluding (hence the initial "so") that "it's the land of opportunity" (line 60). This is upgraded by Yulia in the following line to the "European dream" which frames her talk in

the light of a meta-narrative of the successful, empowered migrant worker who is highly agentive in adapting to the host culture – both in terms of gender and nationality – thus constructing sameness with her co-workers through change.

Discussion and conclusions

Following Wenger (2000: 228), the struggle to move from the periphery to fuller membership of a CofP is a question of newcomers aligning their perspectives with the CofP, engaging in practice with experienced colleagues so as to be 'taught the ropes' and changing their identities commensurate with the values and practices of the CofP. This process of change, we argue, is not readily observable in the day-to-day discursive practices of individuals, but it can be brought to the surface by analyzing elicited stories through interviews. In such stories, this process of reflection on one's – potentially changing – identity is made visible and thus analysable, while the reflexive distance allows narrators to also present their stories in relation to the larger context which is sometimes lacking in other studies drawing on the CofP-approach (cf. Roberts 2006). The identity-work that the interviewees do as they reflect upon their (non)transition from the periphery to fuller membership of a CofP can be seen as they negotiate the space between: sameness and difference; agency and control; and constancy and change across time, which is commensurate with Bamberg's (2011) navigation between dilemmatic positions in relation to identity.

On the one hand, Yulia's narrative of a successful inward bound trajectory stresses active agency. She is acting upon the world and this allows her to establish a career. The key to this is contact with practice and the ability to learn from more experienced colleagues. This allows her to shift from a relatively powerless gendered-identity as outsider to the insider identity of a professional. Finally, the – collaboratively constructed – coda of the story reifies these changes in terms of nationality, and business practices of the Ukraine are set up in contrast to France. Consequently, this reframes the story of her transforming identity in terms of migration from her native land with limited opportunities to a land of opportunity. In this final section, Yulia thus positions herself as being part of the European dream which allows her to have a career, and she is agentive in building up this career.

Unlike Yulia, who had a high-skilled job in line with her qualifications, Leila had a low-skilled job in spite of her academic qualifications. Such jobs typically do not require a lot of learning, yet Leila presents it as an opportunity to learn about the general norms of the English workplace, especially in relation to time management. It is thus not surprising that the scope of Leila's story expands rather quickly, namely from a specific anecdote about working hours to more general

considerations about working in the United Kingdom and the implications of its employment law. Her narrative is one of disempowerment because, despite her efforts, the world – and its legal structure – acts on her rather than her acting on the world. Consequently, despite her willingness to change, she is excluded and no access to professional CofPs related to her qualifications is granted. This is contrasted with Polish migrant workers, who, in spite of their alleged lack of qualifications, are allowed by the British legal system to engage in practice and hence to start the learning process. As Leila explicitly articulates this in terms of her nationality, she constructs herself as a victim of this system that prioritizes EU-citizens and that makes Leila's efforts to agentively change her professional identity in order to obtain 'sameness' with her co-workers irrelevant.

It is important to note that these narratives are constructed interactively, in close collaboration with the interviewer who, through his selection of topics and the specific formulation of his questions or comments, can project a number of identity categories upon the interviewees, hence making relevant certain categories while downplaying others. This was quite strongly the case in interview 2, while this was much less so in interview 1, as we extensively discussed in the analyses. This illustrates the fluid and multi-faceted nature of identities, as interviewee 2 prioritizes the gender-category in her discussion, but then aligns with the interviewer's migrant-category projection in the story coda. She thus shifts in and out of different identity categories, depending on what is most salient and visible in the specific storyworld-context (cf. Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop, this volume) or what is made relevant in the storytelling context.

In spite of the many differences, both interviewees draw on a similar meta-narrative of the CofP-learning process, hence underlining its importance for newcomers in the workplace. As Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999: 181) note, the notion of CofP can offer a fruitful way of exploring the relationship between language and society. Also in this chapter, it allowed us to make visible the way in which interviewees reify and negotiate the meaning of their experience within a CofP by linking it to wider discourses and meta-narratives which touch on the essential question of the struggle for insider and outsider identities. This contribution therefore adds to, and complements, existing work that considers the nexus between identity and CofPs.

More specifically, eliciting data in an interview setting creates opportunities for understanding the changing nature of a migrant's identity across time that is largely unavailable in the immediacy of action. This process of reflection has a revelatory power that allows the interviewee to transcend the immediate concerns of the here-and-now and to stand back and make sense of their relationship with the CofP and wider societal concerns. In this case, it offered a lens through which migrants talk into being a Europe in which a sense of sameness based on professional identities can replace the dichotomization of the other as a stranger which lies at

the heart of exclusion. Essential to integration is therefore an oldtimer/newcomer mentoring system (formal or informal) that engenders an inward bound trajectory from the periphery to fuller membership of a CofP, and that therefore promotes inclusion rather than exclusion. In order to achieve this (European) dream, it is essential that the identity in operation is that of newcomer and not that of nation of origin or gender, as the former has the potential to morph into becoming a fuller member of a CofP and, by extension, of Europe. Whereas, if the latter – viz. national or gender identity – is perceived to be more relevant, this could result in exclusion and the enactment of 'fortress Europe'.

References

Bamberg, Michael. 2011. "Narrative Practice and Identity Navigation." In *Varieties of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by James A. Holstein, and Jaber F. Gubrium, 99–124. London, England: Sage.

Baynham, Michael. 2006. "Performing Self, Narrative and Community in Moroccan Narratives of Migration and Settlement." In *Discourse and Identity* ed. by Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 376–397. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.019

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. London: George Allen & Uwin.

Bathmaker, Ann-Marie, and James Avis. 2005. "Becoming a Lecturer in Further Education in England. The construction of Professional Identity and the Role of Communities of Practice." *The Journal of Education for Teaching* 31(1): 47–62. doi: 10.1080/02607470500043771

Buttny, Richard. 1997. "Reported Speech in Talking Race on Campus." *Human Communication Research* 23(4): 477–506. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2958.1997.tb00407.x

Davis, Janis. 2006. "The Importance of Communities of Practice in Identity Development." *The Internet Journal of Applied Health Sciences and Practice* 4(3). Available at: http://ijahsp.nova.edu/articles/vol4num3/davis.htm

De Fina, Anna. 2006. "Group Identity, Narrative and Self-representation." In *Discourse and Identity* ed. by Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 351–375. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.018

Eckert, Penelope, and Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1999. "New Generalizations and Explanations in Language and Gender Research." *Language in Society* 28: 185–201. doi: 10.1017/S0047404599002031

Freed, Alice. 1999. "Communities of Practice and Pregnant Women: Is there a Connection?" *Language in Society* 28: 257–271. doi: 10.1017/S0047404599002079

Freeman, Mark. 2006. "Life 'on Holiday'? In Defense of Big Stories." *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 131–138. doi: 10.1075/ni.16.1.17fre

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 2006. "Thinking big with small stories in narrative and identity analysis." *Narrative Inquiry* 16(1): 122–130. doi: 10.1075/ni.16.1.16geo

Holmes, Janet. 2005. "Story-telling at Work: A Complex Discursive Resource for Integrating Personal, Professional and Social Identities." *Discourse Studies* 7: 671–700. doi: 10.1177/1461445605055422

Holmes, Janet. 2006. *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Gender Identity through Workplace Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9780470754863

Holmes, Janet, and Miriam Meyerhoff. 1999. "The Community of Practice: Theories and Methodologies in Language and Gender Research." *Language in Society* 28: 173–183. doi: 10.1017/S004740459900202X

Holmes, Janet, and Stephanie Schnurr. 2005. "Politeness, Humour and Gender in the Workplace: Negotiating Norms and Identifying Contestation." *Journal of Politeness Research* 1(1): 139–167. doi: 10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.121

Holmes, Janet, and Stephanie Schnurr. 2006. "Doing 'Femininity' at Work: More than just Relational Practice." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10(1): 31–51. doi: 10.1111/j.1360-6441.2006.00316.x

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2012. *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, Barbara. 1996. *The Linguistic Individual*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Labov, William, and Joshua Waletzky. 1967. "Narrative Analysis", In *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*, ed. by June Helm, 12–44. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lave, Jean. 1991. "Situated Learning in Communities of Practice", In *Perspectives on Socially Shared Cognition*, ed. by Lauren Resnick, John Levine, and Stephanie Teasley, 63–82. Washington DC: American Psychological Association. doi: 10.1037/10096-003

Lave, Jean, and Etienne, Wenger. 1991. *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511815355

Leudar, Ivan, Victoria Marsland, and Jiri Nekvapil. 2004. "On Membership Categorization: 'Us', 'Them' and 'Doing Violence' in Political Discourse." *Discourse & Society* 15(2–3): 243–266. doi: 10.1177/0957926504041019

Ostermann, Ana Christina. 2003. "Communities of Practice at Work: Gender, Facework, and the power of Habitus at an all Female Police Station and a Feminist Crisis Centre in Brazil." *Discourse and Society* 14(4): 473–505. doi: 10.1177/0957926503014004004

Papademetriou, Demetrios. 2012. Rethinking National identity in the Age of Migration. Council Statement from the 7th Plenary Meeting of the Transatlantic Council on Migration. Washington D.C.: Migration Policy Institute. Available at: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/transatlantic/TCMStatement-Identity.pdf

Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. "Extreme Case formulations: A Way of Legitimizing Claims." *Human Studies* 9(2): 219–229. doi: 10.1007/BF00148128

Roberts, Joanne. 2006. "Limits to Communities of Practice." *Journal of Management Studies* 43(3): 623–639. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6486.2006.00618.x

Tsui, Amy. 2007. "Complexities of Identity Formation. A Narrative Inquiry of an EFL Teacher." *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(4): 657–680. doi: 10.1002/j.1545-7249.2007.tb00098.x

Wagner, Ina, and Ruth Wodak. 2006. "Performing Success: Identifying Strategies of Self-presentation in Women's Biographical Narrative." *Discourse and Society*, 17(3): 385–411. doi: 10.1177/0957926506060251

Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice*. New York: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511803932

Wenger, Etienne. 2000. "Communities of Practice and Social learning systems." *Organization* 7(2): 225–246. doi: 10.1177/135050840072002

Zimmerman, Don H. 1998. "Identity, Context and Interaction." In *Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki, and Sue Widdicombe, 87–106. Sage: London.

PART III

Struggling to combine (sometimes competing) expectations

CHAPTER 13

Managing patients' expectations in telephone complaints in Scotland

Bethan Benwell and May McCreaddie
Division of Literature and Languages, University of Stirling / Institute of Applied Technology, Al Ain University of Science and Technology

In this Conversation Analytical study we examine telephone complaints to the NHS which address a variety of issues raised by patients or their families. One area of 'identity struggle' for the patient caller is located in the difficult moral work that often needs to accompany the act of complaining. Complaints are an accountable activity, and legitimacy is 'built into' the complaint through a variety of means including invocations of the 'right' to complain, emotion discourse and constructions of the self as a 'good' or 'reasonable' patient. Similarly, identity conflicts arise for complaints handlers when the ideal forms of rapport involved in complaining sequences sometimes come into conflict with the institutionality of the event.

It is hoped that a detailed and discursive exploration of this key stage of the patient experience will lead to productive observations about effective communicative strategies for addressing complaints in ways that successfully manage the patient's expectations.

Keywords: complaints, affiliation, CA, telephone conversations, NHS

Introduction

In this study we examine telephone complaints to the UK National Health Service (NHS) in a particular Scottish Health Authority, which address a variety of issues raised by patients or their families. The Patient Relations and Complaints department is the first point of contact for patients wishing to register a formal complaint. We are interested in the work that is accomplished by *both* sides (complainer and complainee) in order to manage potential conflict, communicate objectives clearly and meet the patient's expectations. One area of 'identity struggle' for the patient caller is located in the difficult moral work that often needs to accompany the act of complaining. Complaints are an accountable activity, and legitimacy is

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.13ben
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

'built into' the complaint through a variety of means including invocations of the 'right' to complain, emotion discourse and constructions of the self as a 'good' or 'reasonable' patient (McCreaddie and Wiggins 2009).

Our observations of how patients' expectations are most successfully met focus upon the ways in which this issue of 'legitimacy' is addressed and respected. Our analysis of complaints handlers (CH) focuses on how the right to complain and a 'patients' rights discourse' more generally is oriented to (or not) by handlers. We focus on patterns of affiliation (Stivers 2008)[1] and the role of 'formulations'. We note how orientations to institutionality (or deliberate avoidance of this) are deployed in interaction, and at strategic moments. Identity 'struggles' arguably occur for the CH in the delicate position they occupy as a 'mediator' between complainer and department that is the object of complaint, and when the ideal forms of rapport involved in complaining sequences sometimes come into conflict with the institutional constraints of the event.[2]

Conversation Analysis is an ideal means by which to explore the orientations of participants to complaints as they arise in interaction. The fine-grained discursive exploration of complaints calls offered in this chapter enables us to comment more empirically on the variety of communicative strategies for addressing complaints and may lead to a better understanding of the roles of complainer and complaints handler in the delicate business of complaining.

Complaints, consumers and the UK National Health Service (NHS)

A complaint is commonly considered to be an expression of dissatisfaction where a response or resolution is explicitly or implicitly expected. It is a problem, or at the very least, a gap between customer expectation and the receipt of a product or service (Barlow and Mellor 1996). Seminal customer research by Hirschman (1970) suggested dissatisfaction was expressed by two mechanisms, exit and voice. In short, customers simply leave or alternatively, explicitly express their disapproval to amend, improve or seek remedy.

Consumer industries claim to view complaints as an opportunity to remain competitive: to improve service and increase customer loyalty (Davey 2011). Conversely, the NHS is a public service providing 83% of all health care in the UK (Klein 2005). Customer loyalty is therefore a pre-requisite with 'exit' an unlikely

1. see also Tranekjær, this volume.

2. see also Ojwang, this volume, for a related discussion of the conflicts that sometimes arise between institutional and patient expectations.

option (Hirschman 1970). Nevertheless, assertive, well-educated and internet-informed citizens are increasingly giving 'voice' to their complaints with more than 50% of people now prepared to complain (Institute of Customer Service 2012). Accordingly, the significant and increasing number of public service complaints is perhaps to be expected. Nonetheless, there are patent differences between private 'consumers' and the patients of a publicly funded NHS.

Mulgan et al (2007) highlight the emotional value placed upon public services with compassion and care being an intrinsic expectation. The NHS is a revered public service developed partly to address the needs of post-World War II recovery and something that many – including the founder of the NHS, Aneurin Bevan – consider to be sacrosanct (Klein 1989). However, the NHS in the UK is not just a public service, free and available at the point of need, but is also viewed as a citizen's 'right'.

The public's sense of attachment to the NHS arguably co-exists with the implicit expectation that the service should be delivered to a high standard (Martin 2012, Simmons et al 2012) and complainants state that the main motivation for complaining is to prevent the problem or distressing event happening to others (Simmons and Brennan 2013). There is therefore, a 'mutuality of caring' between service and consumer: patients expect care and compassion, but also care about the NHS (Benner and Wrubel 1989). Death, dying, terminal diagnosis, disfigurement, distress and intimacy take place on a daily basis in the NHS and this inevitably creates a milieu of emotions and challenges for vulnerable patients and their relatives. It follows therefore, that any adverse event is likely to be magnified ten-fold, with attendant emotions ensuring the acuity of the incident persists well after the event. Thus, small acts of kindness or care are deified while poor care is seen as an abomination and for this reason, a huge amount of emotional investment accompanies the act of complaining. We believe the face-threatening area of NHS complaints is the perfect setting in which to explore identity struggles in a unique service. Prior to outlining the complaints data, we provide a brief overview of the complaints process.

The NHS complaints process

The NHS Complaints procedure was first introduced in April 1996 and further revised in 2005 and 2012. The purpose of the NHS complaints procedure is 'to provide a simple, flexible, impartial and easily accessible system for the public as well as being fair to NHS practitioners and staff' (ISD 2013, 2). Nevertheless, the Francis Report (2013) highlighted several key failings with regard to complaints and complaint management, including the reluctance of patients and their

relatives to complain because they are fearful of the consequences. The extensive 'legitimising' work that tends to accompany complaints in our data set partly supports this observation.

Telephone complaints or concerns to the Patient Relations and Complaints Department (PR&CD) are initially fielded by a Complaints Handler (CH). The CH determines the nature of the complaint and whether the issue can be resolved informally without recourse to the formal process or to exclude issues that fall beyond the scope of investigation e.g possible legal proceedings. Formal complaints can be made up to 12 months after the incident and are acknowledged within 3 days of receipt. Complainants are provided with information on the NHS complaints procedure, the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman (SPSO) and advocacy agencies. A Complaint Investigation (CI) officer – usually a member of clinical staff – is appointed to investigate the complaint, with investigation and response to be completed within 20 days. If the complainant remains dissatisfied they can ask for further clarification or refer the complaint to the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman for further review. Whilst this study does not cover complaint outcomes, it sheds light on the initial reception of a complaint when it is first raised.

Methods and data

Our approach to analysing the telephone complaints data involves a conversation-analytical examination of the transcripts of audio-recorded calls to and from the Patient Relations and Complaints department at an NHS authority in Scotland. The data for this study comprises a set of 19 telephone calls made either by patients or their relatives wishing to make a complaint about their healthcare experiences, or by complaints handlers/investigators in the Patient Relations and Complaints department to callers who had already made a written complaint.

The calls were collected over a two week period and transcribed. Informed consent was secured from both handlers and callers, and anonymity for all participants (including individuals discussed within the calls) assured by the alteration of key, potentially identifying details of names and locations.

The use of ethnomethodology (EM), conversation analysis (CA) and Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) as analytical approaches or programmes of research is motivated by a concern with members' own formulations of the organisation of social life as it is revealed through talk and social interaction (see also contributions to the collection by Burrow, De Stefani and Mondada, Tranekjær). The 'accountable' nature of complaining means that our patients' complaints are particularly rich sources of 'accounting practices' and descriptions of 'normative' behaviours and actions.

CA involves the study of technical transcripts of recordings of everyday and institutional talk of various kinds, focusing on the turn-by-turn organization of interaction and concerned with explicating the 'technology of conversation' (Sacks 1984: 413). Some of the sequential concerns of CA (such as preference organisation, the uptake of turns, formulations and patterns of (dis)affiliation) are particularly relevant to our data. Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA)[3] pays attention to the situated and reflexive use of categories (usually identity categories, such as teacher, mother, teenager) and how speakers locally manage categorizations of both themselves and others in their talk. In our data we notice a repeated pattern of appeals to membership of the category 'reasonable patient' and 'legitimate complainer', details of which we consider below. These approaches which we draw upon in our analysis enable a microscopic and reflexive focus on the way in which complaints and complaint responses are formulated.

Complaints and complaining have been well documented by CA/EM studies, many of which identify complaints as a response to some kind of deviation from 'normative' or expected social practice. Whilst many studies have examined informal complaints in conversational settings (e.g. Drew 1998; Dersley and Wootton 2000; Drew and Walker 2009; Edwards 2005; Holt 2012; Pomerantz 1986; Schegloff 2005; Selting 2010), a number have examined more formal complaints in institutional settings (e.g; Monzoni 2009; Orthaber and Márquez-Reiter 2011; Ruusuvuori and Lindfors 2009; Stokoe and Edwards 2007; Stokoe and Hepburn 2005; Whalen and Zimmerman 1990). There are key differences in the way that formal and informal complaints are framed: complaining is arguably more accountable and stigmatised in informal settings; in contrast, complaining may be the legitimate and singular goal of some institutional encounters, such as the Patients Relations phone complaint data of our own study.

Data analysis

In the analysis that follows we explore identity struggles and the management of expectations relating to complaints handling from two perspectives. It has been noted by many complaints researchers that moral and accounting work frequently accompanies the activity of complaining (e.g. Drew and Holt 1988; Edwards 2005; Stokoe 2009) and we begin by focusing on the kinds of identity 'work' that accompanies the formulation of complaints by patients and their relatives and

3. See also Tranekjær, this volume, for an analysis that uses MCA to explicate the local negotiation of membership and identity.

discuss how these patterns suggest that complaining is a delicate and sometimes fraught activity for patients.

Within these sequences we can also observe that complaint *recipients* often reveal an awareness of the struggles around complaining and will frequently attempt to affiliate with the caller's complaint. The CA literature on complaints has identified that complaining embodies an interactional expectation of agreement or affiliation by the complaint recipient. Stivers (2008) describes 'affiliation' as the positive and agreeing stance taken to the proposition contained in the previous turn. A lesser degree of affiliation seems to correspond to the perceived 'institutionality' of complaints encounters and has the potential to come into conflict with patients' expectations.[4] The second part of the analysis thus focuses on the work done by complaints handlers. Here we explore particularly the tension that sometimes arises between the expectation of affiliation and the institutional constraints of the encounter that means this affiliation is sometimes withheld.

The moral work required to complain

What is striking about our data is that regardless of 'complaining' being an inherently legitimate and purposeful activity of the institutional setting, callers still work hard to mitigate the negative associations accompanying the activity of complaining and identity of 'complainer'. This observation may be related in this specific context to Francis's conclusions that some patients and their relatives are fearful of the consequences of complaining (2013), but equally that patients do not want to be seen as 'ungrateful' for a service they care about.

In our own healthcare data, a complainer will sometimes emphasise their entitlement and epistemic authority through mentions of their own professional experience or that of relatives or friends with medical expertise ('I was very surprised and so was my retired doctor friend'). A caller may also mitigate a complaint by lavishing praise on another aspect of their healthcare experience: 'I'm not getting at staff at all… because staff are excellent'; 'the receptionists were fantastic they (weren't) to be blamed at all'. In this way, callers regularly appeal to membership of the implicit category 'reasonable patient', which often involves distancing from the activity of complaining (e.g. 'we're not really complaining people') or through the announcement of explicit membership of particular kinds of 'reasonable' identity

4. See for instance Ruusuvuori and Lindfors on the differing responses between homeopathic (affiliative) and mainstream (non-affiliative or neutral) doctors; Stokoe and Edwards (2007) on mediators (affiliative) and police (non-affiliative or neutral) in the context of neighbour disputes.

categories (e.g. 'Ah'm not an ignorant man'; 'I'm the kind of person I say I'll nae bother naebody'); or through attributes or activities tied to the category 'reasonable person' (e.g. 'don't want anybody getting into trouble').[5] Through these self-constructions of normative, 'reasonable' identity and behaviour, patients' narratives are able 'to express or confirm the continuing integrity and moral virtue of the individual' (Pollock 2005: 23). We see examples of these self-constructions in the following set of extracts. In each extract, CH refers to 'complaints handler' and C to 'caller'. In this first sequence, the male caller is a patient who suffered a heart attack and is complaining about delays that occurred in being treated.

Extract 1.

```
1  CH: hh.where >wuz that you were taken back to<= ↑↑were you taken back to
2      [the ↑Royal]
3   C: [Royal     ]
4  CH: back to the ↓Royal=
5   C: =aye
6                (0.3)
7  CH: right
8   C: an then I was up there gettin ma °operation° (1.0) a week ago or >summat like
9      tha> (0.9) I:: (0.2) an ee- (.) anyway (xxx) (1.2) ↑it's= not healin= brilliant
10 CH: ahuh (.) [you're getting there (.) you're ↓getting there]
11  C:          [but it's comin along=                         ]
12     =↓aye I've absolutely no complaints aboot that
13 CH: ah↑↑uh
14         (1.0)
15  C: what's happening to me noo is (.) is ah ahm startin to greet (.) and break doon
16 CH: right
17  C: it's all just startin' ta hit me ↑noo
18 CH: aye (.)  [y=
19  C:          [but ah- ah- (.) ah want=to know why it's taken so long (1.0) for
20     somebody to=come and see me (.) when ah was in hospital that night (.)
21     which was- ah thought was >an ↑absolute< ↓disgrace
22            (0.2)
23 CH: right so this is when we'[re
24  C:                          [ah've never complained or nothing in ma life
```

In this extract, the caller has been describing what happened to him on the night he had a heart attack. After long delays in being seen and diagnosed, during which time he suffered considerable pain, he was finally transferred to the department where he had a bypass operation. On line 9, C reports that 'it's not healing brilliant', a negative assessment to which CH initially aligns with her preferred 'ah↑↑uh' but from which she subtly disaffiliates by offering an alternative, more positive assessment 'you're getting there'. This tendency for positive sequences/assessments

5. See also Stokoe and Hepburn 2005

to entail from negative sequences/complaints has been commented upon by a number of studies (e.g. Beach 2003 on 'managing optimism'; Holt 1993 on 'bright side sequences'; Maynard 2003 on 'good news exits').This more positive assessment of C's situation coaxes agreement from C ('aye') and suggests that CH and caller collaboratively orient to a more mitigated and 'reasonable' form of complaining, culminating in the assertion 'I've absolutely no complaints aboot that' which contains an extreme case formulation designed to enhance the moral and categorical force of the utterance (Pomerantz 1986), to which the Complaints Handler affiliates ('aye'). Crucially 'I've no complaints aboot that' signals that C is not an habitual complainer, but rather a judicious one and thus 'work[s] against the indexical category of dispositional moaner' (Edwards 2005: 24). On lines 19–21, C contrasts his satisfaction with the ward where he received his care, to his assessment of his care leading up to his admission, and the significant delay in being seen ('but ah- ah- (.) ah want=to know why […]). His indignant assertion that this was an'↑absolute< ↓disgrace' is mitigated by the acknowledgement that this was his opinion 'ah thought', which in turn conveys subjectivity without bias (Edwards 2005), and avoids the impression that this display of 'affectivity' (Selting 2010) is unreasonably asserted as fact- rather than opinion-based. The worked up identity of 'rational' and 'judicious' complainer is further emphasised with the support of more extreme case formulations in line 24: 'ah've never complained or nothing in ma life'.

In the next sequence, taken from the same call as Extract 1, the CH attempts to clarify a detail mentioned earlier by the caller about having had a vodka to drink that night.

Extract 2.[6]

```
1  CH: so you had one vodka that [night            ]
2   C:                           [so I felt (.) er-] ↑oh I'd only (.) one- had
3      ↑one vodka=I  mean that's (0.)2 but I'd have ta say (0.1) I think my daughter
4      had said on the phone he had had a drink >or summat like that<=
5  CH: =right=
6   C: =th- there <wuzane drink involved>
7      (0.2)
8  CH: m↑huh
9   C: if there was I wouldn't even be phoning yer
10 CH: mhuh
```

The CH's first turn in Extract 2 clarifies a point of information discussed earlier in the patient's narrative – that in her call to the NHS 24 phone line, the caller's daughter has mentioned that he had an alcoholic drink prior to his heart attack. The caller's point in topicalising this issue is to stress its irrelevance to his

6. This extract and Extract 3 are also analysed in Benwell and Stokoe (2016)

condition, but the complaints handler's turn reveals an ambiguity, whereby her request for confirmation of the drinking of 'one vodka' topicalises it and enhances its relevance to the narrative. The interactional 'trouble' that this question provokes is revealed in the 'defensive detailing' (Drew 1998: 297) provided by the caller in his next turn, where 'one vodka' is repaired to 'only one vodka'. In line 6, this assertion of the drink's irrelevance is upgraded 'there <wuznae drink involved>', and in line 9 further moral work is achieved in the claim that if the caller's drinking had been relevant he 'wouldn't even be phoning yer'. This exchange reveals normative understandings about how certain lifestyle choices (e.g. drinking alcohol, smoking, bad diet) might be thought to contribute to heart disease. In his repudiation of the identity of 'excessive' or 'habitual' drinker, the caller makes claims to a different kind of identity, that of 'responsible' patient, who therefore has the entitlement to complain about his treatment. The implication here is that if a patient were responsible for his own ill-health he would not be able to make a legitimate complaint about the way he was treated. Again, the appeal to a 'reasonable' and 'responsible' identity, in implicit contrast to other kinds of patient identity, is what underpins and legitimises the grievance.

In the following sequence, the caller in this sequence is the sister of a female patient taken into the Accident and Emergency department suffering from acute mental health issues.

Extract 3.

```
1  C: we waited over an hour to be assessed by a triage nurse which is ↑fine (.) cos
2     (.)↑you don't mind waiting your ↑turn (.) and (.) and there was just- full of
3     drunk people= and (.) injured people= and (.) we were kept waiting a further
4     two ↑hours
5 CH: right
6  C: for her to spend almost five minutes with a doctor
```

In this final extract we see another example of the self-construction of a 'reasonable' patient identity which is established prior to the expression of the grievance. The caller states that 'we waited over an hour to be assessed by a triage nurse', an utterance which might be thought initially to represent a complaint; however, this is confounded by her concession that this was '↑fine (.) cos (.)↑you don't mind waiting your ↑turn'. By uttering this statement, the caller reveals herself to be a 'reasonable' person, one who recognises that hospitals are busy, understaffed and full of equally entitled patients all awaiting treatment. However, the turn develops to flag up the presence of other kinds of patients, whose identities are marked, possibly in contrast to the caller's relative, as 'drunk' and 'injured' (and thus potentially responsible for their own condition). This detail contributes to the impression that the accident and emergency ward was a stressful and unpleasant environment in which to have been kept waiting (particularly for a patient suffering mental health

problems), and the 'reasonable' hour-long wait is implicitly contrasted with a less reasonable 'further two hours' followed by the very minimal time actually spent with the doctor 'almost five minutes'. The category attributes of 'reasonable person' ('↑you don't mind waiting your ↑turn') are strategically established in this account in order to manage the impression of the actual complaint as reasoned and fair.

In these extracts, we have seen how membership category work operates in the establishment and avoidance of certain kinds of identity. Notably, callers often work to construct themselves as 'good' NHS patients deserving of the service in contrast with other implied identities. Complaining is a fraught, evaluated and thus accountable activity, and callers to the complaints line must work hard to have their grievances heard as legitimate. A recognition of this delicacy is sometimes indexed in the interactional behaviour of the complaint recipients, and it is upon their turns that we now focus.

Conflicting agendas for complaint recipients

In the section above we explored how identity work by callers is prompted by the interactional constraints surrounding the act of complaining, even where the setting is institutional and functions formally to receive complaints. We now turn to the complaints handler in this interactional dyad in order to explore how this institutional identity role of complaint recipient is fraught with conflict between addressing the concerns of patients in an affiliative and sympathetic fashion,[7] and meeting a set of institutional needs including the gathering of factual data, and suspending judgement about the actions of certain departments.

Complaints literature has made a distinction between 'indirect' and 'direct' complaints, arguing that complaints to third parties are likely to differ in character and form to those directed at the object of complaint (e.g. Monzoni 2009). Our own data occupies an ambiguous space between direct and indirect, which is further complicated by its institutional status (see Ruusuvuori and Lindfors 2009). On the one hand, the complaints handlers are neutral recipients, not directly implicated in the blameworthy action(s),[8] on the other hand, they are employed by and

7. Scottish Government guidance on handling complaints to the NHS state that 'Staff should always respond positively and appropriately to anyone who provides feedback, comments or concerns and acknowledge the feedback, comment or concern in an open and honest way demonstrating sensitivity and understanding'. (Scottish Government 2012: 17)

8. This becomes clear in occasional comments by callers who explicitly praise the complaints line and its handlers in contrast to the treatment they have experienced.

representative of a public service.[9] The interactional behaviour of the complaints handlers in our study reflects this ambiguity, with a combination of indirect, third-party type responses more typical of informal conversations (explicit affiliation, empathy, assessments, even outrage) and direct-type responses associated with institutional settings (studiedly neutral, fact-securing responses, responses that are protective of the institution).[10] We can gloss this distinction as 'patient vs institutional affiliation'.

The extent of orientation to the client/patient's needs tends to vary between complaint handlers, who manage conflicting affiliations in a range of ways. In complaint sequences there is usually some negotiation between institutional objectives and procedures, and complainant expectation, what Dewar (2011) describes as 'squaring the institutional and the caller view of the complaint'.[11] Whilst some examples show a clear orientation to either the institution's or the caller's agenda, sometimes these dual agendas come into explicit conflict for the complaints handler. The following example demonstrates a locus of tension for the complaints handler's professional identity between institutional and patient-centred alignment.

In a sequence from a complaint call made by a caller on behalf of her husband – a patient with motor neurone disease who was admitted to hospital suffering from pneumonia – the complaints handler offers a possible identification of the nurse that the caller is complaining about.[12]

Extract 4.

```
1  CH: is this Carol Purdie you're talking about
2      (0.4)
3   C: Sorry
4  CH: is it Carol Purdie?
5      (0.3)
6   C: well that- if that's her name it's ward sixty-two that's it
7  CH: I don't know not sure .h (1.0) ummm so-=
8   C: =sorry what did you say her second name was
9  CH: Purdie
10  C: how d'ya spell that?
```

9. Other researchers characterise this relationship as direct, e.g. Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter (2011) in their study of complaints to a public transport department in Slovakia.

10. Ruusuvuori and Lindfors (2009) note that private healthcare providers are usually more willing to affiliate to the patient's complaint than public healthcare providers.

11. see also Orthaber and Marquez-Reiter's (2011) account of public transport service where these goals are in direct conflict

12. All names have been changed to protect anonymity.

```
11 CH: Pee Ewe Ar Dee Eye Ee
12  C: sorry.
13     (1.0)
14  C: P
15     (1.0)
16  C: sorry P-
17 CH: >I don't know if it is her or not it might not be her that's what I'm
18     sayin (.) I may be givin ya the wrong name here I don't know .h
19  C: yeah well it probably will be-=
20 CH: =Oh I don't know I don't know which ward she works in
```

The complaints handler's initial orientation to the needs and agenda of the complainant in providing a possible name for the object of complaint is received positively by the caller, who whilst unsure herself about this identification, accepts the authority of the CH and notes down the name in writing. At lines 7 and then later at line 17, however, the CH retreats from the categorical modality of his initial suggestion and introduces a significant amount of hedging and low modality in his reassessment of certainty of this positive identification of the nurse in question. Again we can see how the CH's initial impulse to support the patient's complaint evolves in response to his realisation of the possible professional consequences of naming (and even misidentifying) a colleague within the NHS in the context of a complaint. The tension between the CH's alignment to the needs of the caller and his alignment to the institution for which he works is palpable in this sequence and offers an example of a professional identity in conflict.

Conversational affiliation

Affiliation (and disaffiliation) as discussed earlier may also play a key role in conveying the position of the complaints recipient as aligned either to the patient or the institutional agenda. Strong conversational affiliation to the caller's complaint signals affiliation to the patient agenda:

Extract 5.

```
1   C: it's not very business-like °I'll give you that°=
2  CH: =er well ↑no (.) it's not I totally agree with ya=
```

In this exchange the caller offers a negative assessment of the delays to his appointment which is strongly supported through the affiliative move of the officer, even at the risk of agreeing that the institution for which she works is not 'business-like'. Some CHs go to great lengths to empathise with a complaint, including completing or glossing the complaint on behalf of a caller:

Extract 6.

```
1  C: but I don't like [(1.0)                          ]
2 CH:                  [you don't like to bother people]
```

Extract 7.

```
1  C: and he had it up er er the xray was on the computer *cough* (.) and ah
2     said no that's for the crumbling spine and he said well that's there and
3     he pointed it oot the same but ya know you also have a hairline fracture
4     in ya ↑femur >femur<
5 CH: back then
6  C: yea[h
7 CH:    [and nobody told ya=
8  C: =nobody told me
```

This kind of 'glossing' or 'formulation' (Heritage and Watson 1979) activity is common by CHs and plays a key role in establishing degrees of affiliation towards the complaint. Types of glossing which seem more explicitly to affiliate to the patient's interests include reformulations which enhance and extend the grievance:

Extract 8.

```
1  C: I wuznae want to believe it
2 CH: you were trying ta ignore it
```

Extract 9.

```
1  C: just dinnae want to go back at all
2 CH: you'd lost your confidence a wee bit.
```

In these examples the CH's glosses give support to the callers' complaint arguably at the expense of the professional reputation of the NHS departments under discussion and thus might be thought to challenge the institutional alignment of the CH.

However, complaints recipients do not always affiliate with a complaint and a range of more neutral, or less patient-affiliated responses can be seen across our data. These include simple repetition of the complaint in clarificatory responses (e.g. 'it's kitchen staff and nursing staff is it?'); neutral reformulation ('so outside ward two they go and smoke') and distancing from the complaint by attributing it to the opinion of the caller ('I'll bring it to people's attention that you believe there was a lack of wheelchairs'). The motivation for employing neutral forms in these contexts is likely to involve an avoidance of on-record admission of institutional culpability, but may come into tension with patients' implicit expectations of affiliative responses to their complaints. Indeed, where affiliation is perceived to be not forthcoming, the complaint sometimes becomes more aggrieved. Orthaber and

Marquez-Reiter's research (2011) reveals that interactional trouble is often generated by passive responses and neutral response tokens by the complaint recipient. In our own data we observe this pattern within the same complaint examined earlier (in Extract 4), made by a caller on behalf of her husband, a patient with motor neurone disease who was admitted to hospital suffering from pneumonia.[13] The CH has been ascertaining the context of the complaint:

Extract 10.

```
1   C:  ehm when ma daughter went in for the visiting at two am err two pm
2       [sorry  ] ehm (0.2) a-
3  CH:  [mhmm mhmm]
4       (0.4)
5   C:  dad was in room sixty two (0.4) and suffering from pneumonia:
6  CH:  mhmm
7       (0.8)
8   C:  (and) he had just a tee shirt ↑on .h the window was wide open (.) the
9       room was ↑frozen .h and there were no heatin and no buzzer (.) the
10      buzzer was still up in the wall
11 CH:  mmm=
12  C:  =err for ta contact the nurse .h ta >let ya understand< my husband has
13      got motor neurone disease and cannot speak
14      (0.4)
15 CH:  o↓kay
16  C:  o↑kay
17 CH:  a↓ha
18  C:  ehm (0.2) when, (0.2) ma daughter spoke ta the ↑nurse (.) her name
19      was Carol don't ask me what ah think she is a ↑Sister .h she was told
20      ehm '↑I have sixteen other patients to look after and don't have time
21      for 'im'=
21 CH:  =this was in ↑Ward
22      (0.2)
23  C:  B sixty two
24 CH:  B sixty two
```

The caller is at this point hearably aggrieved, furnishing her complaint with details of her husband's condition juxtaposed with the treatment he received. Through the work that typically accompanies complaints: defensive detailing, an escalating series of extreme case formulations ('wide open', 'just a tee-shirt', 'frozen'), 'incriminating' reported speech of the complainee (lines 19–20) (see Stokoe and Edwards 2007), the caller actively pursues affiliation. The CH's responses however are neutral mimimal response tokens or requests for further factual information, neither of which provide any kind of assessment of the complainable actions.

Our first sense that this breaches the expectation of the caller comes in the pauses which follow the CH's minimal responses (lines 4 and 7), and then more

13. This extract precedes the sequence examined earlier in Extract 7

clearly in line 16, where the caller prompts further assessment and checks understanding with her repetition of 'o↑kay' with a rising intonation. The CH responds neutrally to this possible pursuit of response with a downward tone 'aha' which indexes his role as recipient of information rather than assessor of a complaint.

The caller then goes on to detail further neglect, including her husband being left 'sittin in his own faeces .h for a couple of hours', to which the CH continues to respond with minimal response tokens. The caller then explains that the object of the complaint 'Carol' is now refusing to put her husband on an intravenous feed and not organising his prescription. At this point the CH responds:

```
25 CH: .h well ah've no authority t- t- tae err change (.) Carol's mind I
26     think you should put this in the letter as well .h (.) >okay< I
27     think if f that's the way you feel about Carol you should put all
28     this in the letter ta me=we can >investigate that when it comes
29     in< .h let's just hope he gets out ↑tonight ↑ahm .pt .h (1.2)
30     ↑↓hmmm (1.0) what time is ya hus- ya h- >ya husband just
31     waitin for transport to come home is ↑he .h
32    (0.7)
33  C: well ma daughter's away back up to the ward th' noo to see if
34     she's ordered transport .h if not she's goin down ta the- the (.)
35     .h (.) discharge lounge >fer to do it her↑self< (0.2) it's a
36     disgrace the way ma husband has been ↑treated (1.0) an' I am
37     not (0.2) leaving it this time because this is the second time
38     he's been in that ward .h and the second time he's been treated
39     like a (.) lump of ↑sh:it
```

The CH's turn beginning at line 25 could be described as distancing from and disaffiliative to the caller's complaint, citing his own lack of authority and institutional procedure ('you should put all this in the letter' (l.26)), and emphasising the contingent and subjective quality of the caller's complaint ('if f that's the way you feel about Carol'(l.27)) for which explicit agreement might imply a judgement on a colleague.[14] He then offers a neutral 'hope' that the caller's husband is discharged which avoids attributing any agency to such a decision. A pause follows the CH's turn (l.32) and after clarifying the arrangements for hospital transport for her husband, the caller resumes her complaint which is now amplified: her tone is hearably 'affective', there is an explicit assessment of the situation as being 'a disgrace' (l.36) and she puts on record her commitment to pursuing her complaint until it is resolved: 'I am not leaving it this time' (ll.36–37). This formulation further suggests that there have been previous incidences of poor care that she has not yet complained about, demonstrating that it is the series of events that has prompted the complaint. Finally her turn culminates in a taboo expression which combines

14. This reading is also supported by the analysis of Extract 4, whereby the CH retreats from identifying the nurse in question.

idiomatic qualities and an extreme case formulation to describe her husband's care: 'treated like a (.) lump of ↑sh:it' (ll.38–39). This face-threatening and emotive assessment is the end point of the replaying of a difficult and upsetting series of experiences and is arguably prompted by the caller's failure to secure affiliation to preceding elements of the complaint which has thus provided no 'legitimate' outlet for her emotions. One reading of the dynamics of this sequence is that the CH's possible reluctance to put on record a negative assessment of the hospital's professional practices comes into conflict with the caller's expectation that he will acknowledge the legitimacy of her complaint and in a sufficiently supportive and sympathetic way.

Conclusion

In this discussion we have highlighted how the act of complaining in an institutional setting may prompt identity dilemmas for both caller and complaints handler. For the caller, complaining is an accountable activity which necessitates a degree of defensive moral work in justifying the grounds and legitimacy of the complaint. For the complaints handler, responding to complaints in ways that attend to the caller's sense of legitimate grievance may sometimes come into conflict with aspects of institutional procedure or alignment (such as breaching impartiality).

Arguably this rhetorical work by callers is largely moral rather than argumentative. The purpose of the complaint in this setting is not simply to persuade the recipient of its justness or accuracy, thus gaining reparation (since this occurs at a later stage of the process,[15]) but to solicit agreement that the complainer has the right to complain. By providing affiliative responses within the necessary constraints of the institutional process (a delicate and sometimes fraught balancing act), the complaints handlers perform the important function of attending to the rights and dignity of the patient, their desire to be respected and listened to, and in this way provide an important gauge of the attention paid to a patient-centred 'culture of caring' in the NHS (Francis report 2013: 72).

The concept of Patient Centred Care (PCC) is a well-meaning policy initiative seeking patients to be partners in healthcare, but its principles may, as Ojwang and Sowinska highlight elsewhere in this volume, find themselves compromised by competing contextual demands such as – in examples in our own data – an institutional orientation to 'being neutral'. Our small study suggests that local

15. Similarly complaints are 'worked up' in institutional complaining contexts, even where the function of complaining should be a given.

complaint handling might benefit from drawing upon discursive approaches by using authentic interactions in training interventions for both new and established complaints handlers not dissimilar to that advocated by Stokoe (2014). The use of authentic data, such as that examined in this paper, is likely to highlight the key role of conversational affiliation by complaints handlers in their receipt of complaints, the importance, from the outset, of affirming the legitimacy and moral rights of the complainer, and the emotions that attend their complaint.

References

Barlow, J. and Mellor, C. 1996. *A Complaint is a Gift. Using Customer Feedback as a Strategic Tool*. San Francisco CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Beach, W. 2003. "Managing Optimism." In *Studies in Language and Social Interaction:* In *Honor of Robert Hopper*, ed. by P. Glenn, C. D. LeBaron, J. Mandelbaum, 175–194. Mahweh, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Benner, P. and Wrubel, J. 1989. *The Primacy of Caring: Stress and Coping in Health and Illness*. Menlo Park, Calif Workingham: Addison-Wesley

Benwell, B., and Stokoe, E. 2016. "Ethnomethodological and Conversation Analytical Approaches to Identity". In *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*, ed by S. Preece. London: Routledge.

Davey, E. 2011. "Citizens Advice Consumer Empowerment Debate" Speech by the Minister for Employment Relations, Consumer and Postal Affairs. Queen Elizabeth II Conference Centre, London. (online) Available from: https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/citizens-advice-consumer-empowerment-debate (Accessed 16th January 2016).

Dersley, I. and Wootton, A. 2000. "Complaint Sequences Within Antagonistic Argument." *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 33(4): 375–406. doi:10.1207/S15327973RLSI3304_02

Dewar, J. 2011. "Calling to Complain: An Ethnographic and Conversation Analytic Account of Complaints to an Industry Ombudsman." Unpublished MSc thesis, Victoria University Wellington.

Drew, P. 1998. "Complaints About Transgressions and Misconduct." *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 31(3–4): 295–325. doi:10.1080/08351813.1998.9683595

Drew, P. and Holt, E. 1988. "Complainable Matters: The Use of Idiomatic Expressions in Making Complaints." *Social Problems* 35(4): 398–417. doi:10.2307/800594

Drew, P. and Walker, T. 2009. "Going too far: Complaining, Escalating and Disaffiliation." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41(12): 2400–2414. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.046

Edwards, D. 2005. "Moaning, Whinging and Laughing: The Subjective Side of Complaints." *Discourse Studies* 7(1): 5–29. doi:10.1177/1461445605048765

Francis, R. 2013. *Mid Staffordshire NHS Foundation Trust Public Inquiry Report*. London: The Stationery Office.

Heritage, J. and Watson, R. 1979. "Formulations as Conversational Objects." In *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology* ed. by G. Psathas, 123–162. New York, NY: Irvington.

Hirschman, A. O. (1970) "Exit, Voices and Responsibility. Responses to Decline in Firms, Organisations and States." Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Holt, E. 1993. "The Structure of Death Announcements: Looking on the Bright Side of Death". *Text* 13(2): 189–212

Holt, E. 2012. "Using Laugh Responses to Defuse Complaints." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 45(4): 430–448. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.726886

Information Services Division (ISD). 2013. *NHS Complaints Statistics Scotland 2012/13*. Edinburgh: ISD

Institute of Consumer Services. 2012. *The UK Customer Satisfaction Index Summary*. London: Institute of Customer Service.

Klein, R. 1989. *The Politics of the NHS*. London: Longman.

Klein, R. 2005. "The Public-Private Mix in the UK." In *The Public Private Mix for Health: Plus Ça Change, Plus C'est la Même Chose?* ed by A. Maynard, 43–62. Oxford: Radcliffe Publishing.

Martin, J. 2012. "Keynote Address by the Scottish Public Services Ombudsman" *Fourth Annual Complaints and Customer Services Conference: Putting Customer Focus at the Heart of Service Provision*. 8th March Edinburgh: COSLA

Maynard, D. 2003. *Bad News, Good News: Conversational Order in Everyday Talk and Clinical Settings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

McCreaddie M. and Wiggins, S. 2009. "Reconciling the Good Patient Persona with Problematic and Non-problematic Humour: a Grounded Theory." *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 46(8): 1071–1091. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2009.01.008

Monzoni, C. M. 2009. "Direct Complaints in (Italian) Calls to the Ambulance: The Use of Negatively Framed Questions." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41(12): 2465–2478. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.042

Mulgan, G., Tucker, S., Ali, R. and Sanders, B. 2007. "Social Innovation: What is it? Why it Matters and How it can be Accelerated". *The Young Foundation Report*. Oxford Said Business School: Oxford.

Orthaber, S. and Márquez-Reiter, R. 2011. "'Talk to the Hand'. Complaints to a Public. Transport Company." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43(15): 3860–3876. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2011.10.004

Pollock, K. 2005. *Concordance in Medical Consultations: A Critical Review*. Radcliffe Publishing Limited.

Pomerantz, A. 1986. "Extreme Case Formulations: A Way of Legitimizing Claims." *Human Studies* 9: 219–229. doi: 10.1007/BF00148128

Ruusuvuori, J. and Lindfors, P. 2009. "Complaining about Previous Treatment in Health Care Settings." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41(12): 2415–2434. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2008.09.045

Sacks, H. 1984. "Notes on Methodology" (ed by G. Jefferson). In *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis*, ed. by J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. 2005. "On Complainability." *Social Problems* 52(4): 449–476. doi: 10.1525/sp.2005.52.4.449

Scottish Public Services Ombudsman. (SPSO 2011). *Guidance on a Model Complaints Handling Procedure*. SPSO: Edinburgh

Scottish Government. 2012. *Can I Help You? Guidance for Handling and Learning from Feedback, Comments, Concerns or Complaints about NHS Health Care Service*. Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Selting, M. 2010. "Affectivity in Conversational Storytelling: An Analysis of Displays of Anger or Indignation in Complaint Stories." *Pragmatics* 20(2): 229–277. doi: 10.1075/prag.20.2.06sel

Simmons, R., Birchall, J., and Prout, A. 2012. "User Involvement in Public Services: Choice About Voice." *Public Policy and Administration* 27(1): 3–29. doi: 10.1177/0952076710384903

Simmons, R. and Brennan, C. 2013. *Grumbles, Gripe and Grievances. The Role of Complaints in Transforming Public Services*. Nesta: London.

SPSO. 2011. *Guidance on a Model Complaints Handling Procedure*. Edinburgh: SPSO.

Stivers, T. 2008. "Stance, Alignment, and Affiliation during Storytelling: When Nodding is a Token of Affiliation." *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 41(1): 31–57. doi: 10.1080/08351810701691123

Stokoe, E. 2009. "Doing Actions with Identity Categories: Complaints and Denials in Neighbour Disputes." *Text & Talk – An Interdisciplinary Journal of Language, Discourse Communication Studies* 29(1): 75–97. doi: 10.1515/TEXT.2009.004

Stokoe, E. and Hepburn, A. 2005. "'You can Hear a Lot Through the Walls': Noise Formulations in Neighbour Complaints." *Discourse & Society* 16(5): 647–673. doi: 10.1177/0957926505054940

Stokoe, E. and Edwards, D. 2007. "'Black This, Black That': Racial Insults and Reported Speech in Neighbour Complaints and Police Interrogations." *Discourse & Society* 18(3): 337–372. doi: 10.1177/0957926507075477

Stokoe, E. 2014. "The Conversation Analytic Role-play Method (CARM): A Method for Training Communication Skills as an Alternative to Simulated Role-Play." *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 47 (3), 255–265. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2014.925663

Whalen, M. R. and Zimmerman, D. H. 1990. "Describing Trouble: Practical Epistemology in Citizen Calls to the Police." *Language in Society* 19(4): 465–492. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500014779

CHAPTER 14

Identity work in nurse-client interactions in selected community hospitals in Kenya

Benson Oduor Ojwang
Maseno University

This chapter illustrates how nurses and clients in selected community hospitals in Kisumu County of Kenya negotiate their identities within their conflicting social and professional roles. I investigated nurses' and clients' perceptions and contestations of their roles, obligations and rights through non-participant observation and audio-recording of naturally occurring interactions. It emerged that the nurses' exercise of professional practice was often challenged by clients' explicit claims to rights and expectations based on socio-cultural background and polite behaviour. The nurses often experienced a conflict of identity due to the rigid institutional procedures required of them vis-à-vis the proactive clients' service charter that emphasized client rights. So on the one hand, the clients expect to be treated with respect in conformity with the cultural norms and considerations of personal status while on the other hand, the nurses strive to maintain a professional distance. Hence, this chapter demonstrates the nurses' struggles to strike a balance between the prescribed impersonal procedures of service while trying to avoid impinging upon the clients' positive face.

Keywords: identity, conflict, expectations, politeness, client rights, impoliteness, assertiveness, client satisfaction, social roles, face-work

Introduction

This chapter scrutinizes verbal behaviour between nurses and clients in nursing contexts and it analyzes how the clients' exercise of rights and the nurses' predefined professional roles are balanced. Clients in public hospitals in Kenya have often accused nurses of impolite behaviour and of denial of rights that are guaranteed in the clients' service charter implemented by the government since 2010. There have been formal institutional complaints channeled through the customer care desks as well as published in the media (Makabila 2006). The aim of this chapter is therefore to illustrate how utterances that are conflictual and face threatening

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.140jw
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

encode identity struggles, both explicit and latent, between nurses and clients in light of the exercise and provision of the patients' rights and increased awareness of these rights and new avenues for channeling these rights, such as through the complaints desk. It should be noted that in the context of medical care in Kenya, clients are bequeathed certain privileges while nurses enjoy institutionally and socially ascribed power. Against this background, it is pertinent to investigate how the two parties struggle to reclaim certain identities whenever they are belittled, denied outright or significantly threatened. More specifically, the expressive strategies that the nurses use to react to clients' increased assertiveness and how clients cope with the nurses' demonstration of power are of central concern in this chapter.

Background of nursing care in Kenya

The Kenyan government's public health policy has shifted since 2010 and these policy changes have targeted nurses directly. For instance, in the Second National Health Sector Strategic Plan (2005–2010), the government of Kenya has proposed policies on norms and standards for health service delivery aimed at improving responsiveness to client needs (Ministry of Health 2006). Since nurses are often the ones most exposed to clients, the government targeted them for strategic behaviour change in order to make service provision more humane, compassionate and dignified. So in this clients' service charter, it is spelled out that nurses are expected to treat patients politely, to respect their rights and to maintain confidentiality so as to ensure client satisfaction (Kim, Lettenmaier, Odallo, Thuo and Khasiani 1996).

In spite of these clear syllabus training outcomes, public perception has still painted nurses' performance negatively. For instance, Kenga (2006) complains that the health workers do not have the slightest idea of public relations and that nurses and paramedics are very rude and unsympathetic to patients. Moreover, a situation analysis conducted by the Ministry of Health in 1995 concluded that the personal dimension of nursing care was lacking in Kenya and that the impolite, unsympathetic and sometimes hostile attitude of health care providers was considered a serious problem for quality of care (Kenya Population Council 1995). Subsequent studies by Kaseje and Omondi (2001), Montagu (2003), and the Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (2004) confirmed that the problem is still prevalent.

Moreover, chronic understaffing and low numbers of nurses also place heavy demands on the nurses' performance. For instance, the World Health Organization (2007) report indicates that, at the largest public funded hospital

in Kenya, Kenyatta National Hospital, the nurse-patient ratio is 3:80. As a consequence of these often difficult working conditions, the Kenyan nurses have had a series of work-related labour strikes and have portrayed an image of a long-suffering professional group that is overworked but underpaid and without a proper welfare. This view has, in turn, opened up a new avenue for a double identity for nurses, firstly, as professionals obeying a calling and secondly, as workers who expect direct economic gains as compensation for service.

So in spite of the 2010 clients' service charter, clients still register complaints of verbal abuse and general lack of personalized attention. This is of course not unique for the Kenyan situation, as similarly, persistent client complaints have also been reported in Polish facilities by Sowinska (this volume) and in the U.K. by Benwell and McCreaddie (this volume). It is important to note that the socio-cultural context of nursing practice also determines the degree of client satisfaction. For instance, Ovretveit (1995) observes that nowadays, patients are more insistent and demanding while Coppock (2005) notes that a complaint may arise when one party does not adhere to, or respect an interlocutor's rights and privileges. This implies that nurses may fail to demonstrate empathy in some contexts contrary to the expectations prescribed in the charter of clients' rights.

Overall, rapid changes in training requirements and constant reviews of government policy as well as the changing social, economic and political circumstances render many Kenyan nurses in a state of constant disorientation and personal re-evaluation of their role and public image. This causes identity crises as nurses strive to adjust and conform to new institutional demands as well as professional expectations. The main way of observing this is by analyzing the way nurses and clients interact with one another. First of all, nurses' linguistic politeness can be investigated as a manifestation of their attitude towards clients who are their main stakeholders. Another factor which the nurses in many Kenyan hospitals have to deal with relates to the multiplicity of ethnolinguistic backgrounds of their clients to which they have to accommodate in their behaviour to some extent.

Second, the changing context of care in Kenya in terms of policy and practice requires patients to adjust too because, as Kim, Lottenmeir, Odallo, Thuo and Khasiani (1996) argue, patients are traditionally accustomed to being recipients of medical care rather than participants. This implies that some patients may not be assertive and may lack the appropriate ways of claiming their rights. However, in other contexts they may be extremely assertive thereby impinging upon the nurses' authority and causing conflict of identity. And so it is also crucial to investigate how the clients address the nurses. The titles given to nurses further compound this identity crisis. For example, the use of honorifics may be quite telling in this respect. In Kenya, female nurses are addressed as 'sister' while male nurses are erroneously referred to as 'doctor'. In comparison, in the U.K., the gender-specific

title 'sister despite the clients' defiance' has been found sexist and is generally replaced with the phrase 'ward manager' (*The Daily Telegraph*, 2000).

Failure to observe these cultural expectations from both the clients' and the nurses' side may be a further cause for identity struggles (Giddings 2005; Culley 2006). This notion of expectations is summarized by Leininger (1991) who reports:

> we [nurses] don't get a choice of which patient we care for and they don't get a choice of which nurse they get. We are thrown together because they need something from us and we need to do something for them in some way and I guess if you can do that in a respectful way and realize that you don't know everything and every nuance of culture and you are never going to, I think that holds you in good stead.

Nursing practice is therefore entwined with and reflective of other health care professions and inclusive of the wider social structures and systems of governance under which it takes place (Giddings 2005).

Analytical framework, methodology and data

In their conceptualization of interaction, Brown and Levinson (1987) propose that politeness is social behaviour that allows participants to engage in a social interaction in an atmosphere of relative harmony. Central to this framework is the notion of face, which refers to a speaker's sense of social identity or the public self-image that individuals want to claim for themselves. Speakers use various strategies to avoid or lessen potential threats to their own (and each other's) face and thereby to enhance the acceptability of their utterances. According to Brown and Levinson (1987) face consists of two related aspects. One is negative face, or the rights to territories, freedom of action and freedom from imposition. The other is positive face, the positive consistent self-image that people have and their desire to be appreciated and approved of by others.

Face-threatening acts (FTAs) are acts that infringe on the hearers' need to maintain his/her self-esteem, and be respected. Politeness strategies are developed for the main purpose of dealing with these FTAs. Speakers can minimize threats to the addresses' face by redressing the threat by using positive or negative politeness strategies. Politeness is further defined as redressive action taken to counter-balance the disruptive effect of FTAs. Since any utterance is potentially face-threatening and antagonistic, speakers may take precaution to redress the addressees' face and protect the latter's face. The theory distinguishes between two types of politeness.

The first type of politeness is positive politeness which protects positive face. Positive politeness strategies show that one recognizes that the hearer has a face to

be respected. It also confirms that the relationship between interlocutors is friendly and expresses group reciprocity. Positive politeness resorts to complimenting or being gracious to the addressee. Positive politeness entails attending to the hearer, avoiding disagreement, asuming agreement and hedging opinion. These strategies entail seeking concord.

The second type of politeness, negative politeness, is found in the various ways of mitigating an imposition. Negative politeness strategies recognize interlocutors' negative face. It also admits that one is in some way imposing on the addressee. Negative politeness is equated with avoidance of discord and can take the form of hedging, expressing pessimism, indicating deference, apologizing or being impersonal. Negative politeness involves being indirect, requesting forgiveness, minimizing the imposition or pluralizing the person involved.

In this chapter, we consider facework as a correlate of identity work because the face individuals want to maintain often corresponds with their inherent sense of identity such as professional, social, family or cultural group to which they belong and whose values they promote consciously.

The data reported in this chapter were collected in 20 hospitals in Kenya. Permission to conduct the study was granted by the Provincial Ethical Review Committee and I was allowed to observe and record in the unrestricted areas such as the Maternal Child health Clinics, the triage sections, registration desks, customer care desks and the pharmacies. We audio-recorded a total of forty-six interactions. It is from this set that the data was purposively selected. They were predominantly uttered in Dholuo, the language of the Luo people of the former Nyanza Province, Kenya but have been provided here with their English translations. The results are presented in form of qualitative prose based on the thematic indicators of individual and group identity, interpersonal conflict, clients' rights and nurses' obligations. These are analysed, interpreted and discussed within the framework of identity research (see introduction to this volume) and using concepts of Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1987). A particular focus of the analysis will be on those utterances, both by the nurses and the clients, that are potentially face-threatening.

Data analysis and discussion of findings

The examples presented in this section were selected from data using the parameters of face-threatening acts as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). We have chosen five instances here to illustrate just some of the complexities in which face and identity are intertwined, and how analyzing acts of impoliteness can provide insights into the identity struggles of the nurses. The chosen examples come from

exchanges which were considered as encoding linguistic impoliteness, and so these examples potentially contain instances of conflict during which identity struggles occur. The data revealed instances where either the nurses or their clients flouted the expectations of the charter of patients' rights and obligations that promises mutual courtesy and respect. This attests to the inherent conflicts that occurred in the form of overt expressions of disappointment by clients. These were encoded as demands for service and expressions of rights. This trend not only seemed to threaten the nurses' face but also demonstrated the mistrust and lack of mutual respect in their interactions with clients. These overtly strained interactions revealed the salient interpersonal tensions and amplified the inter-group distance between nurses and clients. The perceived satisfaction with service was ultimately determined by the content of the utterances by nurses and clients. Through data set A to E, I present and analyse selected encounters that exhibit nurse-client conflicts, and point out what aspects characterize them as instances of identity struggle.

In data set A, there were approximately eight patients on the waiting bench at the triage section of the hospital. One elderly patient voiced his concern against the inordinately long wait, and the triage nurse responded by criticizing the old man and emphasizing that all patients were equally tired.

Data Set A:

1. Patient: *Sister waol e laini kachakre okinyi*
   Sister we tired in line here begin morning
   'Sister, we are tired queuing since morning.'
2. Nurse: *Ji te ool, jaduong' ok in kendi*
   People all tired old man not you only
   'Everyone here is tired, old man, not only you.'
3. Patient: *Aniparieuru jodongo*
   Think you people old
   'Oh please think about the old people.'
4. Nurse: *A'aka ji romre*
   No no here people equal
   'No please, here people are equal'.
5. Patient: *Nyathini aromo nyuoli…luor lwar*
   Child this I can bear you respect white hair
   'You child; I am old enough to bear you so respect may age.'
6. Nurse: *Mano mari*
   That is yours
   'That is your personal opinion.'

7. Patient: *Awuoro. Nyithindo masani wengegi tek*
I feel surprise children of now eyes their hard
'I am surprised children of today have no respect.'

8. Nurse: *Ng'ama chielo. Jaduong' wachni aloso*
Person another man old word yours I make
'Next person, old man, I am sorting out your issue.'

The identity struggle in interaction A revolves around the perceived age difference between the client, the nurse and the other patients presumed to be relatively young. In this instance, the patient expected preferential treatment due to his advanced age while the nurse was intent on preserving institutional order of routing the patients irrespective of their age. The patient constructs a dichotomy between him and the nurse based on age through phrases that identify him with old age ('white hair') and vulnerability ('we are tired', 'think about older people') and the nurse with young age ('this child', 'children of today'). These images of his uniqueness in relation to the group of young people ('children') constitute a justification for his assertive demand for service (Coppock 2005). Also, the phrase 'children of today' implies that things would have been better in the past. As Burrow (this volume) observes, unique personal descriptions of conditions – in this case: age – lead to identity struggles as participants negotiate and contest specific characterizations in relation to others.

Furthermore, this patient relied on the socio-culturally ascribed parameter of white hair as a metaphor for advanced age, which implies deserving non-negotiable respect in Kenyan society (Kaseje and Omondi 2001). By emphasizing the age gap, the patient tacitly appealed to the social norm of respect guaranteed by age thereby dismantling the institutional rule of first come first served (Kenga 2006). However, the nurse voices authority through her phrases 'everyone is tired', where the collective reference to 'everyone' could include the nurse which means that she might be claiming an equal right to rest from fatigue. The reference to 'here people are equal' is meant to remind the patient that there are institutional rules to which the nurse is also subject and that the patient's expectation was not in tandem with the rules. This diverts the blame from the nurse to the management, thereby enabling the nurse to avoid impinging directly on the patient's rights. In line 8, however, the nurse enables the patient to reclaim his dignity by referring to him by the respectful vocative 'old man'. As the honorific *jaduong'* is reserved for the elderly in Dholuo (the language of the native Luo people), this demonstrates the nurse's awareness of the societal rule of respecting the elderly.

It is interesting to observe that the elderly patient does not engage in direct face attacks but mitigates the face threats by using strategies that reduce tension between him and the nurse. This enables him to negotiate successfully with the nurse

who finally recognizes his social status in line 8. The utterances in lines 3–8 of this example demonstrate the relationship between the chronological age gap, social perceptions of dominance and control vis-à-vis the rigidity of formal contexts. In line 5, the patient implied that the nurse was young enough to be his daughter even though, of course, she is not his biological daughter. This is culturally grounded because, among the Luo, a child belongs to the community and anybody who has parental status is considered as a parent of anyone young enough to be his or her child. Moreover, parental responsibilities are often shared and an elderly person is generally allowed to discipline or reprimand any way-ward acts by the youth of his/her clan. Conceptually, an interaction similar to that between a father and daughter would guarantee generic respect (Montagu 2003). This poses a problem to the nurse and may be seen as an identity struggle: she is caught between the opposing demands of upholding institutional norms and practices, while at the same time being reminded of her role in the wider community and its societal norms.

In this instance, thus, the nurse's official authority is challenged and is in competition with socio-cultural considerations that were clearly extraneous to the context. The presence of bystanders complicated matters because of the widely accepted practice of associating old age with respect. Research has shown that bystanders' comments often influence the nurses' reactions significantly because they have to save their own positive and negative face and also satisfy both parties' interests besides maintaining stringent institutional procedures (Ojwang 2010).

In data set B below, a mother who had been summoned to enter the treatment room, attempted to enter with her baby but was subsequently reprimanded by the nurse for ignoring procedures. In this case, the nurse presumed that the mother was well aware of the rule of not bringing babies into the treatment room but intentionally ignored it, while the mother insisted that she could not leave her baby with a stranger outside the treatment room. This exchange represents a struggle between the mother's personal sensitivity to the physical security of the baby versus the nurse's identity as a professional who is aware of the vulnerability of babies to germs in the hospital setting.

Data Set B:

1. Patient: *Adonji?*
   Me enter
   'Can I come in?'
2. Nurse: *Ma to dhi kanye gi nyathi? Wiyi rach?*
   This going where with baby head yours bad
   'And where is one going with the baby?' Are you abnormal?

3. Patient: *donge onge ngama aweyone nyathi.*
It not that none person I leave for child
'There is none to leave the baby with.'

4. Nurse: *Ing'eyo maber ni ka ok dwarie nyathi.*
You know good here not want child
'You know very well that babies are not wanted here.'

5. Patient: *Koro atim nang'o? amiye ng'atomondo olal kode?*
Now I do like what I give her someone he get lost with her
'So what do I do? Do I give her to someone to disappear with her?'

6. Nurse: *Mano kik ipenja…an be an miyo to ok anyal donjo ka gi nyathi.*
That not you ask me..I also mother but not enter with baby
'You shouldn't ask me…I am also a mother but you cannot enter here with a baby.'

The yes-no question 'are you abnormal' in line 1constitutes a direct face threatening act on the patient by the nurse. It challenges the patient to confirm or deny the nurse's claim. However, the patient does not contest this assertion but requests to be exempted from the rule of leaving the baby outside the treatment room as in lines 3 and 5. Noteworthy here is the agent-less syntactic construction, in which this communicated ('There is none'), which could be interpreted as a safeguarding strategy of the patient to reject responsibility for her breaking of the rules. Moreover, change of topic is a common strategy of indicating displeasure with a preceding statement (Hincliff and Schober 2003). By changing the topic from a claim of abnormality projected upon the mother to concerns about the baby's wellbeing, the patient further avoided the conflict and attempts to reclaim her identity as a responsible mother. This strategy denied the nurse the chance to pursue the face-threatening line about the mother's sanity. In line 4, the nurse draws from her background knowledge which implies that she recognized the client as a regular patient who was already sensitized about the rules. The introduction of the in-group label 'I am a also a mother' enables the nurse to justify her directive to the patient by implying that the order was motivated by her own parental identity, thereby revealing her double role while emphasizing her present institutional authority (cf. Zayts and Schnurr, this volume). And although the patient would not know whether the statement was motivated by professional or personal considerations, this short exchange nicely illustrates how the nurses often struggle with combining the different personal and professional roles, which all seem to impact on the construction of their professional identity (see also Medved & Brockmeier, this volume).

In data set C, a patient demanded free service as a stakeholder. In the Kenyan set-up, the community health strategy gives the power of the Facility Management Committee which is run by the local community the power to decide on the quality and standards of client service that they expect. This particular patient was a member of the facility committee, and as a consequence, he was relatively familiar with this setting and his rights.

Data Set C:

1. Patient: *Dala ni ok wan ema wagero…ok wachudi*
   Home this us that we build not we pay
   'We are the ones who built this home so we do not pay for service'
2. Nurse: *Wan watiyogi chik momiwa*
   Us we work with rules that give us
   'For us we use rules that are given to us.'
3. Patient: *Koro abiro chuli giko dwe*
   Now I will pay end month
   'So I will pay you at the end of the month.'
4. Nurse: *Mano tek tem kamoro*
   That hard try elsewhere
   'That is difficult try elsewhere'
5. Patient: *Kare sirikand county ni konyowa gang'o?*
   Say government county this help us with what
   'Then how does this county government help us?'
6. Nurse: *Ka iheroto idhi epraivet* (hospital).
   If you like then you go private
   'If you like you can go to a private hospital.'

This exchange demonstrates the challenge that nurses face when dealing with clients from the host community who claim an active role in running the facility. These patients may expect the nurse to grant their wishes unconditionally (cf. Jeffs 2001). Such demands by the patient, however, put the nurse into a precarious situation in which she struggles between being subservient to the clients, on the one hand, and being accountable to the employer, on the other. The use of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'we' in lines 1, 2, 3 and 5 indicates the sense of ownership and claim to insider rights by the client. The client's attitude towards the nurse as well as the facility also emerges as condescending. This is reflected, for example, in the client's use of the term 'county government hospital' which the nurse then

immediately sets in opposition to 'a private hospital' where care is supposedly of a higher quality (but also more expensive).

There is an interplay of in-group status, inclusion, exclusion and acceptance in the competing interests in data set C. For instance, the client's use of the collective 'we' in line 1 refers to the host community but excludes the nurse who is implicitly labeled as a member of the out-group, and who is hence not expected to exercise control over the facility. Secondly, the use of 'us' by the nurse in line 2 portrays the nurse as a member of a special professional group while the client is now implicitly constructed as an out-group member who is not privy to the operating procedures used by the nurses. This discursive struggle illustrates the divergent personal experiences that determine awareness of client rights and obligations (Jungerson 2002). In line 3, the client's shift to a personal perspective ('I'), marks that he resigns himself to the nurse's line of arguing and that he recognizes the authority of the nurse as a representative of the facility.

In line 6, the nurse's recommendation to visit a private hospital introduces socio-economic labeling that attempts to establish the client's financial ability as a determiner of client expectations. This introduces another phase of conflict because public hospitals are perceived as cheap and preferred by poorer clients while private hospitals are expensive and patronized by the rich (Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis 2004). Private hospitals are therefore considered elitist while public ones are associated with ordinary citizens (Ministry of Health 2004), hence the implicit socio-economic struggle. Line 20 therefore tacitly classifies the client in the low income group while reinforcing the perception that nurses in Kenyan public hospitals also perceive private hospitals as better than the hospitals where they work, thus resulting in an identity crisis (Ojwang 2010).

Clients' demands for favours such as the fee waiver requested by this client in line 1, may attempt to minimize the nurses' claim to territorial autonomy and diminish their institutional power. Cases have been reported of health workers being ejected from their stations by locals on claims of unfriendliness and introducing 'outsider' traits (Ministry of Health 2006), and so such requests pose particular challenges for nurses to balance between their prescribed identity as a professional who abides by the facility's regulations, and their identity as members of Kenyan society in which favouritism in form of gender discrimination, nepotism and patronage are still quite strongly entrenched in the service sector .

In data set D, a patient entered a health facility with an escort to seek service. While the patient wanted to follow the normal registration procedure, the escort incited the patient to ignore the reception nurse and go straight to a nurse that he perceived as both friendly and powerful, which, in turn, led to an altercation.

Data Set D:

1. Escort: *Itero buk kanye?*
   You progressive take book where
   'Where are you taking the book?'
2. Patient: *Atero ne ja-resepshon dhi ndiko*
   I take progressive for person reception go write
   'I am taking it to the receptionist to record it.'
3. Escort: *Jaresepshon manade*?
   Person for reception for what
   'What do you mean the receptionist?'
4. Patient: *Donge nyaka gindik e rejista*?
   It not that a must they write in register
   'Is it not that they have to record on the register?'
5. Escort: *Werigijogo wadhi mbele nas ma osiepa dhi konya piyo*
   Leave you people those we go front nurse my friend go help me faster
   'Forget them my nurse friend will serve us quickly just ahead.'
6. Nurse: *Uparo ni ulich? Udhi mana dwogo ka*
   You think that you important you go just come back here
   'So you think you are important? You will just come back here.'
7. Escort: *Wan wachwa jotelo ong'eyo mbele*
   Us word our people big they know ahead
   'For us, our case is known to the big people ahead.'
8. Nurse: *Wabiro neno*
   We will see
   'We shall see if you make it through'

In line 2, the client adheres to the institutional norms (c.f. the reference to 'the receptionist') and negotiates this with the escort. However, the nurse invokes institutional power and declares the move to be an attempt to jump the queue and does not approve of it by questioning the patient's intentions and right to perform a particular action. The patient can be said to hold a neutral stance between the escort and the nurse and attempts to mitigate the conflict. The escort defies the nurse's authority and prefers to seek a favour from a perceived receptive officer (receptionist). Furthermore, the escort also constructs her and the patient's identity as members of an in-group of powerful people, as is encoded in the words 'nurse friend' and 'big people', and the use of the first person plural pronouns 'us'

and 'our', which are used here to exclude the nurse from the in-group to which 'big people' and the client belong. These words imply that the nurse is of relatively low importance in the hospital hierarchy, thereby challenging her professional identity. Again, this example can be related to the culture of favouritism in Kenya, which has been seen as an obstacle to fairness and efficiency in the public sector, including the health sector (Kenga 2006).

The fact that this particular patient's escort invokes the power of her acquaintance, who holds a more superior post than the reception nurse, could be seen as an act of intimidation as it interferes with the established institutional hierarchies and procedures (Singer 2008). In interaction D, the reception nurse involved feels that her role is not recognized by the clients. She therefore explicitly pronounces her authority through lines 6 and 8. These utterances threaten the nurse's negative face particularly her right to act freely in her official territory. This is because, even in her subordinate role, she has authority to receive and clear patients but lacks the institutional power to control them and determine the direction of their access to service. This might lead to a role-conflict (Ovretveit 1995).

The nurse reclaims her positive face in lines 6 and 8, by vowing that the clients would be referred back to her despite resisting her authority. At this point, despite the clients' defiance, the nurse attempts to legitimate her role in the facility (Ojwang 2010) as prescribed in the official roles and responsibilities – for example, by using the first person plural pronoun 'we' to create a counter-in-group (namely of those who abide by institutional rules), which she sets in opposition to 'you'. This exchange implies that an aggrieved patient may influence the nurse's actions by identifying with a more powerful officer placed higher in the hospital hierarchy. In such situations, the junior officer feels belittled and vulnerable because their superiors may overrule their actions or they may fear reprisals if they mistreat clients who are known to their superiors (Makabila 2006). This may put the nurses in conflict with their supervisors and elicit complaints from other clients (Ovretveit 1995). The service provider's relatives would consider themselves as in-group members and expect express service at the expense of other clients who are left with feelings of rejection and dejection because they do not have relatives or friends in the health institutions who would enable them to evade the rigours of the normal procedures.

Data set E represents an explosive situation in which patients became more vocal and explicitly demanded service. While the nurse justified the slow pace citing the large numbers of patients on the queue, the patients openly blamed the nurse of poor time management and blatant lack of concern for the patients' welfare.

Data Set E:

1. Client 1: *Thiedhwa uru waol wadwa dhi dala*
   Treat us you we tired we want go home
   'Treat us we are tired and we want to go home.'
2. Client 2: *Jogi to tiyo mos ma to ji dwadhi*
   People these work slowly but people want to go
   'These people are working too slowly but people want to go home.'
3. Nurse: *Tijni ok dwar haraka*.
   Work this not want hurry
   'This work does not need hurrying.'
4. Client 1: *Wasechulo pesa to ungiyowa angiya*
   We have paid but you just look us
   'We have paid money but you are just looking at us.'
5. Nurse: *Kata kain di itimnang'o gi jogi tee*?
   Even you,you can do what with people these all
   'Even if it were you, what would you do with all these people?'
6. Client 2: *Iwuotho awuotha to jotuo to neno*
   You just walk walk yet patients are watching
   'You are just walking around walking aimlessly as patients watch.'
7. Nurse: *Adhi e birek*
   I go for break
   'I am going for a break.'
8. Client 1: *Iduogo saa adi?*
   You come back time what
   'When will you be back?'
9. Nurse: *Ok ang'eyo. Rit arita kanyo*
   Not I know simply wait-wait there
   'I don't know just wait there.'

In data set E, patients demonstrated their right to faster service and quick turnaround time as guaranteed in the charter of patients' rights (Ministry of Health 2006). By explicitly claiming these rights, the identity struggles between the parties may escalate (Singer 2008). The claim to rights is encoded in the phrase 'treat us' which is an imperative that constitutes an order compelling the nurse to act according to what the clients perceive to be her professional duties. In line 2, the phrase 'working slowly' expresses the clients' assumed entitlement to speedy service. Moreover, in line 34, the use of the phrase 'walking around aimlessly' is a

direct face threat to the nurse's positive face since it is formulated without any form of mitigation. This demonstrates that patients have become more assertive and can voice their complaints directly without fear of reprisals from the nurse (Coppock 2005). In order to reclaim their power, the nurse adopts a condescending tone in line 3 to prove to the complaining client that the latter does not know the demands of the nurses' job. This is an attempt to exercise professional power to counter the client's unacceptable expectation and tacitly invoke the privilege of control conferred by the position (Singer 2008). In addition to this, in line 5 the nurse attempts to justify the large numbers of patients as the real cause of the slow pace of service ('all these people'). This represents an implicit criticism of the government for running overstretched facilities that often lead to burnout and inefficiency among nurses (Ojwang, Matu and Ogutu 2010). This exchange thus shows another identity struggle in which the nurses often find themselves, namely the struggle between criticizing the health system and ensuring clients' confidence in the very same system. If the nurse explicitly discredits the health system in which they work, this would not inspire confidence in their clients rendering the facilities merely a last resort in health seeking.

Since patients have become more aware of their rights and are increasingly assertive in expressing or claiming these rights, Kenyan nurses are at a crossroads as to whether they should be flexible and yield to clients' demands or stick to the formal rules (Kaseje and Omondi 2001). It seems, however, that nurses will have to concede some aspects of their own autonomy and begin to consider clients as active collaborators in health service provision rather than passive recipients of care (Ovretveit 1995). Such an approach would narrow the interactional distance between nurses and their clients and lead to mutual co-construction of the nursing encounters. Indeed, research has shown through a situation analysis conducted in Kenyan hospitals, that turnaround time was one key indicator of the efficiency of service. The shorter the time taken to wait for service, the more likely a patient was to return and the greater the degree of satisfaction (Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis 2004).

The nurses' identity struggles are manifested in the strategies they apply to negotiate face. They invariably invoke their authority and this intimidates the patients who do not get an opportunity to invoke the charter of patients' rights. Whereas the nurses are aware of the provisions of patients' rights, they do not refer to them. Patients therefore have the task of advocating for their rights and seeking alternative complaint channels with higher authorities whose role the nurses apparently attempt to downplay (Hyland 2002). Orienting to saving their own face and exercising absolute power in the nursing context perpetuates the public perception that nurses in Kenyan public hospitals are bound to be impolite

and uncooperative. This perspective makes patients approach the situation from a position of a victim who is prepared for conflict rather than finding mutual health solutions.

Identity work and face-work operate in tandem in the nurse-client interactions. Whereas clients advocate for their rights through linguistic strategies including seeking attention, demanding equal treatment, blaming the nurses and threatening them, nurses maintained the official institutional procedures and expectations. Both parties therefore engaged in face threatening acts against one another, hence the conflict (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987). Nurses were found to react to face threats by inflicting face damage to the clients in order to save their own face while clients preferred silence and acquiescence if nurses escalated the conflict. The impolite acts by nurses that are perceived by patients therefore emerge from this conflictual situation. Whenever the interactions are constrained, nurses tend to invoke their officially ascribed territorial authority by labeling the clients as lay people and emphasizing the latter's out-group status. Clients invariably interpret this as a form of impersonal treatment that takes advantage of their vulnerability, which may worsen the conflict.

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that face and identity are intertwined in complex ways and that acts of impoliteness, where the face of the nurse or the clients are threatened, provide insights into the identity struggles that many nurses in Kenyan hospitals regularly face. Some of these struggles emerged around institutional regulations and standards that the nurses wanted to uphold and reinforce, and the clients' requests and suggestions relating to the preferred mode of service, which often challenged these regulations and standards. Further sources for these identity struggles arose out of the clients' expectation to receive recognition on account of broader societal norms, such as respect for age, social status, as well as on the basis of reasons inherent to healthcare, such as urgency of their ailments in relation to time spent waiting for service. These expectations, however, were often in contrast to the nurse's desire to follow the rigid institutional operating procedures.

The nurses' identity struggles are further exacerbated by the fact that members of the local community typically view a nurse as 'one of them' at the social level although the nurse belongs to a distinct professional group and is required to adhere to and uphold the norms of professional conduct associated with this group even if they are sometimes at variance with the clients' expectations (see also Medved and Brockmeier this volume). In an attempt to balance and perhaps

reconcile these different expectations – and thereby trying to solve their own identity struggles – the nurses try to protect the institutional nature of the health facility without taking away patients' confidence. This is achieved, for example, by using collective references such as 'this is our hospital' and 'we need a change', and by acknowledging to the patients that they are stakeholders in this institution: 'you are our employers' because 'you pay tax' that maintains the facility. These acknowledgements, in a way, help alter the identity perspectives and deflect the blame from the nurses, while at the same time activating the patients' conscience and make them feel as part of the healthcare system rather than as helpless victims.

References

Brown, Penelope, and Levinson, Stephen. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Use*. London: C.U.P.

Coppock, Liz. 2005. *Politeness Strategies in Conversation Closings*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Culley, Lorraine. 2006. Transcending transculturalism? Race, ethnicity and health-care. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23(3): 564–570. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.1996.tb00020.x

Giddings, Lynne. 2005. Health disparities, social injustice and the Culture of nursing. *Nursing Research*, 54(5): 304–312. doi:10.1097/00006199-200509000-00004

Hincliff, Sue, and Schober, Jane. 2003. *Nursing Practice and Healthcare*. London: Oxford University Press.

Hyland, Deirdre. 2002. 'An Exploration of the Relationship between Patient Autonomy and Patient Advocacy. Implications for Nursing Practice. *Nursing Ethics*: 472–482. doi:10.1191/0969733002ne5370a

Jeffs, Lorna. 2001. Teaching cultural safety, the culturally safe way. *Nursing Praxis in New Zealand*, 17(30): 41–50.

Jungerson, Kawa. 2002. Cultural safety-an occupational safety perspective. *New Zealand Journal of Occupational Therapy* 49(1): 4–9.

Kaseje, Dan, and Omondi, Odhiambo. 2001. Health, Poverty and Dignified Living. *Development* 44(1): 51–57. doi:10.1057/palgrave.development.1110214

Kenga, David. 2006. Kenyan Health Sector Reform Agenda Targets Nurses. *The Kenya Nurse* 15(2): 12–14.

Kim, Young, Lettenmaier, Cheryl, Odallo Dan, Thuo, Margaret and Khasiani, Shanyisa. 1996. *Client Provider Information, Education and Communication in Kenya*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Center for Communication Programs: 1–53

Kenya Population Council. 1995. Quality of Care in Family Planning Service Delivery in Kenya and Clients' Perspective. Nairobi: The Population Council.

Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis. 2004. *An Evaluation of the Health Sector and Client Satisfaction in Kenya*. Nairobi: Claripress.

Leininger, Madeleine (Ed.). 1991. *Culture, Care, Diversity and Universality: A Theory of Nursing*. New York: National League for Nursing.

Makabila, Simon. 2006. Kenya Losing Specially Trained Nurses. *The Kenya Nurse* 10(2): 6.

Ministry of Health. 2006. *Patients' Service Charter*. Government Press, Nairobi World Health Organizaiton (2005) Patients' Rights. Available at http://www.who.int/genomics/public/patientsrights/en

Ministry of Health. 2004. The Second National Health Sector Strategy Plan. Nairobi: Government Press.

Montagu, David. 2003. Assessment Systems for Healthcare. London; Health Systems Resource Centre.

Nursing Council of Kenya. 2001. National Curriculum for the Community Health Nursing Programme, Nairobi: NCK.

Ojwang, Benson. 2010. A Pragmatic Analysis of Politeness Strategies in Nurse – Client Interactions in Selected Public Health Facilities in Nyanza Province, Kenya – Unpublished PhD. Thesis, Maseno University.

Ojwang, Benson, Matu, Peter, and Ogutu, Emily. 2010. Face Attack and Patients' Response Strategies in a Kenyan Hospital. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 44(1): 65–80.

Ovretveit, John. 1995. How Patient Power and Client Participation affects Relations between Professions. In *Interprofessional Working for Health and Social Care*, John Ovretveit, Tony Thompson, Peter Mathias (eds.), 35–38. London: McMillan.

Singer, Bernard. 2008, April 14. Kenyan Nurses in Brain Drain. *The East African*, Available at http://www.afrika.no/detailed/11048.html

The Daily Telegraph. 2010, April 6. "Hospital job title 'sister' dropped for being sexist. Available online at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/7677064/Hospital-job-title-Sister-dropped-for-being-sexist.html

World Health Organization. 2007. Views of Older Persons on Elder Abuse. Geneva: World Health Organization.

CHAPTER 15

‘Even if there were procedures, we will be acting at our own discretion…’

General practitioners’ struggle about identity

Agnieszka Sowińska
Nicolaus Copernicus University

The objective of this chapter is to explore how Polish general practitioners (GPs) discursively negotiate their professional identities in relation to their emotions and to the barriers they face in the healthcare system, while dealing with patients presenting Medically Unexplained Symptoms (MUS). The data come from four focus group interviews with 14 Polish GPs and were gathered as part of an international project (Czachowski et al. 2012). This study focuses on the doctors’ identity struggle to combine often competing sets of expectations. Specifically, it shows how the GPs look for ways of balancing the patients’ expectations with emotions, on the one hand, and the professional ethos attached to their roles, impeded by institutional barriers, on the other. It explores discursive strategies of distancing-mitigation, legitimisation and idealisation, drawn upon by the GPs to cope with these identity struggles.

Keywords: Polish general practitioners, identity struggle, Medically Unexplained Symptoms, discursive strategies

Introduction

In this chapter, I focus on general practitioners’ (GPs) identity struggle to combine competing expectations. A point of departure in my investigations is Koller’s (2012: 19–20) understanding of collective identities in terms of socio-cognitive representations (SCRs), which people who identify as members of a group hold. A socio-cognitive representation, a concept borrowed from social psychology (Moscovici 2000), can be defined as “an organized, coherent, socially shared set of knowledge about an object or domain of objects” (Augoustinos et al. 2014: 42). As such, SCRs are mental models shared by members of a particular group. Furthermore, SCRs are conceptualised as “affective structures with inherent

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.15sow
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

normative and evaluative dimensions" (Augoustinos et al. 2014: 92). As argued by Moscovici (1984: 30):

> Neutrality is forbidden by the very logic of the system where each object and being must have a positive or negative value and assume a given place in a clearly graded hierarchy. When we classify a person among the neurotics, the Jews or the poor, we are obviously not simply stating a fact but assessing and labelling him [or her], and in so doing, we reveal our 'theory' of society and of human nature.
> (cited in Augoustinos et al. 2014: 96)

All in all, it should be noted that SCRs comprise both cognitive and affective components, such as beliefs and knowledge, norms and values, attitudes and expectations as well as emotions, can reveal contradictory elements and are thus prone to change through negotiation in discourse. This definition of collective, including professional, identities as SCRs not only emphasises the dynamic and context-dependent nature of identity, but it also foregrounds other, equally important aspects of identity – notably, emotional and evaluative. In my chapter, professional identity is understood as a socio-cognitive representation, with interlocutors' utterances acting as the carriers and creators of that mental model (cf. Koller 2008: 23).

It must be noted, however, that discourse practitioners rarely undertake to explore doctors' professional roles or identity (cf. Apker and Eggly 2004; Beaulieu et al. 2008). Most research focuses on doctor-patient interaction (e.g. Heritage and Maynard 2006; Heritage and Clayman 2010; Menz and Lalouschek 2006; Wodak 1996) and on patients' narratives of illness or pain (cf. Hydén and Bülow 2006; Semino 2010). Furthermore, discourse studies of medical contexts in Poland are still scarce, if compared to an extensive body of literature coming from Western countries. This chapter tries to bridge this research gap by exploring GPs' identities as constructed and negotiated in focus group discussions about Medically Unexplained Symptoms. Managing patients with undiagnosable symptoms is a particularly useful topic for exploring tensions in GPs' professional identity formation since in the case of MUS patients medical science has failed to identify an organic cause of the symptoms, which, in turn, poses several challenges for the doctors in enacting their professional identities. The patients are perceived as 'difficult' and are often labelled 'heartsink' by medical professionals (cf. Steinmetz and Tabenkin 2001; O'Dowd 1988). They are not only frequent attenders in primary care, but they are also 'costly', expect frequent referrals to secondary care and more medical tests. Recent studies on the management of MUS showed a mismatch between the patients' expectations and doctors' performance and communication skills (Kenny et al. 2010; Salmon et al. 2005). Doctors' frustration and powerlessness caused by MUS-related phenomena and their influence on clinical decision-making have been reported by many studies conducted by medical professionals (e.g. Mathers et al. 1995; Krebs et al. 2006).

Background to Polish family medicine and management of patients with MUS

The introduction of family medicine (FM) in Poland after the collapse of communism and following a healthcare reform from the former state-owned model into a health insurance scheme presented many doctors with opportunities for a new professional career and an independent position in the medical market. Polish GPs could sign contracts with the National Health Fund and could open their first independent practices in 1995, while patients, who had free access to primary care, could choose their doctor. The values of general practice differ significantly from the values of specialist care. In line with the biopsychosocial model, a holistic view of the patient is favoured, which takes the multifaceted context of the patient into account (Czachowski and Pawlikowska 2011).

Medically unexplained symptoms (MUS), which present mental disorders without organic explanation, are an important diagnostic and therapeutic problem in primary care. It is estimated that around 20% of all visits are due to MUS-related problems (Czachowski et al. 2012). Since Polish GPs see on average 40 patients a day (cf. *Health and healthcare in 2011*), and thus can devote only a couple of minutes to each patient, they are unable to satisfy MUS patients' psychological needs. Finally, there are no guidelines for treatment and management of patients with MUS, and access to specialists is limited.

Method and research design

The data come from four focus group discussions with 14 GPs, and were gathered as part of an international project aimed to establish what challenges Polish doctors face while dealing with patients with MUS (cf. Czachowski et al. 2012). Focus groups are particularly useful for researching collective identity as they offer insight into the context and processes of interaction (Munday 2006). The discussions were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Extracts in which the GPs talked about their job in the context of MUS patients' management were selected from the transcripts and subject to analysis. Excerpts in which the GPs described MUS patients or their attitude to them were disregarded. Eight examples that best represent the data were subsequently translated into English to illustrate GPs' negotiation of identities in relation to their emotions and the barriers they face in the Polish healthcare system. In the analysis that follows, salient linguistic and semiotic categories in identity formation are brought to the fore: pronouns (which are part of social actor representation), emotions (which are often part of processes), evaluation (i.e. positive or/and negative qualities ascribed to the GP

profession), modality (deontic and epistemic representations GPs construct for their profession) and specific metaphors that structure the representation of the GP profession (cf. Koller 2012: 23–25). More specifically, interlocutors can communicate specific SCRs of social actor groups, including their beliefs and knowledge about them, the attitudes towards and expectations of them, as well as emotions. Finally, by ascribing particular qualities to groups, either implicitly or explicitly, or by defining what is or is not desirable for the group, they communicate their norms and values.

Analysis

Struggling with emotions: containing negative emotions and uncertainty

Although emotions are inherent to individuals, thus are personal, they can also be considered as typical of particular professional contexts and collective membership. In other words, we may look at emotions as an integral part of professional identity. Emotions can have either a positive or negative impact on doctor-patient interaction, the quality of care provided to the patient, including patients' satisfaction or compliance, as well as doctor's work, and the formulation of diagnosis or job satisfaction.

Here I explore two discursive strategies: the distancing-mitigation strategy, employed to construct negative emotional states as entities existing independently of them and to lessen the intensity of the experienced emotion, and the strategy of legitimisation, used with reference to discursively constructed justifications of particular non-standard practices and the practices resulting from the GP's emotions (cf. Sowińska 2014).

In Example 1, three GPs negotiate their professional identities in relation to negative emotions, speaking from an institutional perspective. They answer the moderator's question about dangers that a GP may encounter in the practice while dealing with MUS patients.

(1) 1. *Moderator: Jakie jeszcze zagrożenia czekają na lekarza, który*
2. *właśnie straci czujność? Co może zrobić źle w czasie takiej wizyty?*
3. *GP4: Wykazać swoje jakieś zniecierpliwienie albo coś takiego.*
4. *Tylko pewnie to gdzieś tam w nas przychodzi i jest nawet, ale jakoś*
5. *tam opanujemy mimikę, żeby tego nie okazać.*
6. *GP1: Zwłaszcza jak jeszcze jest taki stos przed*
7. *tobą.*
8. *GP5: Niekiedy jest to tak jak gdyby nie do opanowania, jakiś taki*

9. *stosunek do tego pacjenta, nie powiem, że negatywny, ale jakoś tak*
10. *zabarwiony negatywnie, ponieważ my tak naprawdę nie mamy*
11. *czasu na takie długie dywagacje…*

1. 'M: What other dangers are there waiting for the doctor who has just
2. lost his vigilance? What else can he do wrong during the visit?
3. GP4: Showing some impatience or something like this. But
4. I suppose it comes to us somewhere there and it is even there, but
5. somehow we will control our facial expressions, so as not to show it.
6. GP1: Especially if there is still a pile [of patients' cards, AS] in front
7. of you.
8. GP5: Sometimes it is as if uncontrollable, some sort of
9. attitude toward this patient, I won't say negative, but somehow
10. negatively tinged because we don't really have time for such
11. rambling…'

Although GP4 acknowledges that showing impatience is wrong, he admits at the same time that the negative emotion is there, even if it is contained ('it is even there, but somehow we will control our facial expressions'). He speaks from an institutional perspective ('it comes to us' in line 4) and uses an institutional we-form ('we will control…' in line 5) to point out that coping with negative emotions concerns all doctors at some stage of their professional career. By joining the discussion, the other doctors (GP1 and GP5) further signal that the issue of GPs' unenthusiastic emotions toward the MUS patient is a group problem. GP5 portrays himself as having to struggle with his own emotions. Yet, as showing a negative attitude toward the patient is constructed as going against the professional norms and values, they all seem to distance themselves from these negative emotions by using hedges ('something like this' in line 3, 'as if' and 'some sort of' in line 8, 'somehow' in line 9), denying the negative attitude ('I won't say negative' in line 9), using impersonal structures ('showing some impatience'), or trying to account for the negative emotions by foregrounding institutional barriers (lines 6 and 10). These discursive elements accomplish the distancing-mitigation strategy. While GP1 mentions a heavy workload ('a pile in front of you' in line 6), implying the insufficient time allocated to each patient, GP5 explicitly points to a lack of time ('we don't really have time for such rambling'), and to the patients' 'rambling' (line 11) as the cause of the doctor's negative attitude. Through these explanations the doctors seek justification for their negative attitude and behaviour (e.g. shortening the time of the visit). Finally, the lexical choice of 'rambling', which communicates a negative evaluation of the patient, seems to deny, on the one hand, the patient-centered approach by implying an authority of the GP who controls the visit; on the other hand, it seems to idealise the GP profession by

suggesting that the visit should be to the point and that GPs should deal with serious problems only.

The second example continues to foreground GPs struggle with negative emotions. The doctors use the institutional 'we' pronoun to underline that there is a strong belief among GPs regarding the necessity of containing emotions. Yet, their assertions (lines 3 and 5) intertwine with more tentative answers to the moderator's challenging question.

(2) 1. *M: …Czy zdarza się, że w reakcji na takich pacjentów czy w*
2. *relacjach z takimi pacjentami puszczają nerwy?*
3. *GP1: Staramy się.*
4. *GP2: Nie do końca chyba.*
5. *GP1: No nie mogą te nerwy puszczać, jeżeli puszczają to jest brak*
6. *profesjonalizmu.*
7. *GP2:… nerwy puszczają ale do pewnego stopnia i staramy się*
8. *jednak je trzymać na wodzy, dlatego, że nasze praktyki lekarza*
9. *rodzinnego troszeczkę w inny sposób działają, niż praktyki*
10. *specjalistyczne. My jesteśmy finansowo uzależnieni od pacjenta, my*
11. *sobie nie możemy pozwolić żeby pacjenci się na nas obrażali, a my*
12. *na pacjentów, bo zaczniemy tych pacjentów tracić.*

1. 'M: Does it happen that as a response to these patients or in relations
2. with these patients you lose temper?
3. GP1: We are doing our best.
4. GP2: Not really, I think.
5. GP1: We can't lose temper, if we do, it means a lack of
6. professionalism.
7. GP2: … we lose temper, but to some extent, and we still try to stay
8. cool because our family doctor practices are organized slightly
9. differently from specialist practices. We are financially dependent on
10. the patient and we can't afford that patients take offence at us and
11. we – at our patients because we will start losing these patients.'

As explained by GP2 in a general, institutional tone: 'we lose temper but to some extent' (line 7). The GP employs firstly the epistemic modality of certainty to communicate the representations of the GP work ('we lose temper', 'we still try to stay cool', 'we are financially dependent…'), next deontic modality of obligation ('we can't afford') to assert his point of view and, eventually, proceeds to talk about the likelihood of losing patients, if doctors lose temper ('we will start losing…'). What the second example also demonstrates is the SCR-based construction of GP professional identity as opposed to specialists, whose practices work in a different manner and who are not paid per capita, so, as implied by GP2, they do not really

have to care about their negative emotions while dealing with patients. In a similar vein to the previous example, GP2 employs the strategy of distancing-mitigation ('but to some extent') in an attempt to establish a legitimate GP identity.

GPs also have to cope with uncertainty while diagnosing patients with MUS, as demonstrated by Example 3.

(3) *Moderator:* *No ale gdybyśmy mieli tych psychosomatyków – czy oni wymagają jakiegoś szczególnego podejścia?*

GP4: *Bardzo delikatnie, trzeba uważać na to co się mówi, obserwować pacjenta, to jest bardzo ważne. Oni nas też obserwują. My jesteśmy w trakcie takich wizyt aktorami, bo my nie możemy sprzedać naszym wyrazem twarzy czasami naszych jakichś obaw takich co do diagnostyki…, bo to jest najgorsze co może być. My musimy się czuć pewnie, jeżeli mamy nawet jakieś wątpliwości, możemy pacjentowi bardzo delikatnie to powiedzieć.*

'M: But if we had the psychosomatic patients – do they require any special approach?

GP4: Very delicately, you should watch your words, watch the patient, this is very important. They also watch us. During the visits we act like actors because our facial expressions can't sell [reveal, AS] the diagnostic apprehension we sometimes experience… because this is the worst thing that can happen. We have to feel confident, even though we have some sort of doubts, we can tell the patient about them in a very delicate way.'

Uncertainty is another emotional state that GPs think they need to hide from their patient and which they evaluate negatively: 'this is the worst thing…'. The Extreme Case Formulation (cf. Pomerantz 1986), modality communicating desirability ('we should…') and obligation ('we have to'), and the institutional 'we' pronoun serve here to legitimise the GP's claim that revealing emotions by GPs is wrong and challenges traditional notions of a professional GP identity. At no time should GPs signal their apprehension over diagnostics to the patient as this clashes with their professional ethos and patients' expectations, and may eventually result in losing the patient, and thus money. Therefore, GPs may struggle to portray themselves as confident and competent.

Example 4 is a contribution made by four female doctors. The moderator contests the traditional notion of GP identity by asking how a doctor feels while helping people who do not actually need professional help, but who just want to talk to someone. In this context, it should be remembered that tailoring consultation to the individual's needs, which may simply mean listening to the patient and reassuring him, belongs to GP core competencies.

(4) 1. *Moderator: Jak się czujecie w takiej roli, kiedy pomagacie osobom,*
2. *które być może nie wymagają pomocy lekarza, a zwykłej rozmowy?*
3. *GP7: Dobrze.*
4. *GP8: Bardzo dobrze, to też jest część naszej pracy.*
5. *GP9: Zależy, bo ja mam w pracy takie ciągi, że ludzie nie*
6. *przychodzą do mnie jako lekarza, tylko przychodzą się wygadać i ja*
7. *się tym wypalam. Jestem tym zmęczona, bo ja wiem, że gabinet*
8. *lekarski nie jest gabinetem lekarza, tylko konfesjonałem i ja jestem*
9. *tym zmęczona.*
10. *GP6: My tymi problemami nasiąkamy.*
11. *GP9: Tak, tzn. ja w ogóle na początku miałam problem, żeby nie*
12. *przynosić tego do domu, żeby o niczym nie myśleć, ale tak się nie*
13. *da, może po części się da. Są takie okresy, że jak z tego dnia wezmę*
14. *te 30 osób, to 2 są chore, a reszta przychodzi*
15. *pogadać.*
16. *M: Czyli w tym sensie pacjent, który ma chorobę somatyczną jest*
17. *łatwiejszym pacjentem.*
18. *GP9: W sensie medycznym, tak.*
19. *GP6: Ale my odpowiadamy i tak fajnie jest prowadzić, jak czasami*
20. *przyjdzie…*
21. *GP9: Tak, ale marzy mi się czasami żeby angina przyszła, żeby*
22. *przyszło zapalenie oskrzeli, szkarlatyna, bo ja już wiem do*
23. *trzeciego pokolenia co w tej rodzinie się zdarzyło, kot chory, pies*
24. *chory, kanarek ma złamane skrzydło, ja już, są takie momenty, że*
25. *jestem tym wypalona.*
26. *GP6: Tylko to też zależy gdzieś od nas, od postawienia granicy, że*
27. *można gdzieś do pewnego punktu dojść, a potem…*
28. *GP9: No właśnie, to są lata pracy tak naprawdę.*
29. *GP6: Albo pozwalasz żeby ci pacjent się zwierzał, wchodził z*
30. *problemami do ciebie, albo stawiasz granicę.*
31. *GP7: Tak.*

1. ‘Moderator: How do you feel when you help people who may not
2. really need a doctor, but a casual talk instead?
3. GP7: Good
4. GP8: Very good, it’s also part of our job.
5. GP9: It depends…because I have such sequences at work that people
6. don’t come to me as to the doctor, but just come to talk to their
7. hearts’ content and I burn out. I’m tired of this because I know that
8. the doctor’s surgery is not the doctor’s surgery, but a confessional
9. and I’m tired of this.
10. GP6: We get soaked with these problems.

11. GP9: Yes, I mean, at the beginning I found it difficult not to bring
12. this home, not to think about it, but it's impossible…Maybe it is
13. possible to some extent. There are periods of time when I take
14. these 30 patients per day and only 2 of them are ill, and the rest come to
15. talk.
16. M: So in this case a patient who has a somatic disease is an easier
17. patient?
18. GP9: In the medical sense, right.
19. GP6: But we are responsible, and it's still nice to manage
20. when he comes…
21. GP9: Yes, but I sometimes wish that angina would come,
22. bronchitis would come, scarlet fever because I already know what
23. happened in this family until the third generation, the cat – sick, the
24. dog – sick, the canary has a broken wing, I already, there are such
25. moments that I feel burnt out.
26. GP6: But it also depends on us, it depends on our putting limits…
27. that you can get to a certain point and then…
28. GP9: Exactly, but this means years of work really.
29. GP6: Either you let your patient talk and come to you with his
30. problems or you put a limit.
31. GP7: Yes.'

Even though the first two answers are affirmative and GP7 and GP8 acknowledge that listening to the patient's problems is part of their job, GP9 self-initiates the topic of tiredness and burnout caused by the patients' talk and lets her personal self come to voice. She shifts the perspective from institutional to personal, and self-discloses about her emotional states. What is particularly interesting here is how GP9 negotiates her professional identity SCRs by bringing up the analogy between the doctor's surgery and a confessional (line 8). This reveals a deep-seated discrepancy between the GP's expectations regarding her profession, on the one hand, and the reality of the GP practice, on the other. Specifically, GP9 constructs her professional identity as a GP by pointing to the tension between her expectations of the type of patients she wants to treat, i.e. somatic patients (angina, bronchitis, etc., lines 13–15 and 21–22), and the expectations of the somatised patients who often visit her practice, and who do not suffer from an organic disease but merely need someone to listen to them. The metonymies ('angina', 'bronchitis', 'scarlet fever'), which seem to depersonalise the patient and the ensuing exemplification that communicates negative evaluation of the patient's talk ('the cat – sick, the dog – sick, the canary has a broken wing'), may hint that the GP favours the biomedical model of medicine, rather than the biopsychosocial one, tailored to the patients' needs. She also seems to be struggling to stop her profession from

interfering with her personal life so as not to bring patients' problems home, which, according to her, is barely possible (lines 11–13) (see also Medved and Brockmeier, this volume).

Based on shared professional experience of patients coming to talk about their problems, rather than having an organic disease, GP6 joins the discussion to re-negotiate GP professional identity by indicating some ways of coping with such patients: 'it depends on our putting limits' (line 26). Yet, as GP9 rebuts, the ability to do this comes with time, with years of work experience (line 28). Towards the end of the extract, GP6 makes it clear that either a GP puts a stop to the patient's talking or runs the risk of burnout (lines 29–30). Although GPs are taught to address the patient's psychological needs, they are often not prepared to cope with their own emotions – impatience, tiredness or frustration – especially if they realize that they are unable to treat the patient. As a result, they burn out. This theme of GP's emotional disengagement is developed in the next section.

Recapitulating, as illustrated by the above examples, GPs have to balance their own emotional states with the workplace norms of restraint and competence. In the focus groups they constructed their professional identity by showing their awareness of having to contain their emotions as these may lead to losing the patient on whom they are financially dependent. They drew on the strategies of distancing-mitigation and legitimisation, while discussing the danger of revealing their negative emotions to the patient and the behaviour prompted by them, and they also seemed to idealise their profession, when talking about their expectations regarding the job.

Balancing patients' expectations with the professional ethos, impeded by institutional barriers

Financial and emotional cost incurred by the GP

As MUS is untreatable, frustration arising from MUS patients' management is part and parcel of GP professional identity (cf. Sowińska 2014: 322–23). In the fifth example, GP14 constructs her identity by balancing patients' expectations and the professional ethos with barriers to the system.

(5) *Moderator:* *…co jeszcze można by było wprowadzić, jakąś zmianę w naszym systemie, która usprawniłaby Państwa pracę? (…)*

GP14: *…my sterujemy w takim kierunku idealnym, że my chcielibyśmy przytulić do serca każdego pacjenta, rozwiązać wszystkie jego problemy, bo tak jesteśmy nauczeni. Taki jest nasz system kształcenia i my bardzo emocjonalnie do tych pacjentów podchodzimy. To nas dużo kosztuje…, że jak przyjmujemy iluś tam pacjentów,*

których my uważamy za trudnych…, większy jest dla nas koszt, to jest jak gdyby niezapłacone. Właściwie koszt ponosi głównie lekarz. My ponosimy koszty poczwórnie, licząc czas moglibyśmy przyjąć w tym czasie innych pacjentów. Nie możemy temu pacjentowi pomóc tak jakbyśmy chcieli, bo nie mamy go gdzie skierować, to budzi naszą frustrację i prowadzi nas do zespołu wypalenia, no bo odczuwamy, że my nie jesteśmy w stanie temu człowiekowi pomóc… będziemy sfrustrowani tak czy inaczej.

'M: …what else could be implemented, what other change in the system in order to improve your work? (…)

GP14: …we're moving towards an ideal direction that we would like to cuddle every patient to the heart, solve all his problems, because so we are taught. This is our system of education and we approach the patients very emotionally. This costs us a lot …, when we admit whatever number of patients, who we consider 'difficult'…, the cost is bigger for us, it is as if unpaid. Actually, the cost is incurred only by the doctor. We incur the outlays fourfold, counting the time we could admit at that time other patients. We can't help the patient as we would like to because there's nowhere we can refer him to, this rouses our frustration and leads us to burnout syndrome because we feel that we are not able to help this person… we will be frustrated this way or another.'

In a similar vein to GP6 from Example 4, the doctor struggles with opposing sets of expectations (see also Ojwang, this volume). Yet, in contrast to the previous doctor, she speaks from an institutional perspective as evidenced by the use of the 'we' pronoun. Her professional identity is negotiated by reference to the GP education and professional norms which collide with the reality of the GP practice. The GP employs the strategy of idealisation of the GP profession to manage the identity struggle ('we would like to cuddle every patient to the heart, solve all his problems', 'we approach the patients very emotionally'). In other words, the GP struggles to combine the ideals of the biopsychosocial model, which assumes patient-centeredness with the workings of the healthcare system, where GPs are faced with numerous barriers. Notably, it is not only the inadequacy of the medical education provided to GPs ('…so we are taught', 'This is our system of education') and financial restrictions in the Polish healthcare system (literal references to the cost or outlays incurred by the GP's practice), but also, more importantly, limited access to specialists ('there's nowhere we can refer him to').

As a final point, she addresses the negative influence of GP emotional engagement on GP job satisfaction. GP professional identity is linguistically enacted through finance metaphors, when the doctor negatively evaluates the emotional

cost incurred by the GP ('this costs us a lot'), and mostly epistemic modality of certainty (note the use of Simple Present Tense). GPs routinely juggle competing expectations as they are forced to allocate more time to the MUS patient, during which they could admit more somatic patients. Toward the end of the example, GP14 expresses the conviction that frustration is part and parcel of the GP profession ('we will be frustrated this way or another').

Acting in a non-standard way while treating MUS patients

Although the opening statement of Example 6 is voiced from a personal perspective, surfacing in the use of the opinion marker 'I think', the doctor positions himself strongly within the professional in-group of GPs.

(6) *Moderator:* *A czy wolelibyście panowie, żeby były jakieś standardowe procedury, które pomagałyby od razu… czy wolelibyście działać niestandardowo?*

GP5: *… Myślę, że w większości przypadków, mimo wszystko jeżeli by nawet były procedury, będziemy postępowali według własnego uznania, niestandardowo, bo w większości przypadków, myślę, że bardzo trudno będzie zrobić tego typu standardy, bo schorzenia są takie a nie inne i my musimy się kierować swoim rozsądkiem i tym, co możemy robić. Bo tu jest też kwestia tego typu, że my mamy związane ręce, bo jeżeli chodzi chociażby o diagnostykę, to paradoksem jest, że ja nie mogę na to czy na to skierować. Może tylko specjalista. …a my musimy tę diagnostykę zrobić szybko. I tutaj ta nasza rola jest taka niewdzięczna, ale pacjenci czasem nawet nie zdają sobie sprawy z tego, jak im pomagamy robiąc pewne rzeczy po prostu, ażeby przeskoczyć jakiś termin…*

'M: Would you like to have any standard procedures, which would help immediately… or would you like to act in a non-standard way?

GP 5: I think that, nonetheless, in the majority of cases, even if there were procedures, we will be acting at our own discretion, in a non-standard way because in the majority of cases, I think, it will be very difficult to work out such standards, because diseases are as they are and we must be guided by our common sense and by what we can do. For here there is also this sort of thing that our hands are tied because when it comes to diagnostics, for example, it is a paradox that I can't refer the patient for this or that. Only the specialist can… and we have to do the diagnostics quickly. And our role here is so ungrateful, but patients don't often realise how much we help them by doing some things simply to jump a date…'

Not only does he identify with his profession, but the GP also signals authority by imparting the epistemic and deontic representations of his profession, through which he refers to workplace norms and expectations (Koller 2012: 25). In particular, GP5 reports on what is likely to be, if guidelines are implemented ('we will be acting at our own discretion, in a non-standard way'), and what GPs cannot or must do ('I can't refer the patient', 'we have to do the diagnostics'). Authority is further communicated through referring to common ground, as in the statement: 'diseases are as they are'. Most notably, the doctor acknowledges that what is more important than any workplace procedures is the GP's common sense and what he can do to help the patient ('we must be guided by our common sense and by what we can do') because GPs have to act within certain limits ('our hands are tied'). At the same time, however, GP5 employs the strategy of legitimisation and struggles to provide justification for approaching MUS patients in a non-standard way by using the explanatory 'because' a couple of times and giving arguments. It is possible to postulate then that GP5 seeks legitimisation of non-standard practices which he believes are good and necessary in the absence of guidelines and procedures.

The same theme resurfaces in another focus group discussion, where GP1 also admits that doctors have to approach MUS patients in a non-standard way.

(7) *Moderator:* *Ale tych standardów nie ma czy trzeba postępować niestandardowo?*
GP1: *…trzeba postępować niestandardowo, nawet jeżeli te standardy są… chociaż w Polsce my nie mamy takich procedur jak w USA. …to jest to , co nas odróżnia. U nas to jest sztuka, a u nich jest to rzemiosło.*

'M: But there are no standards or should one act in a non-standard way?

GP1: …one must act in a non-standard way, even if there are standards… although in Poland we don't have procedures like in the US. … This is something that makes us different. Here it's art, there it's craftsmanship.'

GP1 reasserts his professional identity, and seems to add prestige to it by referring to his profession as 'art' and contrasting it with that in the US, which he labels 'craftsmanship' and which has negative connotations. Also noteworthy in this context is the use of the inclusive, national we-form ('in Poland we don't have…'). Through the idealisation of his own profession and its juxtaposition with the US family physician job, GP1 contributes to a positive representation of his professional identity and professional practice.

To sum up, what is interesting in Example 6 and 7 is that GPs don't complain about a lack of guidelines. On the contrary, it appears that acting at their own

discretion is culturally specific – a feature that distinguishes Polish GPs from those in many other Western countries, who have to follow particular procedures while coping with psychosomatic patients (e.g. Olde Hartman et al. 2013). As such, flexibility and reliance on common sense are constructed as distinctive features of Polish GP identity.

A Polish GP as a one man band

However, not always are Polish GPs content about their freedom to act. In the final example, the GP constructs her professional identity in relation to culture and in opposition to Western GPs, speaking from an impersonal, institutional perspective.

(8) *Moderator:* *…co by można było w naszym systemie zmienić?*

GP14: *No, np. jak są specjaliśc na Zachodzie np. w Wielkiej Brytanii, to taki team lekarza rodzinnego składa się z psychologa czy psychoterapeuty i to jest wyjście.*

GP11: *Tak, terapeuci są bardzo potrzebni.*

GP13: *…tam jest lekarz rodzinny wspomagany przez kilka osób. To nie jest tak, że on jest sam sobie sterem, żeglarzem i okrętem, ma różne możliwości, jest fizjoterapeuta i są pielęgniarki wykształcone, które panują nad środowiskiem tego pacjenta no i jest psychoterapeuta.*

'M: … what could be changed in our healthcare system?

GP14: For example, when there are specialists in the West, for example, in Great Britain, the team of the GP consists of a psychologist or psychotherapist and this is a solution.

GP11: Yes, therapists are really necessary.

GP13: [in the West, e.g. in the UK, AS] a family doctor is endorsed by several people. It is not that he's paddling his own canoe. He's got various opportunities, there is a physiotherapist, there are educated nurses, who manage the patient's environment, and there is a psychotherapist.'

In this excerpt the GP struggles to construct her professional identity by employing the metaphor of 'paddling one's own canoe', which at the same time communicates negative evaluation of her own position. What is implied is that the relative independence of Polish GPs (i.e. having an independent position in the medical market and acting without having to follow strict procedural guides) also has some drawbacks as the GP has to be self-sufficient and self-reliant. It is particularly

worth noting how cultural aspects of professional identity come into play here. If translated literally from Polish, the phrase should be rendered as: 'being one's own rudder, sailor and vessel', which is the quote from 'Ode to Youth' written by the most famous Polish romantic poet Adam Mickiewicz. The quotation that intertextually links to Polish romanticism may further imply the uniqueness of the Polish GP profession.

Recapitulating, there seems to be a strong belief among the investigated doctors that GPs' emotional involvement in the patient's problems and a disregard for their own psychological needs not only prompt frustration among GPs, but may also lead to burnout. The need and ability to be flexible in treating MUS patients and acting according to common sense, rather than following particular procedures, are construed as legitimate GP behaviours, as they are dictated by the barriers encountered in the Polish primary care system. To manage their identity struggles, the GPs who participated in this research drew on the discursive strategies of legitimisation and idealisation.

Conclusions

The objective of this chapter was to explore how GPs construct and negotiate their professional identities in relation to their emotions and the barriers in the healthcare system. In particular, the analysis revealed a number of identities a GP must occupy to combine often conflicting sets of expectations while managing patients with MUS. First of all, they have to play a particular role and hide their personal negative emotions and uncertainty while dealing with patients presenting MUS. Struggling with and eventually effacing negative emotions of impatience or frustration is reported as necessary so as not to lose the patient on whom the doctors financially depend. The GPs who participated in this research negotiated this struggle discursively by resorting to the strategies of distancing-mitigation and legitimisation.

Furthermore, it emerged that GPs must be self-sufficient and self-reliant as they are not endorsed by a multidisciplinary team. Furthermore, according to the GPs, they have to remain flexible and act in a non-standard way to circumvent institutional barriers and treat the patient. Acting at their own discretion and following their common sense seems to go well with a tailor-made approach to the patient, and thus reinforces the professional norms and practices which center around the patient's good. In the end, the GPs added prestige to their profession by referring to it as 'art'. Through this strategy of idealisation they seem to manage to negotiate their identity struggle successfully.

In sum, constructing a legitimate GP identity in a primary care setting while managing patients with MUS is challenging. What the analysis demonstrated is how GPs were faced with sets of contradicting expectations and how they had to juggle multiple identities to meet the patients' expectations, follow the professional ethos, and at the same time act within the institutional constraints. This study has shown that exploring healthcare professionals' identities is relevant as it may reveal motives that lead to medical decisions or pent-up feelings that affect the quality of treatment provided to the patient (Sowińska 2014: 311). While the affective dimensions of doctor-patient interaction have been widely researched (e.g. Frankel 1995; Maynard and Frankel 2006), medical professionals' emotions are not frequently attended to by discourse analysts. This study has thus made a first step into that direction by corroborating the importance of coping with emotions in the workplace and their role in identity research. Clearly, further research is necessary, and future studies could focus, for example, on GPs' identity struggles while dealing with a different group of patients.

References

Apker, Julie, and Susan Eggly. 2004. "Communicating professional identity in medical socialization: Considering the ideological discourse of morning report." *Qualitative Health Research* 14: 411–429. doi: 10.1177/1049732303260577

Augoustinos, Martha, Walker, Iain, and Ngaire Donaghue. 2014. *Social Cognition: An Integrated Introduction*. Third edition. London: Sage.

Beaulieu, Marie-Dominique, Rioux, Marc, Rocher Guy, Samson, Louise, and Laurier Boucher. 2008. "Family practice: professional identity in transition. A case study of family medicine in Canada." *Social Science and Medicine* 67 (7): 1153–63. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2008.06.019.

Czachowski, Sławomir, and Teresa Pawlikowska. 2011. "These reforms killed me': doctors' perceptions of family medicine during the transition from communism to capitalism." *Family Practice* 28 (4): 437–443. doi: 10.1093/fampra/cmr003

Czachowski, Sławomir, Piszczek, Elwira, Sowińska, Agnieszka, olde Hartman, Tim C. 2012. "Challenges in the management of patients with medically unexplained symptoms in Poland: a qualitative study." *Family Practice* 29 (2), 228–234. doi: 10.1093/fampra/cmr065

Frankel, Richard M. 1995. "Emotion and the physician-patient relationship." *Motivation and Emotion* 19: 163–73. doi: 10.1007/BF02250509

Health and health care in 2011. http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/zo_zdrowie_i_ochrona_zdrowia_w_2011.pdf.

Heritage, John, and Douglas W. Maynard (eds). 2006. *Communication in Medical Care: Interaction between Primary Care Physicians and Patients*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511607172

Heritage, John, and Steven Clayman. 2010. *Talk in Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions*. Boston: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444318135

Hydén, Lars-Christer, and Pia H. Bülow. 2006. "Medical discourse, illness narratives". In *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol.7, ed. by Keith Brown, 697–703. Oxford: Elsevier. doi: 10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/04277-2

Kenny, David A., Veldhuijzen, Wemke, Weijden, Trudy van der, LeBlanc, Annie, Lockyer, Jocelyn, Légaré, France, and Craig Campbell. 2010. "Interpersonal perception in the context of doctor-patient relationships: a dyadic analysis of doctor-patient communication". *Social Science & Medicine* 70: 763–768. doi: 10.1016/j.socscimed.2009.10.065

Koller, Veronika. 2008. *Lesbian Discourses: Images of a Community*. New York and London: Routledge.

Koller, Veronika. 2012. "How to analyse collective identity in discourse – textual and contextual parameters." *CADAAD Journal* 5 (2): 19–38.

Krebs, Erin E., Garrett, Joanne M., and Thomas R. Konrad. 2006. "The difficult doctor? Characteristics of physicians who report frustration with patients: an analysis of survey data." *BMC Health Services Research* 6: 128.

Mathers, Nigel, Jones, Nicola, and David Hannay. 1995. "Heartsink patients: a study of their general practitioners." *British Journal of General Practice* 45: 293–296.

Maynard, Douglas W., and Richard M. Frankel. 2006. "On diagnostic rationality: bad news, good news, and the symptom residua." In *Communication in Medical Care: Interaction between Primary Care Physicians and Patients*, ed. by John Heritage and Douglas W. Maynard, 248–278. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511607172.011

Menz, Florian, and Johanna Lalouschek. 2006. "'I just can't tell you how much it hurts.' Gender-relevant differences in the description of chest pain." In *Advances in Medical Discourse Analysis: Oral and Written Contexts*. Maurizio Gotti and Françoise Salager-Meyer, 133–154. Bern: Peter Lang.

Moscovici, Serge. 1984. "The phenomenon of social representations." In *Social Representations*, ed. by Robert M. Farr and Serge Moscovici, 3–69. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moscovici, Serge. 2000. *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Munday, Jennie. 2006. "Identity in focus: The use of focus groups to study the construction of collective identity." *Sociology* 40 (1): 89–105. doi: 10.1177/0038038506058436

O'Dowd, Tom C. 1988. "Five years of heartsink patients in general practice." *BMJ* 297 (6647): 528–530. doi: 10.1136/bmj.297.6647.528

Olde-Hartman, Tim C., Blankenstein, Annette H., Molenaar, Bart, Bentz van den Berg, David, Van der Horst, Henriëtte E., Arnold, Ingrid A., Burgers, Jako, Wiersma, Tjerk, Woutersen-Koch, Hèlen. 2013. "The NHG guideline medically unexplained symptoms (MUS)." *Huisarts Wet* 2013, 56 (5): 222–30. Retrieved from https://www.nhg.org/sites/default/files/content/nhg_org/uploads/standaard/download/final_m102_solk_guideline_sk_mei13_0.pdf/

Pomerantz, Anita. 1986. "Extreme case formulations: a way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies* 9(2/3), 219–229. doi: 10.1007/BF00148128

Salmon, Peter, Ring, Adele, Dowrick, Christopher F., and Gerry M. Humphris. 2005. "What do general practice patients want when they present medically unexplained symptoms and why do their doctors feel pressurized?" *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 59: 255–262. doi: 10.1016/j.jpsychores.2005.03.004

Semino, Elena. 2010. "Descriptions of pain, metaphor and embodied simulation." *Metaphor and Symbol* 25 (4): 205–226. doi: 10.1080/10926488.2010.510926

Sowińska, Agnieszka. 2014. "'I must do everything to eliminate my negative attitude': Polish general practitioners' emotions toward patients with medically unexplained symptoms." In *Linguistic approaches to Emotions in Context*, ed. by Fabienne Baider and Georgeta Cislaru, 309–330. Amsterdam: Benjamins. doi:10.1075/pbns.241.18sow

Steinmetz, Dov, and Hava Tabenkin. 2001. "The 'difficult patient' as perceived by family physicians." *Family Practice* 18 (5): 495–500. doi:10.1093/fampra/18.5.495

Wodak, Ruth. 1996. "'What pills are you on now?' Doctors ask, and patients answer." In *Disorders of Discourse*, ed. by Ruth Wodak, 35–62. London: Longman.

CHAPTER 16

A kind of work

Narratives from Canadian indigenous women

Maria I. Medved and Jens Brockmeier
University of Manitoba / American University of Paris

What is work for present day indigenous women living on reserve and how does it affect the way they perceive their identities? In our chapter we explore notions and practices of work that were investigated during various research projects involving First Nations women living on reserves in Western Canada. Our main resource is narratives of work, stories told by the women that capture the particular reality of indigenous life. In keeping with indigenous conceptions of non-compartmentalized ways of existence, the stories of the women with whom we worked blur the borders among different spheres of life. They see work as righting a gender imbalance resulting from the imposition of patriarchy brought with colonialism. We describe their identity as a life-work hybrid, which although stressful is also a source of meaning, strength, and resilience.

Keywords: balance, Canada, care, colonialism, First Nation, indigenous, gender, reserve, women, work

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the relationship between work and identity on indigenous reserves in Western Canada. There are many reserves in North America; one commonality across them is the history of colonization. Legacies of colonization vary across indigenous communities, but most are characterized by high rates of unemployment, low education attainment, and poverty, often to an extreme degree. In this essay, we explore what it means to work in such places.

Work on reserves is a gendered issue. There is a stark contrast between men and women, and many of the paid work opportunities are in the community services sector, jobs typically filled by women: nurses, social workers, teachers, and the like. All of these positions require an individual to have front line contact with fellow community members. Our main material is stories of and about work

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.16med
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

from this cultural world, stories that we heard in conversations and interviews with indigenous women, experiences that reflect the unique realities of life on reserves. But in contrast with many discursive or conversational approaches, we also draw on observations and extra-textual background information, taking a cultural psychological and anthropological approach that also builds on social life, history, and collective memory. In other words, we are not only interested in what our participants said during the interviews and how they thereby construct their different identities, but in our analyses and interpretations we also take into consideration background knowledge of the women and the work they do on the reserves. We favor this holistic approach because we believe that stories are saturated with cultural content and cannot be understood in isolation from their social and historical environment. For this reason, in the introductory parts of the chapter we provide an overview of the cultural background of indigenous peoples, including a brief history, with special emphasis on work, identity, and gender.

In our account of indigenous women's work stories we highlight three themes representing different potential identity struggles. The first struggle is about blurring work boundaries or limits. They paid very little attention to any boundaries among various life worlds and spheres of experience at all. The women we met and to spoke were breadwinners for their extended families, maintained their homes – which is more of a metaphor because there is no private property on reserves – sustained community organizations, and engaged in political struggles for the empowerment of their "nations" (each reserve is the base of a First Nation, as indigenous people call themselves). We have come to consider these activities as "kinds of work," in a different sense than work is understood in western economies, whether in classic or neoliberal market versions. Our notion of these kinds of work seizes on traditional indigenous conceptions of non-compartmentalized, multi-functional ways of life.

In the wake of such conceptions, the second theme related to work on reserve is that it is understood as contributing to the "righting" of the gender imbalance resulting from colonialism and its imposition of patriarchal structures in unknown pre-contact times. On the reserves we visited, the women's status as workers seems to have provided the impetus, the moral right, and the means to reclaim their role of elders and "grandmothers." In traditional indigenous communities, women, especially older women, often had significant influence and authority (Dickason 2000).

The third theme we cover is that of binds, tensions, and ambivalences articulated in the women's stories. They all mark contradictions that are difficult to negotiate: between indigenous and western professional roles, between experiences of empowerment and, at the same time, minimal real power; and between a sense of feeling well and the reality of poor physical health. Before we take a closer look at these identity struggles we offer some historical background.

Indigenous people in Canada

Indigenous people constitute 4.3% of the population of Canada (Statistics Canada 2013). But who exactly are indigenous people (or aboriginals or natives or Indians)? These labels come with contested histories (Marks 2014). Many indigenous communities, today, prefer terms based on self-governance and names from their own languages. Commonly, three groups of people are distinguished. There are the First Nations who are located across the country, the Inuit who are based in the Arctic, and the Métis who are of mixed European and indigenous ancestry. The women we describe in this chapter are from a Cree and an Anishinaabe (Ojibwa) First Nation, having 3.000 and 4.500 members respectively. Each First Nation functions as an autonomous governing entity although there may be associations amongst reserves across tribal identities. However, the people living together on First Nation reserves do not necessary reflect the original tribal structures and relations before the arrival of western peoples.

During the initial phases of contact between western and indigenous cultural worlds, in what has been called "competitive colonialism" (Champagne 2006), Canadian indigenous people trapped and skinned furs to trade for, if possible, prized metal goods. There are controversies about the role of women in indigenous societies pre-contact, but most researchers agree that women possessed at least some control over the distribution of resources and were involved in leadership decisions (Tsosie 2010; Udel 2001). Moreover, many communities were matrilineal. This societal organization was altered as a consequence of the fur trade, because French and English trappers would negotiate only with men, and in this way excluded women from an increasingly dominant economic sphere. This substantially reduced women's power within their native communities.

The descent into marginalization was furthered on the arrival of western religious missionaries who also would not deal directly with women. With the advent of a centralized Canadian government, these patriarchal practices were institutionalized. Over the decades, the belief in the inferiority of women began to infiltrate communities, and patriarchy has been deeply internalized by nearly all indigenous peoples (Portman & Herring 2001; Shepard, O'Neill, & Guenette 2006).

Even though indigenous women had been sidelined in terms of control and power, this does mean that their work and services were not in demand by western trappers and, eventually, settlers. Indigenous women's contributions as mediators, guides, and harvesters, however, were made invisible under the discourse of "frontier" or "explorer" rhetoric, which framed western expansion as a product of self-sufficient masculinity. Nonetheless there are strong arguments that suggest that without indigenous women's expertise the entire frontier trading enterprise would have probably failed (Farrell Racette 2012).

As a consequence of overhunting and the concomitant near extinction of bison, many indigenous peoples in Western Canada faced starvation and death from newly introduced diseases while liquor also decimated communities. When the federal government asked for land in exchange for food aid and other assistance, not many communities were in a position to say no. After signing treaties that gave up rights to roam the land, indigenous people were required to live on reserves, that is, constricted, circumscribed plots of often undesirable land. The new life style on reserves brought to an end communities' traditional nomadic economy based on geographically distributed resources and activities. It ended the seasonal work that blurred the borders between work and leisure; for example, when entire communities participated in fishing camps, work mingled with ritualistic celebration, enhancing a tribe's sense of social belonging (Darnell 2009). One might think of farming as a possible substitute new way of life, but many reserves were too barren for farming and this was often forbidden so that people would be forced to buy food from settlers.

Moreover, the isolated geography of reserves, especially in Western Canada, limited opportunities to work for businesses or companies based on wage-labour. All this contributed to advance dependence, economic disenfranchisement, and marginalization. Stereotypes began to emerge that presented indigenous people as idle, incompetent, and needing to learn how to work. This supposed idleness served as a pretext for Christian missionaries to intervene and impose new rules and moral imperatives on people living on reserves that, over time, came to regulate both spiritual and everyday life. In the process, "modern" notions of self-improvement through regimented work practices and wage labour were introduced to indigenous communities (Schwarz 2006). Children were removed from their families to attend residential schools (boarding schools in the United States), places that were meant to prepare them for serious work, and where Indigenous languages and rituals and visits by family were forbidden. This led to what has been called a cultural genocide, leading to a "cultural vacuum" (Taylor & de la Sablonnière 2015). Arguably, residential schooling is one of the most significant reasons for the extraordinarily poor mental and physical health among indigenous people in Canada until today (Qwul'sih'yah'maht 2005; Waldram, Herring, & Young 2006). Alcoholism is endemic, with a fifth to a quarter of children born with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder on some reserves (Kay 2013).

It is difficult to obtain statistics on the current economic status of First Nations, given they are independent entities that do not publically provide information. In the broad geographic area of Canada where we conducted our research, the average employment rate on a reserve is 32%, with an average market participation rate of 52% (Hallett 2006). Canadian government transfers serve as a major source of

income, with a portion of the money used to create community service positions, the positions the women we spoke to held.

Even if the women with whom we worked did not always overtly refer to the broader pre-contact and colonial work history – as contested as it might be – it is always present. Difficult economic and work conditions of the kind outlined in this section were rarely mentioned by our participants – this would be viewed as angling for special treatment or status within their cultures – but without doubt contribute to the challenging circumstances of life on the reserves. Sometimes there are hints made in passing that make clear that the historically transmitted economic predicament stands solidly in the background of all stories, like the proverbial elephant in the room. In multiple respects, history looms large, constituting a shared cultural scaffold on which many narratives and discourses are built. More than ever when one's personal and collective identities are under threat, as is the case in almost all indigenous communities, traditions, "old" beliefs and histories, and the community's mythical heritage (which is mostly oral) becomes relevant as an everyday resource to cope with challenges and existential crises.

The women

The women with whom we worked in our research[1] were 16 self-identified indigenous individuals from two different First Nations in Western Canada ranging in age from 40- to 70-years. They had at least three children each and were working or had retired. As already noted, many of them were employed in the social service and education fields on reserves. Although these positions are not well paid; they are valued because they allow employees to remain living on reserve in contrast to others who leave to find employment, which is often geographically distant. All positions required at least some western-style education which, besides being community members with salaried jobs, distinguished the women from many other people on the reserve.

Originally our conversations revolved around the women's understanding of their health, especially their heart health (see Medved, Brockmeier, Morach, & Chartier 2013, for further information). What took us by surprise was the urgency and consistency with which issues of work arose, even though we did not initially set out to explore these subjects. This was the impetus for this chapter and the basis of the selection of the extracts we present below.

1. We are well aware of the challenges, frictions, and dialectics of conducting "white man's research" with indigenous people. We have discussed these issues in more detail elsewhere (see Medved & Sinclair 2010; Medved & Brockmeier 2015).

We already noted that our studies are situated within the epistemological framework of cultural psychology and cultural anthropology; thus our presentation is not primarily a linguistic analysis of "work talk." There also remains the fact that there is very little self-referential talk of the type found in western or highly westernized cultural settings in the stories of, and the conversations with, indigenous women that form an important portion of our research material. Such self-referential talk would impose one's own needs, values and self-worth above others and thus be at odds with the indigenous way.[2]

As already pointed out, there are three core thematic sections outlining various work struggles. In the first, called *Borderlessness*, we examine how the women reject western work boundaries and sustain traditional indigenous conceptions of non-compartmentalized ways of life. In the second, we explore issues of *Balance*, more specifically, that of gender and work imbalances in the community. The research literature (e.g., Kirmayer, Simpson, & Cargo 2003) has noted that indigenous women experience "role strain" as they take on multiple roles, both traditional and contemporary, both male and female, at the workplace, at home and in the community. In contrast, men, who live under conditions of chronic unemployment, have suffered a dramatic loss of their traditional roles. The result is a never before experienced gender imbalance that strongly impacts the way the women position men in their stories and how they see themselves. In the final section, which we call *Binds*, we examine some of the contradictions in the women's stories, highlighting some of the identity work they engage in to make the storylines fit.

Borderlessness

The concept of individually paid employment separated from everyday labour-related activities is a colonial imposition onto indigenous life. In the context of a nomadic lifestyle, work was dependent on the collective accomplishment of seasonal subsistence tasks, and members were expected to share the bounty (Williams 2012). In short, indigenous work was community work. Societal existence was based on principles of extended interrelatedness and interdependence, thus notions of the family and community were relatively unbounded (Turpel-Lafond 1997). Moreover, it was accompanied by a vision of balance and equilibrium that found its expression in all aspects of social and personal life – from raising children

2. This reticence is the root of many cultural misunderstandings; for example, in western courts where indigenous people do not defend themselves (Ross 2006); or in childrearing whereby children are rarely told what or what not to do, a practice appearing neglectful to westerners (Muir & Bohr 2014).

to the medicine wheel. Cultural practices that placed a high value on giving, sharing and helping were viewed as an essential part of living a full, rich, and good life (Rice 2005).

The employment held by the women we spoke to is prized not only because it is on reserve and salaried, but because it provides a strand of cultural continuity from the old to the new in that it is in sync with indigenous care practices. However, a more problematic side to the overlap between the women's employment and traditional values is that it led to a diffusion of employment tasks into their everyday life. In other words, more and more professional-type activities have bled into their personal time. Social workers do even more social care (e.g., Ruth), health workers do even more health care (e.g., Kerstin and Gladys), and so forth. To specify this point, we refer to some examples. We begin with Ruth.

> I get so much stress from everybody since I started my job. They've got a lot of problems. My sister, my sister's son, my cousins, basically everyone around me. They phone me and tell me their problems and kind of, should I give them advice, like don't do these things, be strong. Just like I'm on call or something. I have to listen to them, hurt with them and cry with them. But that's hard to do.

Ruth, a social worker aide, recounts the stress she experiences by the lack of boundaries between her professional and her private life. Interestingly, she does not complain about her job per se but rather about its impact on her private life and the expectation of her social network that she be constantly available for support due to her professional expertise. We should emphasize that discourse on setting boundaries and limits did not occur during her interview, nor during the interviews with the other women. This blending between different spheres of life is very much in keeping with traditional notions of the fluidity between work and leisure. Also noteworthy here is the tension related to the question of whether or not she should provide advice outside her professional life. We will return to this point in the *Binds* section. Similar to Ruth, Kerstin, a nurse, suddenly finds herself visiting patients on her free time, with her work identity infiltrating her non-work identity.

> I visited a lady who had surgery after work and made her tea a few times. Her family doesn't live on the reserve and she doesn't have anyone to talk to. I just think it important we care of each other, that's what *we* do.

Kerstin accentuates the importance of the ethic of care by contrasting the white interviewer's non-caring community with the indigenous caring one ("what *we* do"). In the process, the white interviewer is positioned as the inferior other, one who would not give herself to others. Numerous women used similar "othering" strategies to consolidate and draw attention to their identity as "good" workers in the broad indigenous sense. Also demonstrating an ethic of care, Gladys, a nurse's

aide, regularly fetches traditional herbs for her patients, which is not an activity that is, strictly speaking, associated with her profession.

> Since I got the job, I get herbs. They are important to some people's ceremonies. It is a 6 hour drive there and back [to get and deliver the herbs].

Like Rose, Gladys also observes the blurring of boundaries between her professional and her personal life, but does not see it as a something that needs to be changed. In her case, she emphasizes that she only became involved in the health-related errands she undertakes for the community (including herb collection) when she started working as a nurse's aide.

A similar picture emerged in the interviews with women who worked part-time or were retired. While some women, such as Rose and Ruth, admitted to the stressful nature of constantly taking care of people–or of the borderlessness of their work–we would like to underline, again, that none of them explicitly considered changing or reducing their extra-curricular work activities. It simply goes with the terrain. Moreover, several women mentioned that, indeed, they became increasingly involved in activities beyond their work duties, trying to address problems on the broader community level, such as substance abuse and violence.

As in the extracts from the above participants, Anne, in the following remark, links her community participation to her status as an employee, albeit less explicitly than in the accounts above.

> Anne: Nobody does anything about anything [referring to violence] so I needed to do something because I am in a position to do so.
> Interviewer: Position to do so?
> Anne: At least I have some stability and say because I work. It has been hard on me emotionally because it makes me very sad and angry but I can say what I want to say. Someone has to do it.

Anne is well aware of her relatively powerful and prestigious standing within the community, one that she perceives as closely linked to the fact that she has employment. The next participant, Sherry, also refers to this increased community respect, and to "being looked to" because of having work.

> Sherry: I really don't think about it too much, but there's responsibilities to, to having work, to being looked to. When I was a teenager, I was never, I was smoking, I was drinking, I was doing all kinds of reckless things. You know, until I was in my late twenties. When I started going to school, that's when things started to change. Now I work and I always try to help our people.

Nearly all the women articulate this sense of responsibility, but what we would like to underscore is how their comments and stories are often presented by laconically

downplaying their individual qualities and achievements. They do not emphasize, for instance, the moral charge of their community duties. Rather they describe themselves as getting on with things they consider important. With minimal self-positioning, there is little effort paid to doing special social or personal identity work. In contrast to what is mentioned in much of the academic indigenous literature, we did not notice any rhetoric of "self-determination" or "taking charge of one's destiny as well as the destiny of family, community, and nation" (e.g., Anderson 2009: 123). Nor do the women mention that they are educated, articulate, and energetic individuals – or "leaders," to use a different vocabulary. Doing so could be conceived of as self-important and, thus, against traditional indigenous ways of being (Ross 2006).

Instead, they deindividualise their specific competencies by calling attention to their identity as generic workers, a status that is used to buttress their claims for respect within the community. By downplaying their rather exceptional personal qualities (in our opinion), they made their growing participation in community-oriented activities appear as an inevitable outgrowth of being a worker, as a side effect. Rather than focusing on constructing and negotiating their personal identity, their accounts appear more concerned with subjectivity, agency and empowerment. Of course, this does not mean that they do not experience a sense of pride, as we will explore further in the next section.

Balance

We now turn to advancing a theme already sketched in the previous section, namely that it is chiefly the women who are "taking responsibility for everything, working and everything. In this section we focus on gender. We make the argument that by being working professionals these women are challenging the status quo not only in terms of exerting influence in their community, but also in terms of gender relations. They use their profession as an identity resource to actively reclaim at least a part of their valued traditional status and roles.

As already stated, indigenous men and women are said to have experienced colonialism differently due to the infiltration of western patriarchy, which severely reduced women's opportunities to acquire and maintain respected society roles, such as elder or grandmother,[3] which has led to an imbalance of power between men and women within First Nation communities. At its extreme, this imbalance

3. Indigenous men have also suffered from profound losses in terms of roles and work, but this is a topic beyond the scope of this chapter (see Innes & Anderson 2015; McKegney 2014 for more information).

is manifested in exceedingly high rates of domestic and non-domestic violence towards women as compared to non-indigenous women (Brennen 2011; Native Women's Association 2010; Matamonasa-Bennett 2015). Many of the women we spoke with told us about their experience of "being a punching bag," at some point in their lives.

To challenge this power imbalance in their private lives, the women drew on their work identity and contrasted it with the men's identity as workers or more accurately, lack thereof. By working, the women made it clear they were doing double, if not multiple, duties by taking on the roles and responsibilities traditionally assigned to women and men. This contrast also served to justify a sense of pride in their abilities "to do it all," while at the same time challenging what they saw as men's unjust sense of entitlement, as Nicole explains:

> Wives are there to look after their husbands and the husband will supposedly bring in the you know, um, income and you know they each have an equal responsibility towards their family. And I think that's, um, a lot of times men feel that they, they step over that boundary where they have to … I feel that they need to be catered to. And because women are starting to work now, they are getting independent again and they see themselves that men don't need to be catered to. You know, I work, I bring in an income. So, and that's how, how I felt. You know I work all day, so why should I be doing all the work?

Nicole's baseline conception of marital roles resembles the traditional western model, but what marks the cultural difference is her use of the phrase of "getting independent *again*" through paid employment. Indigenous women in their collective imaginary of their past had a strong voice which they now want to regain. Nicole, like many of our participants, views herself fully entitled to gender parity because, as she points out, men have not upheld their end of the bargain. She ends with a vague complaint about "catering" to men, a word choice that alludes to what she takes to be the infantile nature of their demands.

The framing of men as childlike not only indicates frustration on the part of the women in that they deem themselves as left on their own to bear the burdens of family and community, but there also is a fiber of distain. Throughout the various interviews, men are described as "weak," "clingy," "can't put up with a lot like women can," "unreliable," and "no friggin help." One participant even proclaims that "I could do anything a man can do. Except stand up pissing, but although I could probably do that too."[4]

---

4. This distain is not so with respect to their fathers. Fathers are often nostalgically seen as the last generation of "warriors," a complex role that involved protecting people, the culture, and the

In other words, in the interviews women often used men as an antithesis to help them construct a female work identity accentuating competence and accomplishment. This contrast serves to illustrate the women's capability to engage in all kinds of work and afforded them with a vehicle to express pride in their ability to proficiently do so. They position themselves as sufficiently endowed to take on all the borderless work responsibilities, something the men would be unlikely to be able to endure.

Most of the men on reserve do not, in effect, work, whether in paid employment, and according to the women, neither in the domestic sphere, the bush, or the community. The women's ability to work in these spheres – and especially in (paid) employment settings – is used to illustrate their value. The forceful way they talked about their work identities when contrasting them with the men's suggests a sense of strength and self-esteem. We heard many comments and stories in which the women, on this basis, demanded change: a formal (re)balancing of the gender order that allows them to take back their legitimate social standing "stolen" from them.

It is tempting to see the women's language as articulating a form of feminism. Yet as LaRocque (2007) points out, using western style feminism to understand gender relations in indigenous communities is a contentious idea. Some even see it as representing an additional colonial attack in that a western cultural concept is applied to indigenous life worlds. Such a debate is framed as further dividing rather than uniting indigenous communities. Still, work identity intertwined with gender identity is a topic women on reserves are obviously grappling with, if not publically, then at least in their personal stories. This tension between gender identity and work identity is a common one, seen from women in leadership positions (Baxter, this volume) to East Indian women across the workforce (e.g., Chatterjee & Van De Mieroop, this volume)

Binds

In this section, we outline three contradictions, incongruities or binds pertaining to work in the women's self-understanding. The first bind concerns negotiating a suitable professional work identity, that is, one that integrates western work responsibilities alongside indigenous values. The second relates to power, whereby the women may feel empowered to contribute to the community due to their status and identity as a professional, but in fact, have very little power. Lastly we mention

environment (McKegney 2014). Fathers are recalled as caring, despite the fact that many of them suffer from severe personal problems, typically related to alcohol, as do their sons.

the binary impact of work on health, conceived by the women as psychologically positive yet physically negative – and having to choose between the two.

As already described, colonialism has redefined the nature of work for indigenous peoples. Add to this an even more dramatic result: on many reserves, work in its traditional or capitalist form is simply unavailable. This has created a bleak reality for the places we visited. As a consequence, many people have left for urban centers. But in finding wage labor employment off reserve, indigenous people are often branded as "new Indian", i.e., as a person who adopts the values and ways associated with western work and in doing so, betrays her indigenous culture (Doyle-Bedwell 2008).

To a limited extent, our participants managed to sidestep this contentious issue by engaging in care labour on reserve. Nevertheless, some contradictions remain, such as the ongoing tension between their professional training and the reality of practicing within their community.

Interviewer (I):	What is the most challenging part about your job?
Joyce:	I see so many people with sickness, in pain, breaking down and, and there's very little I can do.
I:	We were just talking about heart disease. Don't you think you help your patients deal with their illnesses, helping them get better or even preventing them the first place?
Joyce:	Yes, I can listen to them, support them, be there for them.
I:	Do you tell them to eat better, exercise more and all that heart health stuff?
Joyce:	I give them information. Look, once I told a woman to exercise and she got really, really angry at me. I mean *really*. I had to unlearn things. Not everybody is explosive like that, but people don't like to be told what to do, they feel disrespected and controlled.
I:	Why disrespected and controlled? Isn't it helping them?
Joyce:	Hmm. Who's to say? What do I know? It's not their fault. I don't want to be like the white man. I'll let the white doctor do that (laughs).

This short exchange with Joyce is representative of the challenges the women talked about as they attempted to balance their role as indigenous woman and as western educated professionals. The interviewer initially misses the expressed cultural bind, interpreting it as learned helplessness and tries to rescue Joyce by asking "don't you think you help…," a question that invites her to reject her prior statement. Eventually, it emerges that this exchange is about the indigenous ethic of non-interference, that persons (even children) have the right to make their own choices. The practice of enforcing compliance, giving advice or correcting, is not only considered to be rude and arrogant, but also considered morally repugnant

and culturally foreign (Ross 2006). This explains the anger expressed by the patient in the above story, as Joyce's advice giving implies disrespect. The patient's strong response obviously had an impact on Joyce as she refers to her hesitancy to be directive with her patients, needing to "unlearn" her professional training.

At the same time, however, providing recommendations *is* the professional responsibility of a nurse. The participant's uneasiness about abnegating this obligation is diffused when she jokes that she "let[s] the white doctor do" it, hinting at colonialist traditions and the long history of white people (as explorers, settlers, missionaries, soldiers, police and other government officials, "health advisers" and academics) telling indigenous people what to do. Suffice to say, this is not to suggest that the work the participants do perform, that listening, supporting, and being there for others is ineffective. Indeed many of these women try to incorporate traditional elements into their practice. Often, these work "interventions" may be more effective than typically directive-oriented health or social service instructions. Many of the professionals we spoke with were wary of being "colonial tools" as members of the community occasionally label people who engage in work that is seen to propagate western values.

Generally, when the women were directly asked about their work, it was notable how little they actually said, preferring to describe it in vague behavioral terms such as "seeing people," "waiting for the doctor," or "sorting out paperwork." Even when explicitly invited to speak about tensions or challenges at work, they remained relatively non-committal, reticent to talk about themselves or others. In contrast to the rhetoric of service providers from other cultures with their often individualized, highly reflexive work identity talk (see Sowinska, this volume; Zayts & Schnurr, this volume), this kind of narrative talk was missing in our conversations with the women. They seemed to be more concerned with, as it were, the shedding of their professional identity and the potential power associated with it, an identity subtly associated with the West. In this regard, what at first might be conceived of as a lack of confidence, interest, or even passivity, appears to be an active positioning, an upholding of a tradition of indigenous values, both in terms of content and discursive practice.

Another contradiction that runs through many stories also relates to power, but to power relations within the community. As illustrated in the previous sections, work is a resource that the women use to re-author their experiences of powerlessness and oppression. As we described in the section on borderlessness, work provides the women with a responsibility and a rationale to take the lead on community issues. Williams, Thorpe, and Chapman (2003) call this the pressure of "obligatory community labour." Women are the driving force behind social life and community safeguarding, yet at the same time their commitment is not valued because they are seen by the community as naturally duty-bound and

responsible to perform these various activities, even in their private lives. All of the women struggle to resist ongoing devaluation, and they admit to this during our conversations – for example by lamenting that "nobody really gives a rat's ass about the things I do."

Even work and the gain of status that comes with it have not erased the patriarchal reality in which the women live. They are not in positions of hard power. Rather, their roles within the community are informal, relying on soft power. They "speak" at meetings, "help" people in need, all of which is not enough to effect real change within the community's power relations. Their professions are highly gendered and do not have the same political and economic clout as those of doctor (not to mention the "white doctor"), lawyer, engineer, and the like. It has been argued that men, despite their weak economic status, have been the primary beneficiaries of the political and economic power achieved though many years of First Nation struggles in Canada (LaRocque 2007). Significantly enough on the governance level about 83% of First Nation chiefs are men (Scoffield 2012). As a effect, one of the most pressing concerns of indigenous women in the region we visited is the often aggressive dominance of corrupt male leadership (Kenny 2002). The women we spoke to were well-aware of this reality, and there is much anger about imbalances in gender relations. It seems that not only have aboriginal men and women experienced colonialism differently, but they have also reaped the (relative) benefits of formal decolonalisation in an unequal way.

A final contradictory experience becomes obvious in the categorical manner in which the women view their work impacting their overall health. On the one hand, work and working has clearly decreased their sense of "social isolation," enabling them to leave their cramped, overcrowded homes – even if only temporarily. It has also increased their mental health by providing an arena where they experience a sense of control and stability. Although some women admit to high levels of stress due to simultaneously fulfilling too many roles and the identity struggles associated with them – traditional and contemporary, masculine and feminine – they insist that this stress is not linked to their work, but to factors such as the extensive demands by others, as noted before.

On the other hand, all the interviewed women suffer from multiple physical health problems, problems that they did indeed link to paid employment, or to all the other kinds of work they regularly engage in. As one of them told us, "I feel like I don't get enough rest, like I play the role of mom, dad, the caregiver, the worker, everything." Being permanently "on the go", they appear unable to carve out time and space to take care of themselves. When pushed about the split between their psychological and physical health, they admitted that both were intertwined, but then quickly reverted to their original stance of separating and distancing the

two. Deriving a sense of strength from their work, they seem to see their physical health as the price to be paid for this.

In a nutshell, the women's stories about their multiple work identities are pervaded by several contradictions. There is the ethic of non-interference which is contrasted by their professional responsibility to be directive; they experience themselves as empowered through their work, but often actually have minimal power in leadership, economic and political matters; and working makes them feel psychologically well but physically sick. Considering that they live in the no-(wo) man's land between western and indigenous cultural worlds, the ruptures and contradictions of their stories are not really surprising.

Concluding remarks

Coming back to our initial question: What is work for present day indigenous women? We agree with Sanger (2012) that the answer to this question is that work takes on multiple forms – paid, unpaid, voluntary, ceremonial, commodity producing, moral value enforcing. Work is a complex concept realized in a variety of contexts – in the bush as well as in urban, community, and domestic settings. For the women living and working on reserve with whom we spoke, certain kinds of work are more dominant than others but, more importantly, there are no boundaries among different kinds of work predicated on paid, ceremonial, voluntary, or moral domains. The women's lives are soaked with different "kinds of work," with a particularly high value placed on labour involving communal sharing, giving, and caring.

What emerges from our interviews is a type of hybrid work identity that blends modern western and traditional indigenous practices that are usually seen as contradictory. The women's identity struggles are manifested, for example, in their efforts to find equilibrium between indigenous values and western "intervention skills." Ultimately, almost all work identity battles and skirmishes boil down to cultural troubles that can be traced back to colonialism. These stories convey the sense of a continuous struggle in both cultural worlds in which they live, as the women seek to heal their communities by holding onto traditional ways of being and, in some cases, even reinvigorating them.

In the interviews, western work, and the identities and ethics associated with it, is made out to be individualistic, isolating, and exclusively preoccupied with the accrual of wealth. What struck us was that none of the women mentioned money explicitly, despite the extreme financial hardship of life on reserve. In keeping with indigenous cultural traditions the women likewise downplayed their individual qualifications and competencies. Nobody spoke of following a "career." Instead

they referred to "whites" and "our men", using these two groups – both viewed as oppressors, albeit in different ways – as foils to outline their hybrid gendered work roles and identities.

At the same time, as stressful and as hard on their physical health as the fusion of life and work might be, it is an experience that gives life a sense of meaning and resilience. Work in the extended sense that we have delineated is a source of pride. It is both the cause and the effect of empowerment, supporting these women to tackle the challenges of life on reserve. They understand their work as a means to re-establish a community balance, as the royal road to a lost cultural continuity, to a life based on giving, sharing, and caring, which are values at the heart of North American indigenous work identities.

References

Anderson, Kim. 2009. "Leading by Action: Female Chiefs and the Political Landscape." In *Restoring the Balance: First Nations Women, Community, and Culture*, ed. by Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, Madeleine Dion Stout, and Eric Guimond, 99–124. Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Manitoba Press.

Brennan, Shannon, 2011. *Violent Victimization of Aboriginal Women in the Canadian Provinces*, 2009. Ottawa, ON: Minister of Industry, Statistics Canada. doi:http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/85-002-x/2011001/article/11439-eng.pdf

Champagne, Duane. 2006. "Directed Social Change in Canada and the United States." *American Behavioral Scientist* 50 (4): 428–449. doi:10.1177/0002764206294050

Darnell, Regna. 2009. "Cross-Cultural Constructions of Work, Leisure and Community Responsibility: Some First Nations Reflections." *Journal of Occupational Science* 16 (1): 4–9. doi:10.1080/14427591.2009.9686634

Dickason, Olive. 2000. "Aboriginal Grandmothers' Experience with Health Promotion and participatory action research." *Qualitative Health Research* 10 (2): 188–213. doi:10.1177/104973200129118363

Doyle-Bedwell, Patti. 2008. "With the Appropriate Qualifications: Aboriginal People and Employment Equity." *Canadian Women's Studies* 26 (3/4); 77–89.

Farrell Racette, Sherry. 2012. "Nimble Fingers and Strong Backs: First Nations and Metis women in Fur Trade and Rural Economies." In *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labour to Activism*, Ed. by Carol Williams, 148–162. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hallett, Bruce. 2006. *Aboriginal People in Manitoba*. Ottawa: Her Majesty the Queen in Right of Canada.

Innes, Robert Alexander and Kim Anderson (eds). 2015. *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press.

Kay, Jonathan. 2013. What's Wrong with Remote Nation Reserves: Let's Ask a Veteran Doctor Who Worked There. *National Post* Jan 10: http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2013/01/10/jonathan-kay-whats-wrong-with-remote-native-reserves-lets-ask-a-doctor-who-worked-there-for-43-years.

Kenny, Carolyn. 2002. *North American Indian, Metis and Inuit Women Speak about Culture, Education and Work*. Ottawa, Ontario: Status of Women Canada.

Kirmayer, Laurence, Corey Simpson, and Margaret Cargo. 2003. "Healing traditions: Culture, community and mental health promotion with Canadian Aboriginal peoples." *Australian Psychiatry* 11: S15–S23. doi:10.1046/j.1038-5282.2003.02010.x

LaRocque, Emma. (2007). Metis and feminist: Ethical reflections on feminism, human rights and decolonization. In Joyce Green (Ed.), *Making space for indigenous feminism*. Winnipeg, MB: Fernwood Publishing.

Marks, Don. 2014 Oct 2. *What's in a Name: Indian, Native, Aboriginal or Indigenous?* Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/what-s-in-a-name-indian-native-aboriginal-or-indigenous-1.2784518

Matamonasa-Bennett, A. 2015. "A disease of the outside people": Native American men's perceptions of intimate partner violence." *Psychology of Women* 39 (1); 20–36. doi:10.1177/0361684314543783

McKegney, Sam. 2014. *Masculindians: Conversations about Indigenous Manhood*. Winnipeg, Manitoba. University of Manitoba Press.

Medved, Maria, Jens Brockmeier, Judy Morach, and Lori Chartier-Courchene. 2013. "Broken Heart Stories: Understanding Aboriginal Women's Cardiac Problems." *Qualitative Health Research* 23 (12): 1613–1625. doi:10.1177/1049732313509407

Medved, Maria and Jens Brockmeier. 2015. "On the Margins: Aboriginal Realities and 'White Man's Research." *Marked Identities: Narrating Lives Between Social Labels and Individual Biographies*, Ed. Roberta Piazza and Alessandra Fasulo, pp. 79–97. NY, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Medved, Maria and Stephanie Sinclair. (2010). "Vom Leben in zwei Welten [Life in two worlds] In Konnen Marginalisiete (Wieder) Sprechen? [*Can the Marginalized Speak?*],." ed. by Armen Dege, Martin Dege, Tom Grallert and Niklas Chimirri, pp. 113–134. Giessen, Germany: Psychosozial Verlag.

Muir, Nicole and Yvonne, Bohr. (2014). "Contemporary practice of traditional aboriginal child rearing: A review." *First Peoples Child and Family Review*, 9(1), 66–79.

Native Women's Association. 2010. *What Their Stories Tell Us: Research Findings from the Sisters in Spirit Initiative*. Ohsweken, ON: Native Women's Association. doi: http://www.nwac.ca/research/nwac-reports

Portman, Tarrell and Roger Herring. 2001. "Debunking the Pocahontas Paradox: The Need for a Humanistic Perspective." *The Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education and Development* 40 (2): 185–199. doi:10.1002/j.2164-490X.2001.tb00116.x

Qwul'sih'yah'maht, Robina. 2005. "Honouring the oral traditions through storytelling." In *Research as Resistance: Critical, Indigenous and Anti-oppressive Approaches*, ed. by Laura Brown, E. and Susan Strega, 237–254. Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Rice, Brian. 2005. *Seeing the World with Aboriginal Eyes*. Winnipeg, MB: Aboriginal Issues Press.

Ross, Rupert. 2006. *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Aboriginal Reality*. Toronto, Ontario: Penguin

Sanger, Joan. 2012. "Aboriginal Women and Work across the 49th Parallel: Historical Antecedents and New Challenges." In *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labour to Activism*, ed. by Carol Williams, 27–45. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Schwarz, Carolyn. 2006. "Christianity, Identity, Power, and Employment in an Aboriginal Settlement." *Ethnology* 45 (1): 71–86. doi:10.2307/4617565

Scoffield, Heather. 2012. How Women Became Leaders in Aboriginal Politics. *Globe and Mail*, July 22.

Shepard, Blythe, Linda O'Neill, and Francis Guenette. (2006). "Counselling with First Nations women: Considerations of oppression and renewal". *International Journal for the Advancement of Counselling*, 28 (3): 227–240. doi:10.1007/s10447-005-9008-8

Statistics Canada. 2013. *The Educational Attainment of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada*. Available at: http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/as-sa/99-012-x/99-012-x2011003_3-eng.cfm date accessed 7 March 2015.

Tsosie, Rebecca. 2010. "Native Women and Leadership: An Ethics of Culture and Relationship." *Indigenous Women and Feminism: Politics, Activism, Culture*. ed. by Cheryl Suzack, Shari M. Huhndorf, Jeanne Perreault, and Jean Barman, 29–42. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Taylor, Donald, Roxanne de la Sablonnière. 2015. *Towards Constructive Change in Aboriginal Communities: A Social Psychology Perspective*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

Turpel-Lafond, Mary Ellen. 1997. "Patriarchy and Paternalism: The Legacy of the Canadian State for First Nations Women." *Women and the Canadian State*. ed. by Caroline Andrew and Sandra Rodgers, 64–78. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Udel, Lisa. 2001. "Revision & Resistance: The Politics of Native Women's Motherwork". *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 22 (2): 43–62.

Waldram, James, Ann Herring, and T. Kue Young. 2006. *Aboriginal Health in Canada: Historical, cultural, and epidemiological perspectives* (2nd ed). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Williams, Carol. 2012. "Introduction." In *Indigenous Women and Work: From Labour to Activism*, ed. by Carol Williams, 1–26. Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Williams, Claire, Bill Thorpe, and Carolyn Chapman. 2003. *Aboriginal Workers and Managers: History, Emotional and Community Labour and Occupational Health and Safety in South Australia*. Henley Beach, South Australia: Seaview Press.

CHAPTER 17

Adapting self for private and public audiences

The enactment of leadership identity by New Zealand rugby coaches in huddles and interviews

Kieran A. File and Nick Wilson
University of Warwick / Macquarie University

Struggle is inherent in social interaction and meaning making. The argument proposed in this chapter is that rugby coaches face a struggle when moving between private-facing (intra-team) and public-facing aspects of their leadership role, due largely to the need to adapt to shifts in the interactional frameworks and goals of these different settings. Using a bottom up, comparative genre analysis of the linguistic behaviour of coaches in a private-facing coaching interaction (the half-time team huddle) and a public-facing interaction (the half-time media interview), we locate linguistic differences that potentially hint at this struggle. The findings of this analysis suggest that coaches need to discursively realise a shift between their role as motivator (in private-facing interactions) and their role as public representative of the team (in public-facing interactions) and associated tasks and goals that come with enacting their coaching role in these different settings. The need to present themselves differently in these two settings can be seen to complicate the role of the rugby coach.

Keywords: rugby coaches, sports discourse, leadership, private-facing interaction, public-facing interaction

Introduction

Leadership figures in sports teams, particularly coaches, can have a dual role to play in their professional lives. They must be effective leaders of a group of individuals, a role that can require an ability to mentor individuals (Chiles 2007), negotiate and defuse disagreement (Holmes and Marra 2004; Schnurr and Chan 2011), and motivate and engender solidarity amongst the players they lead (Gourley 2003). In addition to these duties that coaches perform within a team, they can also have a public-facing role in which they represent the team to the outside world, via televisual media (Carter 2007). Because of their public nature, the coach's identity, and

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.17fil
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

by association the team's identity, is on display in these interactions, and a coach's discursive action can contribute to the audience's interpretation of that identity.

Such a divide could theoretically create an identity struggle for coaches as they try to meet the demands of 'doing' leadership in the team (Alvesson and Sveningsson 2003) as well as constructing the team's media-facing identity (Carter 2007). However, the specific nature of the struggle inherent in the construction of public and private professional identities is largely unexplored. In this chapter we begin, albeit modestly, to address questions of identity struggle in private and public-facing sports leadership roles. We do this by comparing and contrasting the discursive contexts and practices of two leadership interactions that rugby coaches need to negotiate – half-time huddles (defined here as private-facing) and half-time interviews (defined here as public-facing). We argue that rugby coaches are likely to experience a struggle when enacting their professional identity, and that this struggle is largely influenced by the need to discursively perform aspects of a coaching role differently when addressing these different audiences.

Background: Leadership identity in sports

One of the conclusions apparent in much of the leadership research is that in order to style oneself as a professional in a particular occupation, one has to negotiate certain norms relevant to that profession. These profession-related norms also intersect with normative aspects of the interaction at hand. What this suggests is that effective leaders are those that are adept at adapting their leadership stance to the context of an interaction and the goals of talk (Holmes et al. 2003; Schnurr and Chan 2011).

Adaptability, it could be argued, is one of the key struggles any leader faces. For example, knowing whether to exercise authority, emphasise solidarity, speak confidently, engage in acts of criticism or mitigate the strength of criticism in a given context are all key decisions that have implications for how leaders are perceived. It is the relationship between such (strategic) decisions taken by leaders and the particular interactional contexts or settings in which leaders operate that is the broad level focus of this study. We explore this relationship in a sporting context.

Private and public identity performance in (professional) sport

For members of the sports leadership context examined in this study, adopting different linguistic styles to speak in intra-team interactions (hereafter referred to as private-facing) and in media interactions (hereafter referred to as public-facing) can be a necessity, particularly at the professional level of sport. While there has

been some research that has analysed the norms of these two interactional settings separately (explored further below), no research has as yet compared this public and private dichotomy of leadership and the implications these different settings have on the discursive behaviour of coaches.

Heath and Langman (1994) analyse the language used by coaches in interaction with players as a specific register, describing it as "primarily the oral accompaniment to activities of practice and demonstration that prepare members of a group who intend to work together through a series of culminating events" (Heath and Langman 1994: 85). They view the register of coaching as fundamentally interlinked with the action that takes place in training sessions and during games. In this regard, they categorise coaching discourse as either "philosophical setups" or "eventcasts and routines". Philosophical setups include discourse events such as team talks or summations in which the rules of behaviour or the motivation of the team is discussed. Eventcasts and routines, on the other hand, describe discourse in which a coach constructs a verbal run-through of action. This action may be in the past or future, such as when critiquing in-game events or specifying strategy, or may be enacted by the coach whilst talking in order to demonstrate a training drill. Beyond categorising these different styles of discourse, Heath and Langman (1994) also analyse four specific features of language as important in constructing the register of coaching. These are: telegraphic utterances (short phrases commonly used as directives), conditionals, balanced negatives and directives, tag questions, and pronoun usage.

Of these linguistic features, Wilson (2013) also found telegraphic utterances, balanced negatives and directives, and pronoun usage to be crucial in the construction of multiple leadership styles in rugby coaching. Regarding pronoun usage, Heath and Langman (1994) found that "we/us" was used either as an indirect way of saying you, or as an inclusive pronoun with the hearer. However, the research on the register of coaching relates to just the private dimension of sports leadership. This chapter aims to reconcile this with the public-facing aspect of sports leadership.

The public-facing identity of those involved in sport has also been explored in previous research (Altheide 1984; File 2012; File 2015; Sznycer 2010). File (2015) looked at how professional team sports players construct themselves in post-match media interviews, a regular and recurring public interaction for professional sports players, from two different team sports (rugby and football) and two different regions (Oceania and Europe). From a bottom up analysis of post-match interviews, File found that the team sports athletes would often construct themselves as "team players", as gracious winners and losers, as respectful of referees and their decisions, and as emotionally balanced individuals. File argues that these stances can be seen to index a 'media self', a version of self that helps players negotiate the

potential pitfalls of public (media) communication encounters (see File 2015 for further discussion).

Additional data collected from ethnographic interviews with current and recently retired professional athletes revealed that players were aware of a distinction between private and public versions of their sporting selves, and that their public media self was strategically constructed in line with socially held beliefs/values of how professional team sports players should act (i.e. as gracious, good sports, modest). However, these actions also allowed them to manage inwardly directed team relationships with other members of the team and coaching staff. By indexing these stances, players can ensure their performances are socially unmarked, and do not damage their position in the team through punishments in the form of fines and suspensions from speaking out about referees, or accusations by teammates and coaching staff of individualism. While File's (2015) research was conducted on team sports players, the same concerns and struggles are theoretically an issue for coaches who also need to ritually speak to the media.

The current study: struggling with interactional settings

What the above studies allude to is that construction of a coaching identity is potentially not straightforward. Rather, the private and public presentations of self can take place in a complex social context, whereby genre norms, institutional goals, and the different audiences that are addressed can require orientation to different strategies when presenting self in these different interactions. In private-facing interactions, coaches are primarily charged with motivating the team and addressing issues in preparation for the second half, whereas in public-facing interactions coaches aim to construct a positive public perception and aim to ensure no damage is done to team relationships. This, we would argue, is likely to cause an identity struggle for coaches in the construction of their professional identities.

However, as mentioned above, no study to date has taken this potential struggle in a sporting context as the focus of analytical attention and discussion. In line with the goals of this volume, we attempt to explore more closely the nature of a struggle in identity performance, one prompted by a shift in the settings a leader needs to operate in. We do this by conducting a comparative, bottom up analysis of two common leadership interactions (or genres) that rugby coaches need to negotiate – half-time huddles (private-facing) and half-time interviews (public-facing).

As in the previous studies into (professional) sports discourse, we focus on linguistic features and the stances they help coaches to construct in these different settings. By comparing the linguistic features of coaches' talk in these private and public settings, we are able to examine how the leaders themselves make

sense of this shift, what they appear to orient to, and how they use language to perform functions aligned with the private and public-facing aspects of their coaching identity. Such an analysis, in turn, provides the grounds for a deeper understanding of, and more thorough claims regarding the theoretical nature of a private-public identity struggle.

Data and methodology

Our claims are drawn from two separate data sets; one consisting of authentic match day interactions from rugby coaches in New Zealand in half-time talks to the team (private interactions) across five matches, the other consisting of televised half-time interviews given to the media (public interactions) by provincial level New Zealand rugby coaches across ten matches.[1]

In the half-time huddle data set, there are two coaches involved. Many of the players also speak, some only contribute a small number of utterances, but others, such as the team captain are more vocal in their participation. The two coaches are referred to as Tommo and Parky (pseudonyms) and form a complex, but not unusual, co-leadership unit. For the half-time media interview data set, interviews with a number of different rugby coaches were collected for analysis, with availability determined by the games and interviews that were televised.

One important point that needs to be made with reference to these two data sets is their suitability for comparison. On the one hand there were considerable thematic similarities evident in both half-time huddle talk and half-time interview talk. Initial analyses of the data found that the half-time huddle fulfils three key functions: (1) it acts as a forum for analysing what has gone on in the first half; (2) it gives the coaches a space in which to communicate their strategy for the second half to the players and check that this is understood; and (3) it aims to either lift team morale if the team are losing, or minimise complacency if the team are winning. Analysis of the half-time interviews found that they aimed to elicit similar content including the coach's impressions of the first half, their strategy/approach for the second half, and any insight into the mood and morale of the coach or team. It could be argued that these topical or thematic similarities make half-time huddles and half-time interviews a useful site for comparison, allowing for an analysis of different ways coaches discursively negotiate similar topics in the private and public-facing settings.

1. The different number of speech events analysed here is partly due to limitations in the availability of half-time huddle data. However, with the half-time huddles being longer, both sets of data are roughly equal.

One limitation of this data set, however, is that it does not follow the same coaches across huddles and interviews. This limits the type of comparative analysis and claims we can make, particularly in terms of individual style. However, it does allow us to investigate the differing norms, requirements and expectations imposed upon coaches by the need to interact with different audiences and in different genres in their role as leader. This, we argue, can still provide interesting insights into the nature of the struggle inherent in operating across these linked but distinct leadership activities, and set an agenda for future research.

As mentioned above, the primary analytical goal of this study was a bottom up analysis of the similar and different linguistic acts and stances (discursive practices) rugby coaches appeared to orient to or were invited to orient to in half-time huddles and half-time interviews. We focus particularly on (1) the range and nature of linguistic tasks required of coaches in the private and public settings, and (2) the ways linguistic tasks common in both settings (namely assessing and criticising) were linguistically realised. We pay particular attention to the choice and form of speech acts used by the coaches, the degree of formality and (in)directness of their utterances, as well as their choice of pronouns and tone of voice.

While we would expect to find differences in two genres, conducting a comparative analysis can help us to understand the nature of observed differences and explore the potential goals or contextual motivations that these differences index in the two settings. From that we are able to identify specific aspects of the role coaches need to adapt to as they move between leadership activities in their different interactional settings. The findings from our analysis are summarised and presented below.

Findings

While there were some similarities in relation to the way that coaches constructed themselves in huddles and interviews, we concentrate here on three differences observed in the data, as a focus on differences is more in line with the goals of this chapter and volume more generally. It will be argued below that these patterns illustrate the different tasks and goals coaches orient to when moving from private to public-facing settings.

Differences in leadership tasks

The most obvious difference concerned the nature of the coaching activity at hand. While the data revealed that both activities (huddles and interviews) required coaches to reflect on the first half, there were differences in how reflection

manifested itself in the discursive tasks and actions of the coaches. Coaches, when speaking in private-facing huddles, reflect on the first half for the purposes of *motivating* their audience (the team) and pointing out issues the team needs to address in the second half. However, when speaking in public-facing exchanges, their primary role was to *provide expert reflection* on the match for an audience of fans. Extract 1 and 2 below highlight several linguistic differences related to the way these reflection activities were carried out by coaches.

Extract 1. Huddle (private-facing interaction)[2]

```
Tommo
1.   every third player entering the ruck is just flopping in from
2.   the side
3.   come on let's go boys +
4.   we've got this eh
5.   we've got this up front
6.   we've just got to keep our intensity + keep that focus
7.   that single mindedness
8.   we can't afford anything that's just the fifty fifties
9.   and er some of it's us when we're getting our hands on it we're
10.  doing a carry +
11.  you try to just fight like anything
12.  stay up +
13.  cos mate we've got them if we stay up off the ground +
14.  it's the only place they're beating us cos they're sending more
15.  numbers straight and they're flopping in +
16.  and let's keep it up +
17.  let's get the drives going cos if we've got them at scrum time
18.  we'll outdrive them +
19.  we'll outdrive them at lineouts and we'll out- we'll out- we'll
20.  punish them at scrum time +
21.  but we just got to keep going eh + stay hungry +
22.  if you start flagging stick a hand up eh +
23.  but there should no one here
24.  no one here's fucked eh?
25.  everyone wants more
26.  boys enjoy this
```

Extract 2. Interview (public-facing interaction)

```
Interviewer (Ian Smith)
1.   well mark plenty of points
2.   are you happy with that first forty

     Mark Hammett
3.   oh look happy with parts of it
4.   we we've ah we've got to sort our wide defence out
5.   obviously we we know the cheetahs are are superb at that
6.   and and I think we're just getting caught a wee bit looking at
7.   that at middle field
8.   so um that's what we talked about at half-time
```

2. '+' denotes a short pause of 0.5 to 1 second.

In Extract 1, an example from the private-facing data, the reflection on what has been taking place in the first half (lines 1, 2, 9, 14 & 15) is combined with directives from the coach, Tommo, that focus on how to improve the team's performance in the second half. These directives take the same form as that specified by Heath and Langman (1994) in that they use a conditional form (lines 13, 17 & 22). The huddle talk data also highlight and illustrate a greater degree of emotional intensity and disposition of coaches in these different speech settings, with swearing being a key indicator of this. Features not captured by the transcript also support this interpretation, with tone and volume of talk exhibiting differences.

In contrast, the media interview has no effect on the action itself. Its purpose is to include the television audience in the event, in effect, giving them perceived access to the backstage. In Extract 2, the coach provides a reflection on what has happened in the first half of the game during which he is interviewed, but his suggestions of what needs to be done in the second half are not formulated as directives since they are not addressed to the team. However, it is strongly suggested by his comment at line 8, that these were the instructions issued to the team. The presence of a larger broadcast audience also appears to motivate more formal linguistic choices when performing reflective coaching duties in public, where speakers shape speech towards a more standard variety.

These differences, it could be argued, index differences in the primary roles and goals coaches are asked to perform and achieve in these two genres. It could be argued that they represent a change between the coach's identity as a motivator and as a public representative of the team. The conclusion that media interviews demand more formality and consideration of one's talk is a point of relevance here, one that is likely to restrict and impact on how coaches perform as leaders in this setting. A more formal presentation of self in the public-facing interactional event also aligns with values often associated with media as a formal speech environment. This shifting from a huddle frame into an interview frame needs to be managed and it has caught professional players and coaches out in the past, with swearing in interviews being the most problematic linguistic feature indexing the distinction (Hinton 2010). However, in huddle talk, informal language such as swearing may help with constructing solidarity, a leadership discourse strategy noted in professional contexts in New Zealand (Holmes, Marra, and Vine 2011), particularly in workplace meetings, and one identified as central to the coach's role in half-time huddles.

Realisation of coaching speech acts: assessments of confidence and performance

There were also differences in the way speech acts present in both data sets were realised. In both half-time huddles and half-time interviews coaches assessed performance, yet these assessments varied in strength in the two settings. One case in which this was particularly evident across the two data sets related to stances of belief and confidence. Returning to Extract 1, we see quite bald assessments of belief and confidence offered by the coach in lines 4, 5, 13 and in lines 17 to 20. Strong assessments like "we've got this" and "we've got them" are repeated throughout the coach's half-time huddle address. In some cases, a conditional (dependent) clause accompanies these assessments, perhaps functioning to slightly mitigate the strength of the coach's assessment. However, the lack of mitigation by coaches in the independent clause, the primary message of these clause complexes, differs in relation to the public-facing data (presented immediately below).

These bald assessments of confidence in the team can be seen as realisations of the coach's huddle role as motivator of the team, charged with spurring on the team and increasing levels of belief and performance ahead of the second half. However, in the public-facing data, coaches would often attempt to avoid constructing and associating stances of confidence to his team altogether, as Extract 3 and 4 illustrate.

Extract 3. Interview (public-facing interaction)

```
Interviewer (Ian Smith)
1.   what what about the mood in the room
2.   confident there

     Chris Boyd
3.   oh I don't know if you're confident
4.   but I mean the boys have tried really hard
5.   and they're ah I think they're happy with what they've delivered
6.   in the next- in the first forty minutes
7.   and so- they hope they'll be able to do it again
```

Extract 4. Interview (public-facing interaction)

```
Interviewer (Ian Smith)
1.   last try gave ah a bit of confidence though

     Craig Philpott
2.   yeah you know it's always going to be a ding dong battle this one
3.   we've just got to make sure we're not beating ourselves up
```

Coaches were often required to provide insights in half-time media interviews regarding the morale and emotions of the team and coach, with feelings of 'confidence' often probed. These were often resisted by coaches as can be seen in Extract 3. In his response, the coach, despite his team having the lead at half-time,

does not align with the interviewer's presupposition about his team feeling confident. In line 3, he disagrees and attributes his stance more generally (through use of the generic pronoun 'you') to coaches in his profession. He then further departs from the topic and task set by the elicitation, shifting the focus onto his team's efforts in the first half. In line 6 he also works to avoid stances of confidence by using 'hope' (line 6) when discussing his expectations for the second half, a stance marker that is much weaker than the one of confidence posited by the interviewer. In Extract 4, the coach ignores the task and topic of the elicitation altogether and instead delivers an evaluation of the match and an expression of what his team needs to do in the second half. Such actions suggest a reluctance to take up opportunities provided by interviewers to publically construct stances of confidence in these half-time interviews.

Confidence has been identified elsewhere as an important feature of successful sports teams (Vealey and Brewer 2009). In private interactions, expressions of confidence are discursively constructed by coaches for motivational purposes (Goodger 1986). Yet, for coaches, publically expressing such a stance in half-time interviews appears to be more problematic. In our data, coaches worked to avoid such interpretations by modifying presuppositions of confidence by interviewers or by avoiding the opportunity provided by interviewers to speak about their confidence levels. These actions could be seen as an attempt by coaches to strategically construct a modest rather than confident self which may be more positively valued by the New Zealand audience who are the addressees of the media-facing data collected and analysed here (Holmes, Marra, and Vine 2012). This, it could be argued, indicates an orientation to positive public perception considerations by coaches in these half-time media interviews.

Realisation of coaching speech acts: criticising acts

The bottom up comparative analysis of speech activity in these two settings also highlighted slight differences in the way coaches performed acts of criticism. In the half-time media interview data the use of hedging devices to mitigate the strength of critical assessments and statements was prevalent. Acts that could be interpreted as critical of the team were often heavily modified in strength. Consider the devices in bold in lines 5 and 6 in Extract 5 below.

Extract 5. Interview (public-facing interaction)

```
Interviewer (Ian Smith)
1.   well boydy you've ah got a lead to protect
2.   so ah what did you like about what you saw there
```

```
     Chris Boyd
3.   well it might be a lead but it's not enough to win
4.   so ah I I think we've played some good footy
5.   we've been a bit slow on our line speed particularly off the edges
6.   but ah I think if we can bring some line speed and a bit more
7.   physicality to our defence and hang onto the ball for longer
8.   periods of time ah we might be a bit happier
```

Hedges like "a bit" help modify the strength of the critical comment and were common in the data set. In line 6 in particular, the coach uses a conditional phrase to veil any potential criticism of the team, constructing his comments more as a target for the second half performance. More examples of these hedging devices from other interviews in the data have been presented below.

- there was a couple of times in that first half got turnovers and then it didn't happen for us and we stayed in (our) half a little bit too long
- and and I think we're just getting caught a wee bit looking at that at middle field
- and we're probably when we're hard on defence we're allowing too much gain ah go forward for them
- we were a bit inaccurate

While criticism-mitigating devices are not entirely absent from the private-facing discourse of coaches, perhaps highlighting their function as a resource for maintaining team unity and confidence levels, the data suggested they were more of an important consideration for coaches when addressing the media in their public-facing role. Extract 6, for example, illustrates how remarks that can be read as critical of the team's performance in the second half are not as heavily mitigated as those in the public facing half-time interviews presented above.

Extract 6. Huddle (private-facing interaction) – huddle 3: 02/05/09

```
Parky
1.   hey stu +
2.   you're going to hold back alright +
3.   and pick up the last men on defence
4.   let's push our open side winger up
5.   into the defensive line okay?
6.   we're too narrow
7.   they're getting on our outside
8.   and we're ending up having to chase
9.   and do easy side on tackles
10.  but they're getting over
11.  the advantage line with it + okay?
```

In Extract 6, from line 6, Parky's assessments critiquing the performance of the team, in line 6 and 8 for example, are stronger and less hedged when compared to findings from the half-time interview criticising acts made by coaches. However,

they are mitigated somewhat by Parky's inclusion of himself in the target of the criticism, by using "we" to stand for the team. In cases where there was overt criticism of an individual player or group, despite being rare, this appears to be more likely in a private-facing interaction. Extract 7 provides an example where a coach provides a more critical account of a sub group in the team.

Extract 7. Huddle (private-facing interaction) – huddle 1: 18/04/09

```
Parky:
1.   alright +
2.   he went up and he the whole- everyone
3.   even the inside backs that were near him
4.   just stood and watched him go up on his own
5.   no one went to him +
6.   that's what I'm talking about
7.   in terms of your work rate off the ball + okay?
```

Extract 7 can be analysed as an instance of exclusive discourse: where the speaker does not include himself in the action being described but positions himself as separate. This is apparent not just from the coach's use of third person pronouns to describe what happened, but of first person singular and second person plural to emphasise an us/them boundary (Duszak 2002; Heath and Langman 1994; Scheibman 2004; Wieczorek 2009). However, in describing a situation in detail, Parky has to use the third person in order to maintain clarity of reference, and his use of "I" (line 6) can be seen as referring to his own discourse. Thus the exclusivity of this criticism stems mainly from the use of "your work rate" (line 7), in which Parky could have used "our work rate". This contrasts sharply with the team norm, shown in Extract 6, in which coaches tend to use "we" to stand for third person in directives and criticism, thus emphasizing solidarity and minimising the face threat to the players (Holmes 1984; Vine 2009). By making explicit that the criticism is coming from him (line 6) and that it is directed at the players present (lines 2–5), Parky is very direct in this unmitigated criticism and it is an example of some of the strongest criticism in the dataset. Interestingly, Parky chose not to swear, while swearing is used elsewhere in the dataset to boost the illocutionary force of both compliments and criticism. The important point in this extract is that Parky's criticism of the players was accepted without challenge by the players, demonstrating that the coach's status in the context of half-time huddles allows a level of directness not normally expected.

There are a number of potential explanations for indexing a less critical stance in public-facing talk. It may help coaches construct themselves as being calm under pressure, a strategic goal used by coaches in other coaching situations (Becker 2009). It may also help them protect the face of their players in the public eye and help prevent overtly critical comments getting back to players through replayed

interviews and print media articles. When replayed or printed, the force of critical comments in media interviews may be heightened and have the potential to damage the relationship between the players and the coach (File 2015).

Discussion

In this study we have compared the discursive settings and behaviour of coaches in private, intra-team settings and public, media-facing settings in an attempt to identify areas of potential tension in the construction of a coaching identity in these two settings. Employing a bottom up analysis of the ways in which coaches use language to take stances in these two settings, we have identified several differences. We have also postulated reasons for the orientation to these different stances through attention to the relationship between language use, identity and important contextual dimensions including institutional goals and functions in relation to the different audiences that are addressed. These differences highlight the apparent need for coaches to be able to construct themselves differently in different match day situations, and, in some cases, in interactions that can take place within minutes of each other.

To summarise these findings, when shifting from private to public-facing interactions, the data presented above show the need for coaches to orient to a more formal presentation of self when conducting their first half reflection duties. For example, coaches are required to avoid swearing and orient to norms set for a heterogeneous television audience when they move into their more public facing media interview role. Avoiding these words may also simultaneously help to construct the coach as calm and in control for the benefit of the viewing public. However, in the private-facing interactions, swearing is routinely used for emphasis and to engender solidarity, so a coach may move from a frame in which swearing is prescribed, to one in which it is proscribed.

Other differences relate to the way coaches realise similar speech acts such as assessments and criticising acts. Strong assessments and expressions of confidence that coaches appeared to use in private-facing huddles as a means to boost morale and motivate were starkly different to the behaviour of coaches when discussing confidence levels and assertions in public-facing interactions. In the half-time media interviews it appeared that greater concern was taken to avoid any potential interpretation of the team as (over)confident, perhaps in an attempt to avoid any associations with arrogance. While asserting confidence in huddles appears to perform an important function for the coach as motivator, the potential associations of confident stances with more negative meanings of arrogance possibly make them a threat for a coach aiming to achieve more positive public image goals.

This feature also extends to acts of criticism. While coaches are legitimised to enact powerful stances, they tended to avoid this in both private and public-facing interactions. There was more evidence of stronger critical assessments in private-facing huddle discourse; however, again, in public-facing interactions, coaches mitigated critical comments in much stronger ways or avoided the agenda of the question altogether. In both private and public-facing interactions, the mitigation of critical comments may be more connected to goals of maintaining team harmony (File 2015). However, the stronger attempt by coaches to mitigate criticism in public-facing contexts potentially helps the coach perform their public-facing image goals by constructing the team as a unified group.

Getting it right: adapting speech across the private/public divide

What this bottom up analysis of rugby coach discourse in half-time huddles and half-time media interviews reveals is that coaches cannot present a singular version of their professional coaching selves. Rather, they need to negotiate different genre tasks, and realise important speech actions, for example assessments (of confidence) and criticism, in different ways. These features complicate the role of the rugby coach, and hint at a struggle if a coach is to master the full complement of duties that their coaching role entails and present appropriate versions of their professional selves in line with the context at hand.

From this, it could be claimed that identity struggle can potentially manifest itself in contexts and situations where speakers need to adapt and negotiate versions of self for different audience groups. In private, a coach must be able to evaluate performance and issue corrective instructions within a short time in a context with which they are not only familiar, but in which they have high status. In public, the audience is unknown, but their values can be speculatively identified and oriented to in interactions. The need to index these different perceptual criteria through the taking of appropriate action in relation to identity construction does make the coaching role a complex one. Not only do coaches need to manage a team by directing, criticising and praising, they also need to manage the team's profile in public.

In the case of rugby coaches, identity struggle appears to be in part created by the need for a speaker to adapt speech for a shift from operating within their *community of practice* to speaking about their community of practice to a *community of followers*. The struggle might best be construed as pressure to 'get it right' in terms of audience design. Such pressures and associations make the job of a coach increasingly difficult and can present challenges for individuals as they attempt to construct their identities in this professional context. The occasional example

of coaches and players swearing on television, or being overly critical of their team's performance, may be illustrative of a player or coach not correctly switching frames, and still attending to team rather than media norms. Thus the ability to successfully construct acceptable/effective private and public-facing coaching identities can be seen as an aspect of communicative competence for coaches.

Conclusion and implications for leadership research and future research

Struggle is inherent in social interaction and meaning making. Investigating the source and nature of this struggle is a way discourse analysts can contribute to our understanding of social issues, including questions related to the appropriate presentation of self. In this chapter we set out to examine struggle in a specific leadership context (rugby coaches) through a bottom up analysis of the way they approach linked leadership tasks (reflecting on the actions of their team) in two different interactional settings (private-facing huddles and public-facing media interviews). We have claimed that the need to shift between addressing a community of practice and addressing a community of followers can be a source of struggle for these (rugby) coaches, as they negotiate the genre tasks and institutional goals associated with these different settings.

Theoretically, this study has provided further empirical evidence to show that identities are indeed multiple and that individuals regularly mobilise and strategically draw on different identities, thereby constructing themselves very differently in order to meet the demands of different interactional settings or genres. Interlocutors may portray themselves as different kinds of leaders – sometimes within minutes of each other – and both identities form part of their wider leadership role. What proved particularly salient for speakers in this study was the need to negotiate the complex contextual configuration of audience frameworks, genre tasks and the foregrounding of particular institutional goals relevant to each of the settings. Whether this particular contextual configuration will prove pertinent to participants negotiating different aspects of their identity in other professional contexts is a question future research in different leadership settings could explore.

Methodologically, this study has also illustrated the value of a bottom up comparative analysis as a tool for investigating potential identity struggles in professional discourse contexts, particularly in cases where speakers operate across different but linked professional genres. Such a methodological approach can highlight fine-grained differences in the interactional stances and acts that are linguistically realised, and explore these in relation to the tasks and goals evident in different interactional contexts. In the study examined here, assessments of

confidence and criticism were features of the discourse in both of the settings under examination. However, coaches approached these acts in subtly different ways, taking more or less of a stronger stance.

Finally, this study has contributed to our understanding of how New Zealand rugby coaches negotiate and make sense of the need to shift between the different interactional settings associated with their professional role. More research could be conducted in rugby contexts to address the limitations of this study, or in other sports coaching contexts to help develop a richer picture of the private to public-facing shift for coaches or other leadership figures in sport. What would be particularly revealing would be to compare rookie coaches with more experienced coaches to investigate the acquisition of the communicative competence necessary to successfully construct both private and public identities. Ethnographic narrative data from interviews with coaches could also be collected to gain insider perspectives, test and refine the findings presented here and identify further areas where struggle may present itself when managing the private to public shift.

References

Altheide, David. 1984. 'The Media Self'. In *The Existential Self in Society*, edited by Joseph Kotarba and Andrea Fontana, 177–95. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Alvesson, Mats, and Stefan Sveningsson. 2003. 'The Great Disappearing Act: Difficulties in Doing "Leadership"'. *The Leadership Quarterly* 14 (3): 359–81. doi:16/S1048–9843(03)00031–6.

Becker, Andrea J. 2009. 'It's Not What They Do, It's How They Do It: Athlete Experiences of Great Coaching'. *International Journal of Sports Science and Coaching* 4 (1): 93–119. doi: 10.1260/1747-9541.4.1.93

Carter, Neil. 2007. '"Managing the Media": The Changing Relationship between Football Managers and the Media'. *Sport in History* 27 (2): 217–40. doi: 10.1080/17460260701437045.

Chiles, Tina. 2007. 'The Construction of an Identity as "Mentor" in White Collar and Academic Workplaces: A Preliminary Analysis'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39 (4): 730–41. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2006.11.015

Duszak, Anna, ed. 2002. *Us and Others: Social Identities across Languages, Discourses, and Cultures*. Pragmatics & beyond. Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.98

File, K. A. 2012. 'Post-Match Interviews in New Zealand Rugby: A Conciliatory Media Interview Genre'. *New Zealand English Journal* 26 (1): 1–22.

File, K. A. 2015. 'The Strategic Enactment of a Media Identity by Professional Team Sports Players'. *Discourse & Communication* 9 (4). doi: 10.1177/1750481315576837

Goodger, John. 1986. 'Ritual Solidarity and Sport'. *Acta Sociologica* 29 (3): 219–24. doi: 10.1177/000169938602900302.

Gourley, Michael. 2003. *The Psychological Edge in Rugby: Leadership and Motivation in Coaching Team Sports*. Auckland, New Zealand: Human Synergistics.

Heath, Shirley Brice, and Juliet Langman. 1994. 'Shared Thinking and the Register of Coaching'. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register*, edited by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan, 82–105. New York: Oxford University Press US.

Hinton, Marc. 2010. 'NZRU Reprimands Ma'a Nonu for Swearing'. *Stuff.co.nz*, May 6, sec. Sport. http://www.stuff.co.nz/sport/rugby/super-rugby/3665870/NZRU-reprimands-Ma-a-Nonu-for-swearing.

Holmes, Janet. 1984. 'Modifying Illocutionary Force'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 8 (3): 345–65. doi:10.1016/0378-2166(84)90028-6

Holmes, Janet, and Meredith Marra. 2004. 'Leadership and Managing Conflict in Meetings'. *Pragmatics* 14 (4): 439–62. doi:10.1075/prag.14.4.02hol

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse, and Ethnicity*. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2012. 'Politeness and Impoliteness in Ethnic Varieties of New Zealand English'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 44 (9): 1063–76. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2011.11.006.

Holmes, Janet, Stephanie Schnurr, Angela Chan, and Tina Chiles. 2003. 'The Discourse of Leadership'. *Te Reo* 46: 31–46.

Scheibman, Joanne. 2004. 'Inclusive and Exclusive Patterning of the English First Person Plural: Evidence from Conversation'. *Language, Culture and Mind*, 377–96.

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Angela Chan. 2011. 'Exploring Another Side of Co-Leadership: Negotiating Professional Identities through Face-Work in Disagreements'. *Language in Society* 40 (02): 187–209. doi:10.1017/S0047404511000030.

Sznycer, Karolina. 2010. 'Strategies of Powerful Self-Presentations in the Discourse of Female Tennis Players'. *Discourse & Society* 21 (4): 458–79. doi:10.1177/0957926510366098.

Vealey, Robin, and Britton Brewer. 2009. 'Confidence in Sport'. In *Handbook of Sports Medicine and Science, Sport Psychology*, edited by Britton Brewer, 43–52. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.

Vine, Bernadette. 2009. 'Directives at Work: Exploring the Contextual Complexity of Workplace Directives'. *Journal of Pragmatics* 41 (7): 1395–1405. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2009.03.001

Wieczorek, Anna Ewa. 2009. 'This Is to Say You're Either in or out: Some Remarks on Clusivity'. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Disciplines* 3 (2): 118–29.

Wilson, Nick. 2013. 'Interaction without Walls: Analysing Leadership Discourse through Dramaturgy and Participation'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 17 (2): 180–99. doi:10.1111/josl.12024.

CHAPTER 18

"I speak French=eh"

Multilingualism and professional identity struggles in Luxembourg

Anne Franziskus
National Institute of statistics and economic studies of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (STATEC), Division of social statistics

This chapter discusses the relationship between multilingual practices and the construction and challenging of professional identities at work. Whereas research into workplace discourses has intensely studied the ways in which staff members construct, negotiate and challenge each other's professional and other identities at work, less work has so far been conducted on the specific impact of a multilingual workplace on these processes. This seems surprising, given that multilingual workplaces are the norm rather than the exception in today's globalised world, and given that multilingualism in the workplace is a prominent area of research in workplace discourse. Moreover, the relationship between multilingualism and identity has been identified as one of the major issues in other areas of sociolinguistics. Using selected interactions from a supermarket and an IT company situated in Luxembourg, this chapter seeks to address this research desideratum by analysing (a) how staff members use their multilingual resources in their attempts to construct a coherent professional identity, (b) draw on their multilingual repertoires to challenge established power relations in the workplace, and (c) challenge others' legitimate professional identities for using the 'wrong' language.

Keywords: multilingualism, workplace discourse, identity, challenge, Luxembourg

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how the presence of a linguistically heterogeneous workforce influences and impedes the ongoing professional identity construction of individuals. More particularly, I seek to address (a) how staff members use their multilingual resources in their attempts to construct

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.18fra
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

a coherent professional identity, (b) draw on their multilingual repertoires to challenge established power relations in the workplace and (c) challenge others' legitimate professional identity for using the 'wrong' language. This chapter therefore focuses on how professionals sometimes struggle to combine expectations in a multilingual environment. Individuals constantly orient to both norms and expectations of the immediate working environment, but also to those associated with the wider socio-cultural context (Schnurr & Van De Mieroop this volume; Holmes et al. 2011). In multilingual contexts, individuals are faced with the need to navigate between expectations linked to their professional identity, languages they are expected to speak in their particular workplace community and those languages present at the societal level. Struggles can occur when personal language resources, identity, workplace language norms and wider sociolinguistic norms do not go hand in hand.

By looking at the ways in which multilingualism may present challenges to the ongoing construction of identities at work, I hope to contribute to a widening of research in this area. Existing literature has extensively focused on topics such as the interaction between professional identities and gender, ethnicity and leadership (Holmes, Schnurr, and Marra 2007; Schnurr 2008; Vine et al. 2008; Holmes 2006). The impact of a multilingual context or the expectation of speaking several languages on the construction and challenging of professional identities is indeed a topic that has so far gained relatively little attention in workplace discourse. This seems surprising for several reasons. First, multilingual workplaces are the norm rather than the exception in today's globalised world (Roberts 2007). Second, much of the research on professional identity construction focuses on multinational companies (Schnurr and Zayts 2012; Angouri and Glynos 2009; Angouri 2011; Rogerson-Revell 2011), where staff are likely to interact in a language that is not their own, or where a third language is used as a lingua franca. Third, multilingualism at work has grown to be a vast area of research. But the focus of these studies is often on the interactional practices adopted by participants to 'deal with' the need to speak more than one language or a language. A recurrent finding of these studies is indeed that co-workers do not just rely on a lingua franca (English), but adopt a range of dynamic multilingual practices for the various relational and transactional tasks. Poncini (2003) for example explores the role of languages other than English at an Italian company's meeting and shows that the international participants switch between different languages for several immediate practical purposes, including ensuring a smooth flow of the moderation process or building common ground. Similarly, Mondada (2004) analyses video conference meetings between European surgeons and shows that the French, Belgian and Swiss participants use different linguistic resources for achieving understanding, allocating speakers' turns, repairing, sustaining or managing transitions. To cite a

final example, Franziskus and Gilles (2012) demonstrate that French and German colleagues working in a Luxembourg-based supermarket draw on what little resources they have in common (in German, French and Luxembourgish) in their daily transactional activities.

However, none of these and other studies make an explicit link between multilingualism and professional identity construction. It is nevertheless a *fait acquis* that multilingual individuals have access to a broader range of linguistic and semiotic resources for constructing their various identities. Therefore, they are also often faced with the need to position themselves in relation to multiple social identity categories (Bailey 2007). Code-switching and multilingual practices more generally are powerful tools for the construction of social identities (De Fina 2007; Auer 2005), as many studies on identity construction among multilingual children, teenagers and people with migrant backgrounds have shown. Using interactional data recorded by four Turkish-descendant young adults in Denmark, Møller (2008) for example shows that instances of Danish, Turkish and English are used to construct both situational identities (the storyteller, encompassing different personalities or voices in a narrative) and to invoke more permanent (ethnic) identities. Multilingualism is also a tool to show allegiance with or resistance to imposed identities (Bailey (2000). In a Belgian study, Jaspers (2011) illustrates that Moroccan-Flemish teenagers fake linguistic incompetence in Dutch to challenge the identities projected on them, e.g. being non-speakers of the Flemish language. The use of different languages or 'features' of languages (Jørgensen 2008) is thereby always a crucial element in the construction of or resistance to identities.

Because the important link between multilingual practices and the construction and challenging of identities is so clearly evidenced in other areas of sociolinguistics, I assume that it is also a pertinent issue in the workplace context. My subsequent analysis is based on selected interactions stemming from two workplace contexts in the multilingual country of Luxembourg.

I draw on the theoretical framework of the Community of Practice (CofP) (Wenger 1998) to explain and contrast the participants' language practices. A CofP is defined as a group of people who come together for a joint enterprise in mutual engagement. Over time, the CofP develops its distinct norms for doing things and a shared repertoire (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). This concept offers a useful frame for analysing workplace talk because it focuses on the relationship between local practices and global norms and contexts (Angouri 2011). Other authors from this volume also draw on this concept to explore the panoply of identity struggles people may experience at work. Chan (this volume) for example investigates how an inexperienced manager struggles to construct himself as a competent meeting chair while being criticised by the CEO of his company.

The sociolinguistic situation of Luxembourg

The officially trilingual and economically prosperous Grand Duchy of Luxembourg offers fertile ground for investigating the complex relationships between multilingual workplace settings and the sometimes conflictual construction of professional identities. Due to very favourable economic development, Luxembourg has experienced high immigration, both in terms of residents and cross-border workers. It has the highest migration rates in the OECD, with the non-national population reaching 45% in 2013 (STATEC 2014). The majority are European residents, employed either as low-skilled blue collar workers or as white collar employees in the banking sector and international institutions. The term 'cross-border workers' refers to a growing group of people (over 150,000) who live in neighbouring countries (France, Belgium and Germany), but commute daily for work in Luxembourg. The largest number are from France (50%), followed by equal numbers from Belgium and Germany. Today, they represent 43% of the Luxembourg workforce (STATEC 2014). Taken together with the non-national residents, 'foreign' workers make up 2/3 of the workforce. Luxembourg's workplaces are therefore highly diverse contexts, where people with different national, linguistic and cultural backgrounds interact. Adding to this complexity is the fact that Luxembourg is traditionally a trilingual country. The Language Law of 1984 states that Luxembourgish is the national language, French, German and Luxembourgish are languages of administration and French is the language of the law.[1] All three languages, in addition to English, are taught in the national school system. Most importantly, all three are used in everyday life throughout the country, although their actual use depends on people's national and linguistic background. Multilingualism, be it at home, in public or at work, is everyday business for everyone living and working in Luxembourg (see Horner & Weber (2008) for a comprehensive overview of the Luxembourgish language situation). The established trilingual situation has recently undergone important changes however, which are mainly attributable to the above-mentioned demographic developments. The rise of French as a lingua franca and the increased identity value attached to Luxembourgish stand out in this regard (Horner and Weber 2008; Fehlen 2009; Horner 2005). These changes have also resulted in growing resentment at those migrants who allegedly do not make enough of an effort to learn Luxembourgish (CEFIS 2011; Baltes-Löhr et al. 2011).

Research into Luxembourg's workplaces began only relatively recently and includes a study on language policies and practices in international banks (Kingsley

1. http://www.legilux.public.lu/leg/a/archives/1984/0016/a016.pdf; [accessed 18.08.2014]

2010), an investigation of code-switching practices in a newspaper office (Anen 2006), and two complementary studies on the language ideologies, language norms and practices of cross-border workers in a range of workplaces (Franziskus and de Bres 2012; de Bres 2014; Franziskus 2013; de Bres and Franziskus 2011). Overall, this work confirms that multilingualism is an everyday reality for many companies, but that the degree to which employees have to use several languages at work depends on their specific workplace context. Secondly, the range of salient languages differs between companies: whereas the use of English is a requirement for employees in higher education sectors and banks (de Bres 2013; Kingsley 2013), this language has less of an impact in supermarkets (Franziskus 2013) or in the local newspaper (Anen 2006). A common trend of this research relates to the (growing) importance of the Luxembourgish language: those workers who are able to achieve some knowledge in the local language find it easier to establish good relationships with their Luxembourgish colleagues and/or customers.

Methods and data

The data analysed in this contribution is part of a larger linguistic ethnographic study of the multilingual practices of cross-border workers in Luxembourg in both white collar and blue collar workplaces. Linguistic ethnography focuses on "the ways in which language practices are socially and politically situated" (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 58). It advocates a critical engagement with multilingual practices, taking into account the language ideologies and norms that govern language practices (Agar 2009; Blommaert and Jie 2010). Its main methods are participant observation, recording of face-to-face interactions, sociolinguistic interviews and the collection of other sources of information. All these methods were used in this study, which was conducted in a supermarket ('Fresh & Fruity'), and an IT company ('InfoTech').[2] A number of employees were asked to record their daily interactions with colleagues. The main participants were French, (Francophone) Belgian and German cross-border workers, who had worked in Luxembourg for periods of time ranging from just under a year to over 10 years. They also had different language repertoires[3] that depended on their national origin and their language learning experiences in school and later life.

2. The names of the companies are pseudonyms, as are those of the participants

3. Throughout this chapter and in line with recent theoretical advances in multilingualism research (Blommaert and Backus 2012; Jørgensen et al. 2011), I prefer the term 'language resources' or 'repertoires' to 'language competence'.

The data collection took place from April 2009 to July 2011. Interviews were conducted with key participants and management. Sixty hours of recorded spontaneous interactions were transcribed using GAT2 conventions (Selting et al. 2009).

A common feature of the two workplaces I analyse is the presence of a high number of non-Luxembourg employees. But they differ in terms of their distinct sociolinguistic, demographic and sectorial characteristics. Fresh & Fruity has a very heterogeneous workforce, counting French, German, Luxembourgish and a range of other nationalities among its 21 employees, including residents and cross-border workers. Luxembourgish, German and French are spoken daily. This CofP is characterised by an overall supportive interactional norm and a pragmatic and inclusive approach to divergent language repertoires. InfoTech has a relatively homogeneous workforce: the CEO, himself a French-Belgian cross-border worker, deliberately selects his employees from French and Belgian networks. There is one Portuguese long-term resident employee and one Luxembourgish employee. This explains why the dominant language of interaction within the company is French, although English is regarded as an important vehicle of interaction with clients. This CofP is characterised by a French-dominant language norm and an overall challenging approach to multilingualism. Further features of their interactional norms are often challenging tone, frequent jocular abuses and sometimes gendered talk – features that are often described for the IT industry (Plester and Sayers 2007).

The particular settings of the workplaces I investigated enabled the participants to speak their own first language most of the time. This differentiates my study from the kind of international companies where employees need to speak a second language with colleagues or clients, or where they interact in a lingua franca.[4] As a consequence, I focus on selected moments where the multilingual aspects are more subtly present.

Findings

Fresh & Fruity

The fact that participants in this study have divergent language resources at their disposal does not prevent them from drawing on a multilingual repertoire to highlight their professional identity in salient moments. Speakers can indeed use sets of features for identity work and pragmatic purposes disrespectful of their

4. There are of course many such workplaces in Luxembourg; this is related to the coincidence of recruitment possibilities of this research.

proficiency (Møller 2008: 219). This is illustrated in the first example, recorded by German Tobias at Fresh & Fruity. On the day this interaction was recorded, Tobias is the acting manager of the supermarket as the general manager is on holiday. In this extract, Tobias interacts with Elena, also German, who leads the fruit and vegetable section. The interaction takes place in German; English translation is in italics.

(1) responsablen[5]

```
01   ele:   dat ging aber flott
            that went fast
02          brauchst (doch keen) mitarbeiter hier
            you don't need staff here (after all)
03   to:    (--) willste wieder heimgehn
            you wanna return home
04          (1.3)
05   ele:   nee ich NICH
            NO i don't
06   to:    du nich
            you don't
07          du MUSST=du musst
            you NEED to=you need
08          (-) du bist verantwortlich hier
            you are in charge here
09          du musst hierbleiben
            you need to stay
10          responsablen die kriegen kein frei heut
            persons in charge don't get leave today
11          (1.2)
12          wär ja noch schöner ((laughs))
            that be even better
```

Elena approaches Tobias and jokingly tells him that the unpacking and sorting of the products went quickly that morning, implying that he doesn't need any more staff (lines 1–2). Tobias picks up on Elena's implicit suggestion that her presence might be superfluous by telling her that she needs to stay (lines 3–12). Several elements are relevant here with regard to the link between professional identity and the use of multilingual resources. Elena constructs Tobias as 'the one in charge' (Schnurr and Chan 2011) by emphasising that he is the one that doesn't need (any more) staff : *you don't need staff here after all* (line 2). Tobias appears to accept this positioning as the leader, as can be deduced from the fact that he tells Elena she can't go home (lines 6 and 9). He thus feels in a position to do so. Nevertheless, in attempting to justify this, he calls on her own position in charge of the fruit and vegetable section: *you are in charge here, you can't go home, people in charge won't get any leave today* (lines 8–10). This utterance is reinforced by his repeated use

5. See the end of the chapter for transcription and language conventions.

of the modal verb 'must' (lines 7 and 9). Tobias attempts to create solidarity with his colleague by constructing them as co-responsible. In doing so, he employs a multilingual device. He first uses the German word *verantwortlich* (line 7), then repeats his statement by using *responsablen* (line 10), a linguistic feature associated with both Luxembourgish and French. The term is frequently used by the Luxembourgish manager of the supermarket, and can be described as belonging to the shared repertoire of the supermarket. Using *responsablen* not only enables Tobias to display his adherence to the CofP repertoire, but also his knowledge of 'doing being' (Mondada 2004) a competent professional in his workplace.

The use of features associated with Luxembourgish by cross-border workers (especially when they do not have access to the full repertoire of this language) is also of relevance in the wider sociolinguistic context of Luxembourg, where the increased salience of the local language for national identity construction is paralleled with growing resentments at non-nationals for not making enough efforts to learn and speak the local language. In such a potentially threatening context, using the 'appropriate' language becomes even more salient and can be seen as an effort to conform to the local and national norms. During my ethnographic fieldwork, I was able to observe that Tobias was always at pains to display his efforts to adapt to the local context despite his inability to speak Luxembourgish fluently.

The first extract I analysed was an example of how multilingual features are used to construct a professional identity in an unproblematic way. But employees may also draw on their multilingual resources to challenge someone in their professional role and thereby question existing power relations. This practice is illustrated in Extract 2, which is part of an interaction between Tobias and Annick, a Luxembourgish staff member at the supermarket. The interaction occurs in German.

(2) warum da fehlen joghurt

```
01    an:    warum da fehlen erdbeeryoghurt
             why strawberry yoghurt miss here
02           chef
             boss
03           du nicht gemacht erdbeeryoghurt in frigo=
             you not put strawberry yoghurt in fridge=
04           =warum du nicht gemacht
             why you not do it
05     to:   (-) <<whispering>(ist gut)>
                                (that's fine)
06           (2.8)
07     an:   (du sehen da fehlen)
             (you see there miss)
08     to:   ja
             yes
09           (1.2)
10           [((whispers to himself))]
```

```
11      an:   [bestellt erdbeere ganz viel]
              ordered strawberry a lot
12      to:   (-) was haste
                  what do you have
13            da ist (name of a brand)=ne
              there's (name of a brand)=no
14            ich würd keine hinten dran machen
              I would not put more behind them
15      an:   (---) (dann) ich geschleppt milch für gar nix
                    (then) I drag milk for nothing
16            (1.4)
17      to:   ja
              yes
18            (---) hätt ich dir gleich sagen können
                    I could have told you from the start
(lines omitted)
19            und chef hat auch vergessen himbeer holunder
              and boss also forgot raspberry elderflower
20      to:   (4.3)
21      an:   und chef beinahe heidelbeere nicht
              einge(räumt)ha ha [ha ha]
              and boss nearly not put blueberry ha ha ha ha
22      to:   [biste schon] mal hi:er rückwärts RUNtergefallen
              did you already fall down backwards he:re
23      an:   nein
              no
24      to:   aha ((laughs silently))
```

Annick and Tobias are putting dairy products onto the refrigerated shelves and checking expiry dates on the products. As they go about this activity, Annick complains that some yoghurt is missing and overtly accuses Tobias of not having done the job properly in broken German: *you not put strawberry yoghurt in fridge* (line 3). At the same time, she positions her German colleague as 'the one in charge', as indicated by her use of the word 'boss' on several occasions (lines 2, 19 and 21), thereby highlighting their status difference. Annick thus challenges Tobias in his role as a competent employee and simultaneously questions his authority as a legitimate manager. Her criticism is doubly 'dangerous': she overtly accuses a colleague of not having done his job properly, which could have a strong negative effect on their relationship, but in simultaneously recognising his leadership role, she also risks more serious reprimands. However, she draws on a particular linguistic device to soften the illocutionary force of her utterances and mitigate her criticism: she uses a 'foreigner talk' variety of German that is most notable in the syntactic simplifications or contortions, the omissions of definite articles and her misuse of verb conjugations, namely the use of infinitive verb forms where a conjugation is required (lines 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 15, 19, 21).

The term 'foreigner talk' was firstly used by Hinnenkamp (1982) to describe a simplified (and mocking) form of German used by German nationals in

interactions with people of Turkish background who supposedly do not have very elaborate knowledge of the language. More recently, Jaspers (2011) showed that Moroccan-Dutch teenagers fake incompetence in Dutch to distance themselves from the image of non-fluent speakers of Standard Dutch. These youngsters call their practice 'doing ridiculous' or 'talking illegal'. For the author, it is a way of "ward[ing] off potential stigmatization 'from above'" (Jaspers 2011: 1269), and to critically engage with the linguistic hierarchy in which their position is quite low. In this sense, foreigner talk is a form of stylisation, i.e. a "disjunction of speaker and voice [that] draws attention to the speaker herself/himself, temporarily positioning the recipient(s) as spectator(s), and at least momentarily reframing the talk as non-routine – a joke, for example" (Rampton and Charalambous 2012: 484). Annick's use of incompetent German can be read in a similar way. In her case, it is not so much the linguistic hierarchy she seems to be questioning (as a quadrilingual Luxembourger she is higher up the ladder), but the professional distance between her and Tobias. The stylisation of her German allows Annick to distance herself from her overt criticism, to soften its face-threatening potential and to treat it in a somewhat ironic way. Tobias either does not react at all to her attempt at dismantling his position as the 'boss' (line 4), or only gives minimal feedback (*yes,* line 17) and continues talking to himself (lines 5, 10). Further on, he advises her not to *put more behind them* (line 14), thus giving her an indirect order. By not reacting or resorting to giving orders, Tobias could be seen as both ignoring Annick's attempt to undermine his authority and reinforcing his own power position. By simply refusing to attend to the criticism that is addressed towards him, Tobias avoids a discursive negotiation of his position as leader.

Nevertheless, at the end of this extract, Tobias attends to Annick's discursive game by asking her rhetorically whether she has ever fallen backwards (she is probably standing on a chair) (line 22), thereby implying that she should stop, and explicitly, albeit humorously, 'warning' her about the potential danger of the game she is playing. But his ensuing smile frames this comment as a joke rather than a serious threat. The positive relationship between interlocutors seems restored. The humorous frame allows Annick's criticism of their momentary status difference to remain socially acceptable (Holmes 2000). Indeed, ethnographic observation and evidence from the recordings suggest that the two are generally on good terms. This extract further illustrates the more general CofP language norms, which I described as a positive orientation towards multilingualism. My data shows that members of this workplace draw on their linguistic differences in supportive humorous interactions, which contribute to strengthen interpersonal relations and to (re)negotiate the prevalent CofP norms, which Florence, a French staff member, summarized as a being a 'multilingual mix-max'.

InfoTech

Let us now turn to InfoTech, the IT company. There are differences in the ways multilingualism plays into struggles related to identity construction at this workplace. More particularly, I observed that staff members challenge each other for not using the 'appropriate' language and thereby threaten their status as a convincing professional. An illustration of this is Extract 3, where Serge, an IT consultant at InfoTech, teases his colleague Marc for not using the appropriate language when he requests information about the ZW5 router. The interaction takes place in French, English underlined.

(3) the switch

```
01    mar:   hein un ZW5 peut être comme un point d'accès
             eh a ZW5 can be considered to be an access point
02           (8.6) hein
             eh
03    ser:   (1.9) un ZW5
             a ZW5
04    mar:   mh
05    ser:   mais il a pas de wifi
             but it does not have wifi
06    mar:   (--) non mais eh: il est considéré comme un point d'accès filaire=quoi
             no but er: it is considered as a wired access point=eh
07           (---)  ou pas
                    or not
08           (c'est c'est) parce [(que je)]
             (it's it's) because (I)
09    eri:                       [ben eh ] comme switch=quoi
                                  well er like a switch=eh
10    ser:   (---) eh oui
                   er yes
11           bien sûr oui oui
             of course yes yes
12           (1.0)
13           <<:-)> un [point d'accès fi]LAIRE>
                       a wired access point
14    eri:             [(xxx xxx xxx)   ]
15           (-) fil[aire oui]
                     wired yes
16    mar:           [ah oui  ] eh:
                      ah yes er:
17    ser:   ((laughs over the next few turns))
18    eri:   (ah oui)
             oh yes
19    mar:   parle français=hein moi
             I speak french=eh
20    eri:   ((laughs))
```

```
21    ser:   <<:-)> c'est c'est un truc québecois ça=non> ((laughs))
                     that's that's a quebec thing=no
22    lou:   <<very silently>(c'était) quoi>
                            (what was) that
23    mar:   [ben oui c'est parce que]
              well yes it's because
24    ser:   [(il dit) point d'accès] filaire
              he says "wired access point"
25           t'sais au lieu de dire eh un switch quoi
             you know instead of saying er: a switch eh
26    eri:   [(je ma: oui)        ]
             (I ma : yes)
27           [((general laugther)]
28    ser:   <<:-)>(parce que c'est) [en anglais]>
                     (because it's ) in english
29    mar:                          [ s:][witch]
30    ser:                     <<:-)>[des  ] points d'accès filaire>
                                          wired access points
31           ((laughs over the next few turns))
```

The extract begins with Marc asking whether the ZW5 router has the same characteristics as an access point (line 1). Serge picks up the request (line 5) and they engage in a negotiation sequence (lines 7–13). Serge appears not to understand Marc's question, as is suggested by his counter-question *but it does not have wifi* (line 7). Marc then introduces the French term *point d'accès filaire* ('wired access point') in his attempt to obtain confirmation of his assumption (lines 8–9): *no but er: it is considered as a wired access point=eh (--) or not*. As he starts to explain further, a third colleague, Eric, overlaps and proposes that the router is *well er like a switch eh*, thus providing a second possible English translation of 'point d'accès filaire' (line 11). This proposition is ratified by Serge as correct through repeated positive minimal feedback (lines 12–13). The negotiation appears to be closed, but after a short silence, Serge resumes by echoing '*un point d'accès filaire*' (line 15). His smiling voice, the prosodic emphasis on the adjective 'filaire' and his subsequent laugh (line 19) frame this comment as an attempt to mock Marc's lexical choice. The teasing nature is further reinforced by Eric joining in the echoing (line 17). In a series of metalinguistic utterances, Serge then makes the reason for their laughter explicit. He suggests that *that's that's a Quebec thing no* (line 23), implying that the (supposedly) Quebec French expression 'point d'accès filaire' is old-fashioned and funny. He continues to single out the oddness of Marc's expression: *he says 'point d'accès filaire', you know instead of saying er: a switch eh* (lines 21–22). His explanatory sequences are accompanied by further waves of general laughter. What this metalinguistic talk suggests is that Serge and Eric construct Marc's use of the term 'point d'accès filaire' as odd and treat it as a repairable matter (Torras and Gafaranga 2002). This interaction also illustrates how the negotiation of professional identities is co-constructed and intertwined

(Schnurr and Chan 2011). By questioning Marc's way of speaking, Serge indirectly constructs himself as more knowledgeable. Marc, on the other hand, takes a defensive stance, claiming *I speak French=eh* (line 21). He thereby foregrounds his linguistic identity and displays his understanding that this mocking episode is about his lexical choice.

This extract clearly shows the way staff at InfoTech challenge each other in their ongoing professional identity construction because of a (perceived) lack of use of the appropriate language. By pointing to Marc's 'failure' to use what he constructs as the expected English term, Serge undermines his colleague's professional identity as a competent IT consultant. It is indeed a shared practice in this CofP to draw on jargon associated with English in professional discussions. On the other hand, the general laughter by participants throughout the exchange indicates that the identity struggle is nevertheless framed as a humorous interaction, turning the identity challenge into a socially acceptable act. In that, the extract illustrates the kind of overt bantering characteristic of this CofP.

Other interactions recorded at InfoTech demonstrate more clearly that the failure to understand and/or speak English fluently can present a real threat to their professional identity, however. This occurs foremost in interactions with clients. In one case in particular, staff member Miguel receives an email from an English customer that he struggles to understand. He tries to delegate the client to another colleague, Patrick, but the latter refuses to take her on. Miguel can only attend to the client's request after a long discussion with a colleague and a further call to the customer (where he also struggles to make himself understood in English). Soon after the phone call, he discusses the event with some colleagues and expresses his frustration with Patrick.

(4) une merde pareille

```
01      mar:   ils sont compliqués les anglais (aussi)
               they're complicated (also) these english people
02      mig:   non mais merci à patrick de me foutre une merde pareille=quoi
               no but thanks patrick for leaving me with such a shit job=eh
03      mar:   hein
               huh
04      mig:   merci à patrick de m'envoyer une merde pareille
               thanks patrick for sending me such a shit
05             tout ça parce qu'il veut pas parler anglais le salopard
               all this because he doesn't want to speak english the bastard
06      eri:((laughs))
```

The extract starts with a comment by Marc to Miguel's complaints about the 'difficult' client: *they're complicated (also) these English people* (line 1). Miguel does not pick up on this comment, but 'thanks' their colleague Patrick for having left him with such a difficult job in a very sarcastic tone *no but thanks Patrick for leaving*

me with such a shit job=eh (line 2). Patrick is presented as having transferred the case to Miguel *because he doesn't want to speak English the bastard* (line 5), and so showing a great reticence to use that language. The illocutionary force of Miguel's utterances is notably achieved through the use of a very vulgar vocabulary *such a shit job, such a shit, the bastard* (lines 2, 4 and 5) – this overt vulgar language is illustrative of the general bantering norm at InfoTech.

This extract shows that the reticence to speak English with clients is relatively strong at least among some staff members at InfoTech, even leading to some kind of 'ping-pong' game to avoid English-speaking clients. Here, the non-ability to attend to clients speaking in English makes the threat to their identity as legitimate IT professionals a very real one.

Taken together, the examples highlight the contradictory norms and expectations that govern language use and professional identity construction at InfoTech. Showing allegiance to an international IT community requires that they use frequent English jargon in their daily discussions. They are also expected to speak English in their business exchanges with international clients, but they do not necessarily feel they have the skills to do so. At the same time, they also construct French as the dominant language of the company, so they need to distance themselves from this requirement to speak any other language. These contradictory language norms lead to complex identity constructions, in which staff members navigate between having to speak English and rejecting this expectation.

Discussion and conclusion

The preceding extracts illustrate some of the ways in which the construction of professional identity and multilingual repertoires are intertwined and how staff members may draw on their multilingual resources to challenge each other's ongoing identity construction. I contrasted data recorded at two workplaces. The analysis enabled me to demonstrate how the multilingual nature of these work environments may impact on the ongoing identity construction of staff members. But the way this plays out differs from one CofP to another. At Fresh & Fruity, in line with the discursive practices developed among members of this CofP, identity struggles related to language tend to occur in an overall good-natured and friendly tone and enable participants to renegotiate and confirm their overall supportive approach to linguistic diversity. This confirms a conclusion by Chan (this volume), who suggests that identity struggles do not always need to be interpreted negatively. In her case, the identity challenges that a junior manager experiences through

the CEO in meetings are interpreted as possibilities for professional development, while in the case of Fresh & Fruity they perform relationship affirming functions.

At InfoTech, the attempts to challenge others in their ongoing professional identity construction also occur in a humorous context, albeit one that is more direct and face-threatening – a feature that is characteristic of this CofP. The data from this workplace further provide evidence that the non-ability to attend to clients' needs in a particular language is likely to present a serious threat to one's professional identity. In a multilingual context like Luxembourg, clients often have high expectations in terms of linguistic service.

To conclude, my analysis suggests that the way in which multilingual resources may or may not lead to identity struggles is very much dependent on the interactional norms of the specific CofP. In this chapter, however, I have only been able to provide a few illustrations of this link between multilingual workplaces and professional identity construction, and clearly more research is needed. One aspect that deserves more research is the above-mentioned impact of customer expectations regarding language choice on the ability of staff to construct a legitimate professional identity. Secondly, further studies should also focus on more 'international' workplaces, where employees interact in a lingua franca. It is likely that this international environment gives rise to different struggles around multilingual identities.

References

Agar, Michael. 2009. "Ethnography." In *Culture and Language Use*, edited by Gunter Senft, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren, 110–20. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/hoph.2.10aga

Anen, Nicolas. 2006. "Alternance de Code Français-Luxembourgeois Dans Une Redaction de Presse Quotidienne. Une Enquête Sociolinguistique Au Luxembourg." Université Catholique de Louvain.

Angouri, Jo. 2011. "'We Are in a Masculine Profession…': Constructing Gender Identities in a Consortium of Two Multinational Engineering Companies." *Gender and Language* 5 (2): 373–404. doi: 10.1558/genl.v5i2.373

Angouri, Jo, and Jason Glynos. 2009. "Managing Cultural Difference and Struggle in the Context of the Multinational Corporate Workplace : Solution or Symptom ?" *IDA Working Papers*. Vol. 26.

Auer, Peter. 2005. "A Postscript: Code-Switching and Social Identity." *Journal of Pragmatics* 37 (3): 403–10. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2004.10.010.

Bailey, Benjamin. 2000. "The Language of Multiple Identities among Dominican Americans." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10 (2): 190–220. doi: 10.1525/jlin.2000.10.2.190

Bailey, Benjamin. 2007. "Multilingual Forms of Talk and Identity Work." In *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*, edited by Peter Auer and Li Wei. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Baltes-Löhr, Christel, Agnes Prüm, Rachel Reckinger, and Christian Wille. 2011. "Everyday Cultures and Identities." In *Doing Identity in Luxembourg. Subjective Appropriations – Institutional Attributions – Socio-Cultural Milieus*, edited byIPSE, 233–84. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag. doi:10.14361/transcript.9783839416679.233

Blackledge, Adrien, and Angela Creese. 2010. *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. London/New York: Continuum.

Blommaert, Jan, and Ad Backus. 2012. "Superdiverse Repertoires and the Individual." *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies* 24: 1–32.

Blommaert, Jan, and Dong Jie. 2010. *Ethnographic Fieldwork: A Beginner's Guide*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

CEFIS. 2011. "L'intégration Au Luxembourg. Focus Sur Les Réseaux Sociaux, La Confiance et Les Stéréotypes Sur Les Frontaliers." 12. RED. Luxembourg: CEFIS.

de Bres, Julia. 2013. "Language Ideologies for Constructing Inclusion and Exclusion: Identity and Interest in the Metalinguistic Discourse of Cross-Border Workers in Luxembourg." In Ideological Conceptualisations of Language: Discourse of Linguistic Diversity, edited by Erzsébet Barát, Patrick Studer, and Jiří Nekvapil, 57–83. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.

de Bres, Julia. 2014. "Competing Language Ideologies about Societal Multilingualism among Cross- Border Workers in Luxembourg." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 227: 119–37. doi:10.1515/ijsl-2013–0091.

de Bres, Julia, and Anne Franziskus. 2011. "Les Frontaliers Du Luxembourg. Représentations Négatives et Stratégies de Réponse." In *Représentations Du Transfrontalier*, 201–12. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

De Fina, Anna. 2007. "Code-Switching and the Construction of Ethnic Identity in a Community of Practice." *Language in Society* 36 (03): 371–92. doi:10.1017/S0047404507070182. http://www.journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0047404507070182.

Eckert, Penelope, and Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1992. "Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21 (1): 461–88. doi:10.1146/annurev.an.21.100192.002333

Fehlen, Fernand. 2009. *BaleineBis: Une Enquête Sur Un Marché Linguistique Multilingue En Profonde mutation/Luxemburgs Sprachenmarkt Im Wandel*. Luxembourg: SESOPI Centre Intercommunautaire.

Franziskus, Anne. 2013. "Getting by in a Multilingual Workplace. Language Practices, Ideologies and Norms of Cross-Border Workers in Luxembourg." Université du Luxembourg.

Franziskus, Anne, and Julia de Bres. 2012. "Le Rôle de La Langue Luxembourgeoise Dans Les Pratiques Linguistiques Des Frontaliers Au Luxembourg." In *Le Travail Frontalier Au Sein de La Grande Région Saar-Lor-Lux: Pratiques, Enjeux et Perspectives*, edited by Rachid Belkacem and Isabelle Pigeron-Piroth, 129–49. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

Franziskus, Anne, and Peter Gilles. 2012. "' Et Le Präis Direct Etikett ?' Non-Overlapping Repertoires in Workplace Communication in Luxembourg." *Sociolinguistica* 26 (1): 58–71.

Hinnenkamp, Volker. 1982. *Foreigner Talk Und Tarzanisch: Eine Vergleichende Studie über Die Sprechweise Gegenüber Ausländern Am Beispiel Des Deutschen Und Des Türkischen*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.

Holmes, Janet. 2000. "Politeness, Power and Provocation: How Humour Functions in the Workplace." *Discourse Studies* 2: 159–85. doi: 10.1177/1461445600002002002. http://dis.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/2/2/159.

Holmes, Janet. 2006. "Workplace Narratives, Professional Identity and Relational Practice." In *Discourse and Identity*, edited by Anna de Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 166–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.009

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra and Bernadette Vine. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse, and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Holmes, Janet, Stephanie Schnurr, and Marra Marra. 2007. "Leadership and Communication: Discursive Evidence of a Workplace Culture Change." *Discourse & Communication* 1 (4): 433–51. doi: 10.1177/1750481307082207.

Horner, Kristine. 2005. "Reimagining the Nation: Discourses of Purism in Luxembourg." In *Linguistic Purim in the Germanic Languages*, edited by Nils Langer and Winifred V. Davies, 166–85. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110901351.166

Horner, Kristine, and Jean-Jacques Weber. 2008. "The Language Situation in Luxembourg." *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9 (1): 69–128. doi: 10.2167/cilp130.0.

Jaspers, Jürgen. 2011. "Talking like a 'zerolingual': Ambiguous Linguistic Caricatures at an Urban Secondary School." *Journal of Pragmatics* 43 (5): 264–78. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2010.05.012.

Jørgensen, Normann J. 2008. "Polylingual Languaging around and among Children and Adolescents." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5 (3): 161–76. doi: 10.1080/14790710802387562.

Jørgensen, Normann J., Martha S. Karrebæk, Lian M. Madsen, and Janus Spindler Møller. 2011. "Polylanguaging in Superdiversity." *Diversities* 13 (2): 23–37.

Kingsley, Leilarna. 2010. "Language Policy in Multilingual Workplaces: Management, Practices and Beliefs in Banks in Luxembourg." *Language Policy*. Victoria University of Wellington.

Kingsley, Leilarna. 2013. "Language Choice in Multilingual Encounters in Transnational Workplaces." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34 (6): 533–48. doi: 10.1080/01434632.2013.807271

Møller, Spindler Janus. 2008. "Polylingual Performance Among Turkish-Danes in Late-Modern Copenhagen." *International Journal of Multilingualism* 5 (3): 217–36. doi: 10.1080/14790710802390178.

Mondada, Lorenza. 2004. "Ways of 'Doing Being Plurilingual' in International Work Meetings." In *Second Language Conversations*, edited by Rod Gardner and Johannes Wagner, 18–39. London: Continuum.

Plester, Barbara A., and Janet Sayers. 2007. "'Taking the Piss': Functions of Banter in the IT Industry." *Humor – International Journal of Humor Research* 20 (2): 157–87. doi: 10.1515/HUMOR.2007.008.

Poncini, Gina. 2003. "Multicultural Business Meetings and the Role of Languages Other than English." *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 24 (1): 17–32. doi: 10.1080/0725686032000115365.

Rampton, Ben, and Constadina Charalambous. 2012. "Crossing." In *The Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism*, edited by Marilyn Martin-Jones, Adrian Blackledge, and Angela Creese, 482–98. New York: Routledge.

Roberts, Celia. 2007. Multilingualism in the Workplace. In *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*, edited by Peter Auer and Li Wei, 405–422. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Rogerson-Revell, Pamela. 2011. "Chairing International Business Meetings: Investigating Humour and Leadership Style in the Workplace." In *Constructing Identities at Work*, edited by Jo Angouri and Meredith Marra, 61–84. London: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230360051.0009

Schnurr, Stephanie. 2008. *Leadership Discourse at Work: Interactions of Humour, Gender and Workplace Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230594692

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Angela Chan. 2011. "Exploring Another Side of Co-Leadership: Negotiating Professional Identities through Face-Work in Disagreements." *Language in Society* 40: 187–209. doi: 10.1017/S0047404511000030

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Olga Zayts. 2012. "'You Have to Be Adaptable, Obviously': Constructing Professional Identities in Multicultural Workplaces in Hong Kong." *Pragmatics* 22 (2): 279–99. doi: 10.1075/prag.22.2.05sch

Selting, Margret, Peter Auer, Dagmar Barth-Weingarten, Jörg Berg, Pia Bergmann, Karin Birkner, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen *et al*. 2009. "Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem 2 (GAT 2)." *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift Zur Verbalen Interaktion* 10: 353–402.

STATEC. 2014. "Le Luxembourg En Chiffres 2014." Luxembourg: STATEC. doi: 10.1787/itcs-v2011–3-4-en.

Vine, Bernadette, Janet Holmes, Meredith Marra, Dale Pfeifer, and Brad Jackson. 2008. "Exploring Co-Leadership Talk Through Interactional Sociolinguistics." *Leadership* 4 (3): 339–60. doi: 10.1177/1742715008092389.

Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511803932

Appendix. Transcription conventions

[ ]	overlapping speech
(-) (--) (---)	silences up to 1 second
(1.0)	silences in seconds
((laughs))	paralinguistic features
<<laughing>hello>	paralinguistic features used to describe something that is happening while the speaker talks
<<:-)>>	with a smiling voice
=	latched talk
(hello)	stretches of uncertain transcription
(xxx)	stretches of inaudible talk

PART IV

Struggling to define identity boundaries

CHAPTER 19

The discursive accomplishment of identity during veterinary medical consultations in the UK

Robin Burrow
Cardiff University

Drawing on extracts from a corpus of 65 video recorded veterinary medical consultations this chapter examines how veterinarians and animal owners identify themselves, one another, and co-present animals. It illustrates how identity is invoked during veterinary medical consultations, and then explores two sites of identity struggle. Firstly, occasions during which veterinarians and animal owners work to identify animals. Secondly, occasions during which veterinarians and animal owners claim rights to report on the animal's health, prompting struggles over lay-professional boundaries. This chapter draws on, and contributes to, a niche body of literature concerned with the discursive practices used in conjunction with non-human animals. In particular, it addresses discussions about the social construction of identities pertaining to non-human animals.

Keywords: identity, professional identity, veterinarians, vets, animals, conversation analysis

Introduction

This chapter examines the way in which veterinarians (here after 'vets') and animal owners identify themselves, one another, and animal patients during veterinary medical consultations. Although humankind's relationship with animals is a significant topic of interest (e.g. Blackwell 2001; Hearne 1982; Jerolmack 2005; Morris 2012; Roberts 2004; Sanders 1993, 1994, 1995), and includes a niche body of literature concerned with the discursive practices used in conjunction with animals (e.g. Mitchell 2001; Mitchell and Edmonson 1999; Roberts 2004; Stivers 1998; Tannen 2004; Tannen 2010), the issue of animal identity remains largely unexplored. The limited research in this area is surprising because of the complex

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.19bur
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

and distinctive role animals occupy in contemporary society. For example, animals are loved family members whom many of us identify as people or individuals in their own right (Shir-Vertesh 2012). However, animals are also subject to legal distinctions which mark them out as property, which is owned and can be readily (and easily) disposed of and destroyed[1] (Blackwell 2001; Dolins 1999; Francione 1995). Against this backdrop, this chapter asks: how is identity (specifically animal identity) invoked during veterinary medical consultations? And, what impact does an animal's non-human 'semi-person' status (Arluke and Sanders 1996; Dolins 1999; Shir-Vertesh 2012) have on broader social processes of identity construction in medical settings?

To address these questions this chapter begins by discussing some initial theoretical considerations that are relevant to the study of identity work in animal-rich settings. Following a brief description of the study from which the empirical data is drawn, seven segments of talk are presented in three sections. The first section illustrates some of the most common ways in which identity is invoked during veterinary medical consultations. The second section shows how participants in veterinary medical consultations construct accounts of animals, and in doing so negotiate issues associated with animals' dual status as loved family members and objects of medical interest. The third section examines occasions of struggle that arise during veterinary medical consultations – such as when vets and animal owners work (and sometimes struggle) to establish what is wrong with an animal. These instructive examples of the social construction of identity during veterinary medical consultations, and of identity struggle, are subsequently discussed in the context of extant literature. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the empirical and theoretical importance of these extracts, and of the efficacy of using fine-grained analytical methods (conversation analysis) to study identity struggle.

Theoretical background

During veterinary medical consultations – as with other institutional settings – a plethora of possible identities are available to participants (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). For example, those orchestrating consultations might reasonably be identified as a 'veterinarian', 'vet', 'specialist', 'professional', 'Dave', or

1. At the outset it's worth noting that the focus of this chapter is the way in which animals are invoked in the context of localised social interaction. No attempt is made to solve broader ethological concerns with whether animals are aware, empathetic, emotional, creative, etc. (Sanders and Arluke 1993: 379; George et al. 1985; Hearne 1982; Strum 1987). That is, actually are *people* in their own right (Shir-Vertesh 2012).

perhaps 'expensive', 'unfriendly', etc. Similarly, persons commissioning a vet's services might be identified as 'clients', 'animal owners', 'Ms Smith', 'regulars', 'new clients', 'difficult clients', 'another vet', etc. Finally, whilst the prospect poses numerous analytical and ontological considerations, animals might also be identified as persons (Arluke and Sanders 1996; Shir-Vertesh 2012) e.g. 'Milly', but also as 'depressed', 'pests', 'naughty', etc., amongst others.

The constellation of possible identity categories that might be invoked reflects the organizational, institutional and social complexity of veterinary medical consultations. It also adds flexibility and complexity, to the task of identifying animals, as animals can be identified in a range of different ways. Although it is easy (and perhaps sensible) to avoid thinking of animals as having an identity, by dint of their being *non*human, who they are matters a great deal. To those procuring and provisioning healthcare services on behalf of animals, the work of identifying them requires careful consideration.

Despite the plethora of ways that animals might be identified, studies of animal identity work are limited. As, indeed, are broader studies of interaction in veterinary medical consultations (*but see* Fox 2006; Mitchell 2001; Mitchell and Edmonson 1999; Roberts 2004). In contrast there is a significant body of literature concerned with interaction in human medical consultations from which useful insight might be drawn. For example, one particularly important strand of research in studies of human medical interaction concerns the work associated with identifying individuals as 'patients' who require medical treatment (Heritage and Robinson 2006). Medical treatment is contingent on individuals being identifiably 'sick', and thus significant efforts are expended on engaging in organizationally appropriate forms of identity work. Exceptions to this rule are those patients who lack the social or cognitive skills necessary to do so (e.g. disabled persons) or who occupy a social category in which another person talks on their behalf (e.g. children). For example, in paediatric medicine the child's parent or guardian will engage in identity work on behalf of the patient, as the patient is largely unable to talk for them self (Stivers 2002).

In veterinary medical consultations, animals (like humans), must also be identified as 'sick' (Stivers 1998). However, such a classification can be difficult to achieve as animals are unable to (conversationally) articulate the signs and symptoms of their ailment. Much like very young children participating in paediatric medical consultations, animals rely on the signs and symptoms of their ailment being presented by others. Such a scenario makes classifying animals, in medical terms, subjective, difficult, and contestable.

The complexity of the work of identifying animals is compounded by the distinctive relationship vets have with their clients (animal owners who commission their services). Vets are what Freidson (1970) describes as 'client-dependent

professionals' in that they hold certain epistemic rights to report on the health problems of animals. Although vets – due to their extensive medical training – sustain epistemic authority over their clients with respect to medical matters (Heritage and Raymond 2005) there is a knowledge asymmetry which works the other way, as well. Clients, because of their close day-to-day proximity with their pets, have an intricate and detailed understanding of their pet's behaviour. In particular, they have extensive local knowledge of what might be considered normal and abnormal behaviour for their pet, how they are responding to treatment, and so forth. Like the "knowledgeable mothers" in Zayts and Schnurr's contribution to this volume, animal owners often have extensive knowledge and expertise about everyday matters which the vet may not. Scenarios in which animal owners invoke this knowledge, have the potential to disrupt professional-lay boundaries, associated power asymmetries, and therefore have the potential to be a source of struggle between vets and their clients. During such times, vets and animal owners each engage in different forms of identity work in order to resolve their respective claims, negotiate and establish 'lay-professional' boundaries and associated power asymmetries (see also De Stefani and Mondada, this volume, for a similar struggle in a different context).

Data and analysis

The data examined in this chapter is drawn from a collection of approximately 65 full-length video recorded veterinary consultations. These were collected as part of an investigation into vet-client interaction, in which both vets and their clients volunteered to have their consultations filmed. This dataset includes a range of different encounters between vets and their clients – such as new-case and follow-up consultations, routine health checks, the diagnosis of new conditions, delivery of minor treatment and even instances of animal euthanasia.

The audio-video recorded consultations have been transcribed following the Jefferson system (e.g. Jefferson 2004) and the conventions of Conversation Analysis (CA – Sacks 1992 *see also* Schegloff 1996). The aim of using this style of analysis was to provide a fine-grained insight into the social interactional practices used by participants during veterinary medical consultations. The use of naturalistic data is important, as this chapter seeks to account for identity during sequences of talk-in-interaction. That is, it is concerned with both the specific identity categories invoked by participants, and the demonstrably different ways in which participants orient to one another during the course of the consultations.

The data that is presented is divided into three sections, reflecting three primary important themes in the broader corpus. The first section focuses on the discursive accomplishment of animal owners and their pets as 'regulars' at the start of veterinary medical consultations. The second section considers the delicate co-construction of vets as 'professionals', and those commissioning their services as 'lay persons' and 'clients'. The third section examines instances of identity struggle.

Identifying animals

This first section focuses on the work of identifying clients and their pets during the start of veterinary medical consultations. The extracts presented here are illustrative of two common scenarios – the discursive accomplishment of 'new' and 'regular' clients. The first excerpt that is presented is an example of the former – the start of a consultation involving new clients:

Excerpt 1.

```
1    V    °Mr Sanders°
2         (9.0)
3         ri:ght (.) what's the trouble?
4         (0.3)
5    AO1  he:'s'um
6         (continues)
```

In the dataset, Excerpt 1 was a fairly typical example of how a vet handles the start of a consultation with a client with whom they have a relatively limited prior relationship. This 'new client' status is not explicitly invoked, but the vet's initial calling (Line 1) reveals a number of important details about the relationship between the participants. For example, by identifying this client as "Mr Sanders" rather than "Danny" the vet gives the occasion an air of formality. This gently hints at the possibility that this is not an encounter between people who know each other well.

A second analytical point to note concerns the way in which the animal's owner (AO1) responds to the vet's enquiry, specifically, their use of the gendered pronoun "he" (Line 5). By using "he", the animal's owner smuggles in and attributes notions of personhood to the animal. It can be heard as them orienting to, and treating the animal as a *kind* of person.

Excerpt 2 (below) expands on these initial analytical points, through an encounter between people who know each other well – 'regulars':

Excerpt 2.

```
1    V    Hello: ((vet looks at animal owner))
2         (.)
3         now=what's he got! ((vet looks down at animal))
4         (0.8)
5         Come o:n (vet looks down at animal)
6         .hh huhu=
7         =yes it's me:! Hello:! ((vet looks down at animal))
```

In Excerpt 2 the vet greets his client with a heavily emphasized and animated "Hello:" (Line 1). This greeting is quite different from the one recorded in Excerpt 1 – which involved the same vet moments earlier. The previous greeting was more subtle – it was a quietly spoken title-surname call. The prosaic features of the greeting in Excerpt 2 are quite different, and they are audible signs of a *pre-existing* relationship between the vet and their client. Indeed, in the talk which follows, the client's status as a 'regular' is also applied to the animal. In Line 3, they too are greeted enthusiastically, this time with a playful "now=what's he got?" (Line 3).

A second analytical point to note about Excerpt 2, concerns the way in which the vet handles the start of this consultation, and shifts his attention between the animal's owner and the animal. For example, in Line 1 as the vet issues his initial call, the focus of his attention is directed at the animal's owner. However in Line 3 and 5, the focus of his attention is the animal. In Line 3 he issues a playfully animated enquiry "now=what's he got!", and the summons "Come o:n" (Line 5). Goodwin (1984) notes that, in addition to assigning specific utterances to individuals using grammar and intonation, utterances can also be assigned using embodied actions – physical acts including body orientation, eye contact, facial expressions, hands and so forth (*see also* Hutchins and Palen 1997, and De Stefani and Mondada, this volume). In the context of inter-*personal* (e.g. human) interaction, Goodwin's point is that by directing attention at specific individuals, speakers invite that individual to recognize and assume the obligations implicit in their speech (Goodwin 2000a, b). In Excerpt 2, the vet's first utterance ("Hello:", Line 1) is directed towards the animal's owner, whereas his second and third TCUs on Lines 3 and 5 are focused on the animal. Alongside this shift in gaze, we hear a shift in speech: the vet's speech (particularly on Lines 5 and 7) is highly animated. While the units of talk produced prior to this shift (e.g. Line 1) were still emphasized (as was characteristic of the way in which this vet greeted his regular clients), the units produced in conjunction and immediately after it (Lines 3, 5 and 7) are emphasized further, beyond what might ordinarily be expected of an utterance produced for a fellow human co-interactor. For example, we hear the vet putting both an unusually large amount of emphasis into his words – his "Come o:n" on Line 5 is both emphasised and elongated. This operates to give his words a comical and humorous tone, and they seem to trigger laughter from the animal's owner (Line 6).

A third analytical point to notice is that when combined with the vet's shift in gaze, their words on Line 5 and 7 can be seen as an instance of 'dog talk' (Mitchell 2001; Mitchell and Edmonson 1999). It is talk designed for and directed at the dog but where the corresponding shift in obligations implicit in their speech is not transferred between the participants. The speech particles produced by the vet, though directed at the dog, are actually a summons for the animal's owner, and for them to bring the animal into the consultation room. That is, while it is quite plausible that the animal may be sufficiently well-trained as to recognize "Come o:n" as a summons, it is more likely that this is an example of what Schegloff (1996) refers to as an utterance "in which co-present parties may examine third person references for camouflaged possible targeting of themselves" (p. 19). On this occasion, we see an example of utterances directed at an animal which implicitly sustain within their design relevance for other parties in the interaction. "Come o:n" is a summons that is recipient-designed for an animal but which has co-present meaning for the animal's owner, inviting them both to enter the consultation room. Through this greeting and summons, we see the vet orienting to both client and pet as regulars, but crucially we gain an initial insight into how animals start to be constituted as individuals in their own right and involved in the occasion.

Identifying patients

Continuing with the opening phase of veterinary medical consultations, the focus of this second analysis section shifts to the identity categories invoked during initial discussions about animal ailment. The two Excerpts that are presented *below* show how vets and animal owners identify animals as *different* types of patient – e.g. 'sick' vs 'recovering' patients.

Although discussions about health and ailment are generally confined to points someway into the consultation, in some circumstances they feature during the opening seconds of a consultation. Excerpt 3 is one such scenario. In this excerpt, the vet knows the animal because they have treated them recently (the animal is a 'regular'), and the animal has returned to be checked over and possibly discharged completely:

Excerpt 3.

```
1          ((vet opens door of consultation room))
2    V     co:r you look a [bit bri:ghter
3    AO                    [(       ) I'm a different dog
4          [today
5    V     [different dog
```

In common with Excerpt 2 the vet's initial assessment that the animal looks "bri:ghter" is addressed to the animal (Roberts 2004). Like Excerpt 2, the animal's owner recognises that this animal-directed address is intended to be overheard by them, and responds on their pets behalf. They confirm that the animal is a "different dog today" (Lines 2–3). By speaking as the animal (Line 2–3), the animal's owner temporarily borrows the position of their pet and uses it to confirm the vet's assessment of their health (Tannen 2010: 310; *see also* Stivers 1998). They are able to do this firstly because, as the carer for this animal, the animal's owner is able to speak on the animal's behalf to confirm the assessments of others and to offer their own. Animal owners are able to act in the same way as the parents of small children in paediatric medical consultations with doctors (Heritage and Robinson 2006; *see also* Zayts and Schnurr, this volume). Secondly, they are able to offer their voice on behalf of the animal, because the animal's physical qualities (looking *better*) are noticeable and thus available to be used for projections and confirmations about their improved state of health. By attending to the animal as *someone* displaying the signs of improved health, the vet is able to build (and share) their observations and assessments and together they are able to move through this early phase of the consultation and build a shared understanding of the animal's health as they go.

The next excerpt is another example of a follow-up consultation, but the animal in question is invoked in quite different terms – as a "major problem". This animal has been treated before but has, unfortunately, not made a good recovery. The consultation shown in Excerpt 4 has been arranged to discuss the results of recent tests, and to decide on a course of action. This Excerpt gives an interesting insight into how animals are handled discursively when their health-status is not a favourable one:

Excerpt 4.

```
1    V    °Mrs Jones°
2         (13.2) ((clients enter the consultation room))
3         ((unrelated talk between vet and nurse removed))
4    V    right.
5         (1.1)
6         she
7              (1.5)
8              °is a major problem.°
```

Numerous aspects of Excerpt 4 hint at the animals' problematic health status. For example, on Line 1 the vet calls his clients into the consultation room quietly, using the clients' name as part of a formal address (Line 1). Having called his clients into the consultation room, the vet then engages in a brief exchange with a nurse while his clients enter the consultation room and close the door behind them. Although it's difficult to infer meaning from the clients actions, their entry into

the consultation room takes a little over 22 seconds, during which no talk is exchanged. This is a long time to go without speaking, and while it is difficult to infer that this is linked to the nature of the occasion, it seems significant nonetheless.

The vet's characterisation of the animal as a "major problem.°" occurs on Line 8. It is spoken quietly, and directly. Interestingly, in the three-part TCU in which the vet makes this announcement (e.g. "right." (Line 4) "she" (Line 6) "is a major problem" (Line 8), the vet remains sensitive to the animal's dual subject/object status. Their initial use of the gendered pronoun "she" on line 6 again, smuggles in notions of animal-personhood. However, their subsequent "is a major problem", whilst lending depth to the locally occasioned character of the animals identity (as a person) simultaneously serves to limit the animal's access to the human category.

Identity struggle

Vets are archetypal professionals (Roth 1994). Like their colleagues in other professions (e.g. Law, Medicine), veterinary work is complex, varied and depends on specialist knowledge acquired during extensive training and apprenticeship. However, a vet is what Freidson (1970) describes as a 'client-dependent professional'. While vets may hold epistemic authority over their client with respect to medical matters (Heritage and Raymond 2005), in terms of *knowing* and *understanding* the animal, there is a knowledge asymmetry which works the other way. In many respects, therefore, animal owners can also be seen as 'experts' in their own rights and this status – much like the vet's own professional status and identity – must be accomplished within the context of everyday interaction. Excerpt 5 shows a rare scenario in which the identity status of participants (of vets as 'professionals' and owners as 'lay persons') is explicitly invoked and orientated to. It occurs while the vet is examining a cat's eye, which has been injured during a fight with another cat:

Excerpt 5.

```
1   AO   hi, tha:nks for seeing us so quickly. huh,
2   V    (he's your     )=
3   AO   =yeah: he's been in a scrap,I do:n't i-the eye
4        itself is injured. >but I'll leave you to judge that
5        I don't know what the hell I'm looking at<
6        (0.4)
7   V    a:h yeah
```

Excerpt 5 opens with the animal's owner offering thanks to the vet for seeing them so quickly. The conversation then moves quickly and directly into a discussion about the animal's eye. Interestingly, when describing his concerns, and despite the

animal's wound to the eye being clearly visible, the animal's owner avoids making any definitive claims about his pet's injury. Instead, immediately following his assessment of the cat as having "been in a scrap" the animals owner (AO) says to the vet "I do:n't i-the eye itself is injured" and subsequently defers to the vet with ">but I'll leave you to judge that I don't know what the hell I'm looking at<". The animal owner's deference on this occasion is interesting because it enables him to pass over responsibility for the animal. He exhibits 'epistemological caution' (Heritage 2004), avoids taking an assertive position about the animal, and in doing so diminishes his rights to report on the animal's injury while simultaneously emphasising the professional authority and expertise of the vet. In doing so, AO clearly positions himself as a non-expert in the consultation room and thereby constructs the vet as an 'expert'.

Excerpt 6 (*below*) shows a slightly different scenario, in which the lines of authority and expertise are less clear-cut. Although latent asymmetries in knowledge and expertise are rarely contested explicitly, it was not uncommon in the data for animal owners to interject, query and/or question the activities of a vet. This happened in a range of different ways, but most commonly on occasions in which vets were necessarily reliant on their clients for information about the animal – such as during discussions about and/or examinations of the animal's ailment. Excerpt 6 is one such scenario, and shows a scene in which a veterinarian is examining a cat's mouth. His examination is informed by the initial directions of AO1 – who has pointed him to the "bottom" (Line 6) of the animal's mouth. However, as the examination proceeds, and the vet searches, inside the animal's mouth, the animal's owner starts to direct the vet's attention:

Excerpt 6.

```
1    V     goo:d boy
2         (2.8)
3         ˚what have you been do:ing then?˚ ((2))
4         (1.8)
5    AO2  (hello) ↑gizmo!=
6    AO1  =°it's at the bottom° it's'↑okay giz, ((3))
7         (0.9)
8    V    (         )=
9    AO1  =bottom at the back.
10   V    u:h yeah. (0.3) he ha:s
```

In directing (Line 6) and redirecting (Line 9) the vet's attention the animal's owner in Excerpt 6 shows that the vet is apparently accountable for finding the problems the animal's owner has described and directed his attention to. That is, having been informed of the owner's concerns, it seems the vet is then liable to address or in some way acknowledge these during, or as a result of, his examination. It

seems that having told the vet what is wrong, the animal's owner is attentive to the vet's ability to locate these concerns and will move to correct or redirect their attention if they appear to be struggling to follow up on their initial directions. In undertaking such corrective action, the animal's owner momentarily asserts their own position as a lay-expert on the animal, and is potentially accountable for having encroached into the professional domain of the veterinary. On this occasion this encroachment results in the vet locating the area, and acknowledging his find (Line 10) rather than, as might have happened, the vet rebuffing the animal owners' apparent impatience with his on-going search.

Building on Excerpt 6, Excerpt 7 shows a second common scenario in which latent asymmetries in knowledge and expertise are momentarily upset and contested. It shows an animal's owner describing both the symptoms of their pet's ailment, and making claims (that is, naming) the specific condition they believe their pet to be suffering from – the latter activity being one which is normally undertaken by the vet:

Excerpt 7.

```
1    V    alright.
2         (1.5)
3         what's she'doing?
4         (0.7)
5    AO   °s:he's°
6         (0.8)
7         toda:y she's constipated. I don't know if she was
8         before,=we've been keeping an eye on her.
9         (0.6)
10   V    w[hy
11   AO   [bu-
12        (0.4)
13   V    do you say she's constipated?=
14   AO   =coz I [watched er'try
15   V           [(         ) her try
16   AO   she's dug'a (.) hole in the garden, border a couple
17        of times
18   V    yeah
19   AO   squatted over it, nothing comes out,
20        (6.6)
21   V    °(            )see what the rest of her's like)
```

Heritage and Maynard (2006) note that in human medical consultations, descriptions of a patient's problems are typically constructed through narratives in which patients, parents or guardians describe how they first came to realise that they, or the patient, was ill. In Excerpt 7, the animal's owner provides such a narrative on behalf of her pet. For example, when invited (on Line 3), she describes her cat as "constipated".

An owner naming the specific condition they believe their pet to be suffering from was relatively unusual in the data. Research tells us that lay-participants in expert-lay consultations (e.g. medical consultations) normally avoid encroaching into the professional's sphere of expertise by making claims that might otherwise be seen as the domain of the resident professional (Heritage and Robinson 2006). Patients, carers and guardians generally *infer* a diagnosis, or just describe a series of symptoms that are troubling them (Stivers 2002; *see also* Heritage and Robinson 2006). Equally, when describing a condition or symptoms, patients and/or presenters usually mitigate their claims. By inserting speech particles which detract or downgrade their description, they avoid giving definitive or assertive accounts (Stivers 2002). However, in contrast to this literature, in Excerpt 7, the animal's owner names the condition she believes her pet to be suffering from and does not use any devices to mitigate or otherwise downplay her claims. In doing so, she appears to occupy – if momentarily – the position of an expert. That is, she positions herself as a 'lay-expert' (Freidson 1970) by self-diagnosing her pet.

Ordinarily, patients' claims that they are suffering from a specific condition are rarely accepted on face-value (Stivers 2002). In the current dataset, definitive accounts were generally subject to review or assessment and pushed for clarification, elaboration or reformulation. In Excerpt 7 the animal's owner appears to pre-empt this by moving immediately to qualify her description. For example, moments after offering 'constipation' as a diagnosis, she qualifies her diagnosis by placing it within a temporal context: "I don't know if she was before,=we've <u>been</u> keeping an eye on her." (Lines 7–9). However, this is apparently insufficient as the vet subsequently asks the animal's owner: "why do you say she's constipated?" (Lines 10–13).While this is not a definitive indication that the animal's owner has encroached on the vet's expert authority, this request for further information is potentially indicative of them as having done so, and of the vet attempting to regain their status as 'expert'. However, the animal's owner still appears unable to make this claim, without having to then subsequently explain how she arrived at this assessment. Because the animal's owner has claimed, definitively, that the animal is constipated, she is liable to be held to account for such claims, which is what has appeared to have happened on lines 11–14.

Discussion

The data that is presented in this chapter illustrates how vets and animal owners identify themselves, one another, and animal patients. It provides a highly granular account of these social practices, and identifies both commonalities – as well as areas of divergence – with the discursive practices of participants in

human medical consultations. For example, the data that is presented shows that the opening stages of both veterinary and human medical consultations are organized around the same basic activity – the identification of patients (Heritage and Robinson 2006). Animals (much like humans) must be identified as 'sick', 'recovering' etc., – in order to obtain access to healthcare (*see also* Stivers 1998). The data that is presented in this chapter shows how this is achieved, but also gives an insight into the range of other identities that are invoked – e.g. 'regulars', 'new clients' and so forth.

As well as highlighting similarities with the discursive practices employed by participants in medical consultations, the data that is presented also highlights areas of divergence. For example, the professional practices of vets differ significantly from those of doctors in relation to the discursive handling of their respective patients. Because their patients occupy a dual subject/object position, vets are able to project animals as kinds of people, as part of broader efforts to construct medically appropriate identities. Animal owners too, are able to use animals' 'flexible personhood' (Shir-Vertesh 2012), and the range of interactional possibilities this affords. The data that was presented shows how participants assign a personality and even autonomy, agency and morality as part of broader efforts to identify them as sick (Arluke and Sanders 1996; *see also* Fox 2006).

The empirical data that is presented shows that it is not always easy to identify animals, and that doing so can sometimes lead to struggles between participants. For example, vets may dispute owners' reports of their pets, while animal owners my similarly dispute vets' interpretations of their pets' behaviour. Each may regard the other as having misread the signs and symptoms of an animal's ailment, prompting low-level discursive struggles between them, as each seeks to (re)assert a different identity.

In addition to these struggles to identify animals, struggles also occurred between vets and animal owners. Veterinary medical consultations – like other institutionalised settings – are characterised by classic professional distinctions – e.g. vets-as-professionals and clients-as-laypersons. However, during veterinary medical consultations these are potentially disrupted when both vets and animal owners claim rights to report on the potentially ambiguous health-status of an animal. As 'client dependent professionals' (Freidson 1970), vets depend on animal owners' close day-to-day proximity with their pets, and intricate knowledge of their pet's behaviour – such as how they are responding to treatment, etc. However, one consequence of this dependence is that veterinary medical assessments – which often follow very brief periods of observation/investigation – can be readily scrutinised and disagreed with by the animal's owner. This potentially gives rise to occasions of professional uncertainty, ambiguity and struggle as animal owners have the ability to encroach into vets' professional domain. Thus, one

point that arises from the data, is the suggestion that the epistemic authority of professional vets over their clients (Freidson 1970; *see also* Heritage and Raymond 2005) is contestable, potentially leading to identity struggles between participants (see also De Stefani and Mondada, this volume).

Conclusion

The first aim of this chapter was to examine how identity (specifically, animal identity) is invoked during veterinary medical consultations. The second aim of this chapter was to consider the impact of animals' non-human 'semi-person' status (Arluke and Sanders 1996; Dolins 1999; Shir-Vertesh 2012) on broader social processes of identity construction in medical settings. To address these aims this chapter has used fine-grained analytical methods (Conversation Analysis – Sacks 1992; Schegloff 1996) to provide a detailed insight into the everyday discursive practices employed by participants in veterinary medical consultations and the social processes of identity construction in which these participants engage. It shows how identities are ascribed to human participants, as well as to co-present non-human animals. As well as capturing the identities-in-use during veterinary medical consultations, this chapter also highlights the identity struggles that occur, and how these are resolved, in practice. These empirically novel findings progress, and prompt new reflections on currently limited studies of identity work (*but see* Fox 2006; Hearne 1982), but also broader studies of animal-human interaction (*but see* Blackwell 2001; Hearne 1982; Jerolmack 2005; Morris 2012; Roberts 2004; Sanders 1994, 1995; Stivers 1998).

Transcription symbols (adapted from Jefferson 2004)

(.7)	Length of a pause.
(.)	Micro-pause.
a:	Less marked fall in intonation.
a:	Less marked rise in intonation.
[ ]	Between adjacent lines of concurrent speech indicates overlap.
(( ))	Non-verbal activity.
:	Stretching of a word.
( )	Unclear fragment.
> <	The talk in-between is quicker.
↑↓	Rising or fall intonation.
Word	Underline indicates speaker emphasis.

References

Antaki, Charles, and Susan Widdicombe (eds). 1998. *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage.

Arluke, Arnold, and Clinton Sanders. 1996. *Regarding Animals*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Blackwell, Michael J. 2001. "Beyond Philosophical Differences: The Future Training of Veterinarians." *Journal of Veterinary Medical Education* 28 (3): 148–52. doi: 10.3138/jvme.28.3.148

Dolins, Francine L. 1999. *Attitudes to Animals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511608476

Francione, Gary L. 1995. *Animals, Property, and the Law*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Fox, Rebekah. 2006. "Animal behaviours, post-human lives: everyday negotiations of the animal-human divide in pet-keeping." *Social and Cultural Geography* 7 (4): 525–37. doi: 10.1080/14649360600825679

Freidson, Eliot. 1970. *Professional Dominance: The Social Structure of Medical Care*. New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.

George, Barbara L, Ann C. Kruger, Michael Jeffrey and Andrea Evans. 1985. "The development of gestural communication in young chimpanzees." *Journal of Human Evolution* 14 (2): 175–86. doi: 10.1016/S0047-2484(85)80005-1

Goodwin, Charles. 1984. "Notes on story structure and the organisation of participation." In *Structures of Social Action*. ed. by John M. Atkinson and John Heritage, 225–247. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, Charles. 2000a. "Practices of seeing visual analysis: an ethnomethodological approach." In *Handbook of Visual Analysis*. ed. by Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt, 157–182. London: Sage Publications.

Goodwin, Charles. 2000b. "Action and Embodiment within Situated Human Interaction". *Journal of Pragmatics* 32 (10): 1489–1522. doi: 10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X

Hearne, Vicki. 1982. *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by name*. Toronto: Random House.

Heritage, John. 2004. "Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk." In *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, ed. by David Silverman. London: Sage.

Heritage, John, and Douglas W. Maynard (eds). 2006. *Communication in medical care: Interaction between primary care physicians and patients*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511607172

Heritage, John, and Jeffrey D. Robinson. 2006. "Accounting for the visit: giving reasons for seeking medical care." In *Communication in Medical Care: Interactions between primary care physicians and patients*, ed. by John Heritage, and Douglas Maynard, 48–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511607172.005

Heritage, John, and Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. "The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68 (1): 15–38. doi: 10.1177/019027250506800103

Hutchins, Edwin, and Leysia Palen. 1997. "Constructing Meaning from Space, Gesture and Speech." In *Discourse, tools, and reasoning: essays on situated cognition*, ed. by Lauren B. Resnick, 23–40. New York: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-3-662-03362-3_2

Jefferson, Gail. 2004. "Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction." In *Conversation analysis: Studies from the first generation*. ed. by Gene Lerner, 13–23. Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.125.02jef

Jerolmack, Colin. 2005. "Our Animals, Our Selves? Chipping Away the Animal-Human Divide." *Sociological Forum* 20 (4): 651–60. doi:10.1007/s11206-005-9063-2

Mitchell, Robert W. 2001. "Americans' talk to dogs: Similarities and differences with talk to infants." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 34 (2): 183–210. doi:10.1207/S15327973RLSI34-2_2

Mitchell, Robert W., and Elizabeth Edmonson. 1999. "Functions of repetitive talk to dogs during play: Control, conversation, or planning?" *Society and Animals* 7 (1): 55–81. doi:10.1163/156853099X00167

Morris, Patricia. 2012. *Blue Juice: Euthanasia in Veterinary Medicine*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Roberts, Felicia. 2004. "Speaking to and for animals in a veterinary clinic: a practice for managing interpersonal interaction." *Research on Language and Social Interaction*. 34 (4): 421–46. doi:10.1207/s15327973rlsi3704_2

Roth, Wolff-Michael. 1994. "Experimenting in a constructivist high school physic laboratory." *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*. 31 (2): 197–223. doi:10.1002/tea.3660310209

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation*. Blackwell Publishing: London.

Sanders, Clinton. 1993. "Understanding Dogs: caretakers' attributions of mindedness in canine-human relationships." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 22 (2): 205–226. doi:10.1177/089124193022002003

Sanders, Clinton. 1994. "Biting the Hand the Heals You: Encounters with Problematic Patients in a General Veterinary Practice." *Society and Animals* 2 (1): 47–66. doi:10.1163/156853094X00072

Sanders, Clinton. 1995. "Killing with kindness: veterinary euthanasia and the social construction of personhood." *Sociological Forum* 10 (2): 195–214. doi:10.1007/BF02095958

Sanders, Clinton, and Arlie Arluke. 1993. "If Lions Could Speak: Investigating the Animal-Human Relationship and the Perspectives of Non-human Others" *The Sociological Quarterly* 34 (3): 377–90. doi:10.1111/j.1533-8525.1993.tb00117.x

Schegloff, Emanuel. 1996. "Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-interaction: A partial Sketch of a systematics." In *Studies in Anaphora*, ed. by Barbara A. Fox. 437–485. Amsterdam: John Benjamins doi:10.1075/tsl.33.14sch

Shir-Vertesh, Dafna. 2012. ""Flexible Personhood": Loving Animals as Family Members in Israel." *American Anthropologist* 174 (3): 420–432. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1433.2012.01443.x

Stivers, Tanya. 1998. "Pre-diagnostic Commentary in Veterinarian-Client Interaction." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 31 (2): 241–77. doi:10.1207/s15327973rlsi3102_4

Stivers, Tanya. 2002. "'Symptoms only' and 'Candidate diagnoses': Presenting the problem in paediatric encounters." *Health Communication* 14 (3): 299–338. doi:10.1207/S15327027HC1403_2

Strum, Shirley C. 1987. *Almost human: a journey into the world of baboons*. New York: Random House.

Tannen, Deborah. 2004. "Talking the Dog: Framing Pets as Interactional Resources in Family Discourse." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 37 (4): 399–420. doi:10.1207/s15327973rlsi3704_1

Tannen, Deborah. 2010. "Abduction and identity in family interaction: Ventriloquizing as indirectness." *Journal of Pragmatics* 42 (2): 307–316. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2009.06.002

CHAPTER 20

Embracing a new professional identity

The case of social work in Botswana

Unity Nkateng and Sue Wharton
University of Botswana / University of Warwick

Social work in Botswana is a young and rapidly developing profession. In the last fifty or so years, the role of the social worker has changed, from distributing practical help to taking on roles which were previously filled via age- and status-based social structures. Also, since the 1960s social work in Botswana has developed from a largely unqualified, low status job to a graduate profession and this process of identity formation is the focus of this chapter. In particular, we document social workers discussing their professional activities and relating these to the professional structures through which they must attempt to accomplish their goals. Our data is drawn from a series of interviews, and our methodological approach is a combination of directed and inductive content analysis. Issues of identity which emerge include language, belief systems, education, accountability, and the place of the social work profession among other professions. Through our interviews we attempt to collaborate with social workers to theorise the conflicts which are experienced and the avenues which seem most promising for the development of a professional identity which serves the need of the community, clients, and social workers themselves.

Keywords: bilingualism, Botswana, content analysis, identity, interviews, professionalism, social work, writing

Introduction

The notion of identity as a process, constructed through actions and interactions, is well established (Angouri and Marra 2011; Benwell and Stokoe 2006; De Fina, Schriffin and Bamberg 2006). There are many studies which focus on the performance and development of identity in professional settings, often via detailed semiotic and linguistic data from interactions. In this paper, we are also interested in identity as a process, but our focus is not on interactional data. Rather, we take as our case a specific profession in a particular place: Social work in Botswana.

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.20nka
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Through interviews with practising social workers, we participate with them in interactions through which professional identities are performed and constructed to us, as outsiders. Through analysis of these interviews we show how social workers perceive the identity of their profession to be changing, and explore their attitudes towards these changes – from feelings of agency and optimism, to feelings of coercion and uncertainty. We highlight the identity struggles in which they are involved – not so much to develop satisfying professional identities as individuals, but more to understand – and contribute to – the re-shaping of the identity of their profession.

Background: A brief history of social work in Botswana

The social work profession in Botswana began to be established about 50 years ago, and there is little documented history of the more informal social welfare systems from which it emerged. Ferguson-Brown (1996) provides a historical account of community development and social welfare services in Botswana, explaining that before independence from the UK in 1966 there was one official position – that of social welfare officer – which was placed under the Department of Education from 1946 until 1964. Duties and roles of these officers were defined by the British government and included "Scouting and guiding; adult and audio visual education; cases of indigence; Bechuanaland Soldiers Benefit Fund; assistance in presentation of government point of view to the African; assistance in relationship with the press; contribution of articles to the press" (Wass (1972: 113) cited in Ferguson-Brown 1996). At the moment of independence, the situation in Botswana was similar to that in other sub-saharan African countries, with: "deeply embedded informal systems of social protection overlain by a patchwork of colonial schemes…" (Barrientos and Hulme 2009: 446).

Ferguson-Brown (1996) citing Ramchandani (1970) goes on to explain that community development became a much higher priority following independence: "Published in the month of independence, the first Botswana development plan, the Transitional plan, acknowledged the importance of Community Development in Botswana and made a commitment to expanding the recently formed Community Development Department established under the ministry of Local Government and Lands." (p.70). Under this new plan, the number of community development roles began to multiply and the activity began to become formalised. A certificate programme in community development was started at the Botswana College of Agriculture in 1971. It was transferred to the University of Botswana in 1985 and became a certificate in social work. The first social workers to emerge under this system were called 'Bommaboipelego' (females) and 'Boraboipelego' (males). These

names reflect a view of social workers as helpers who encouraged people to be self-reliant; they were seen as workers who provided needy people with food or coordinated self-help projects in the country.

Social work in Botswana today

Today, the official view of the social work profession, as expressed in documentation from the Department of Social Work at the University of Botswana, is that of "a community-based practice by professionals working with people who are vulnerable and at risk to reduce the risks and enhance their lives, to prevent social dysfunction and to ameliorate situations which are threatening to people and the social order, to promote healthy development for communities, organisations and individuals; to promote the provision and effective management of progressive services to those in need, and to promote social justice, human rights and mutual responsibility" (Department of social work, n.d). Contemporary social workers continue to work with individuals in need, for example people with cancer, HIV/AIDS, or other chronic conditions. Yet they also administer and manage community services such as adoption or school attendance. They are charged with encouraging the communities with whom they interact to understand health and welfare issues from a 'scientific' perspective, referring to e.g. nutrition and microbiological medicine as explanatory factors in a context where client communities may understand such issues from a more 'traditional' perspective, e.g. witchcraft. In other words the profession has seen a change from an orientation towards helping individuals who find themselves in difficult circumstances, to an orientation towards working for social justice and towards cultural change. This trend can also be seen in other 'developing' countries (Barrientos and Hulme 2009) where social protection is no longer seen simply as a safety net for individuals in crisis; rather, it is increasingly seen as a matter of combating the root factors which place some individuals in a disadvantageous socio-economic position, and is expected to contribute to the socio-economic development of the country concerned.

The change in orientation is reflected in changes to Social Work education in Botswana. Tummala (1995) explains that the first social work training offered at the University was based on models developed in North America and Europe, and taught by people from those areas; its focus was on casework and individual counselling. Arguably, this first training was based on an approach to social protection which dominates in 'developed' countries: an approach which assumes that there exists a functioning network of social protection agencies, and that an acceptable socio economic standard of living/ quality of life is available to the majority of citizens. In such a context, the role of social work is to support the

minority who, for whatever reason, have become marginalised from these available benefits. However, educators in Botswana increasingly perceived that this model was not appropriate for the country at that time, and sought to develop a localised curriculum that would address the needs and problems of Botswana. Osei-Hwedie et al. (2006) and Osei-Hwedie and Rankopo (2008) explain that the Bachelor of social work (BSW) programme has been continuously developed to ensure it is providing relevant and appropriate content, and that the programme now focuses on the 'social' as the means through which society improves its quality of life. Contemporary social work is represented, in official documents and in the curricula of training programmes, as a profession intended to systematically advance agendas of poverty reduction and to improve equality of opportunity.

Against this background of change, our research aim was to gain a fuller understanding of the way social workers themselves perceive the identity of their profession and the extent to which they feel themselves to have agency in the direction it is taking. Previous research (e.g. Forster and Rehner 2008; Han and Chow 2010; Staniforth et al. 2011) has revealed that social workers can experience a variety of orientations towards the perceived identity of their profession and we wanted to research this issue in the Botswana context.

Methodology and Data

Our approach to both data collection and data analysis was qualitative. While quantitative researchers may sometimes criticize qualitative research for the problems of sample size and generalisability, we would endorse the view of Dornyei (2007: 27) who explains that "qualitative researchers … question the value of preparing an overall, average description of a larger group of people because in this way we lose the individual stories. The real meaning lies with individual cases who make up our world". We therefore sought to gain insights into the developing identity of a profession via the accounts of specific members of it at a particular moment in time.

We held open-ended interviews with twelve social workers currently practising in Botswana. Six were fully qualified professionals, and six others, though also experienced practitioners, were in the process of completing their degree course. The years of their experience ranged from 3 years to thirty years. The six fully qualified interviewees were all based in one district of Botswana and were trained either in the University of Botswana or in South Africa. The six participants still in the university were based in different parts of the country. The interviews lasted between 20 and 30 minutes and the length of the interview transcripts ranged from

1803 to 4961 words. Interviews were bilingual, involving English and Setswana. Interview guides were developed in English and starting questions were formulated in this language, but as the interview progressed, both parties frequently mixed codes between English and Setswana. We introduced the interviews around the idea that we, as researchers, wanted to find out about the day to day activities of social workers. We thereby established a K+ epistemic status (Heritage 2012a) for our interviewees, meaning that on the gradient between more knowledgeable [K+] and less knowledgeable [K–], the relative position of the interviewees is higher than that of the interviewers in the 'social work'-domain of knowledge (cf. Heritage 2012b: 32; see e.g. also contributions by Zayts and Schnurr and by De Stefani and Mondada on epistemics). This remained the basic interactional frame.

The interview data were analysed in their original bilingual form using qualitative content analysis. Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1278) define qualitative content analysis as "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" and stress that it is often used with interview data. Zhang and Wildemuth (2009: 309) state that "samples for qualitative content analysis usually consist of purposefully selected texts which can inform the research questions being investigated", and go on to explain that a "qualitative approach usually produces descriptions of typologies, along with expressions from subjects reflecting how they view the social world".

Our analysis was to some extent directed. Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) state that in directed content analysis "initial coding starts with theory or relevant research findings"– our starting point was a weak version of this, in that we had a predetermined focus which was to examine how the workers identified themselves in terms of their profession and how they oriented to perceived changes in that profession. At the level of detail, however, our coding was inductive; we did not have preconceptions about the specific categories which would emerge from our analysis.

Our inductive analysis began with relatively open coding. We went through the transcripts identifying concepts which seemed to recur and which were related to our predetermined theme of professional identity. Through a process of applying and constantly reviewing concept labels, then where possible linking groups of concepts together, we were able to develop a set of categories. Categories are based on more abstract labels, and each encompass a number of specific concepts – they begin to explain the areas in which issues of identity formation, are perceived as most acute.

Findings

The interviewer initiated sequences that were designed to elicit "information from a projectedly more knowing (or K+) recipient" (Heritage 2012b: 33), as such talking into being her own K– epistemic status. In response to these questions and prompts, our interviewees were all willing to adopt the K+ status which we offered them, and to explain their work in some detail. The four major categories which emerged from our analysis of their comments are:

- Role Conceptualisation, and in particular the way in which the interviewees construct their role-identities vis-à-vis other related professions;
- Language and the specific challenges of managing bilingualism in social work practice;
- Cultural Norms of urban versus rural contexts, of modern versus traditional ways of life and of their own role as a social worker;
- Authority/Accountability and the struggle to carve out a professional space that assumes full accountability in spite of relatively limited authority.

In the subsections below each category is discussed in relation to data extracts, and where possible related to findings from previous literature. Data extracts include translation from Setswana to English where necessary.

Role conceptualisation

The social workers expressed a consensus that they work with different government departments to advocate for their clients for the services they need. All the twelve participants listed a number of different activities which they engage in. The following three extracts illustrate this point:

> "*The nature of my job? As social workers we are at the fore-front in helping individual, groups and communities. Like I am having a ward that I am servicing; I do assessments, I try to link them with resources that are in place in the community*"
>
> *… being a social worker it's a jack of all trades. Anything se local a nang le bothata jwa teng, [or any problem that a client has a problem with] we try and link up with le Ministry o e leng gore o ka mo thusa [relevant ministry that can help] so I'd say almost all of them.*
>
> *We do counselling, we do rehabilitation and we have psychosocial support, but it's difficult because we have too much on our plate. Usually we do referrals because it's easier for a hospital social worker to do counselling and rehabilitation like I can.*

The first extract seems most closely to portray the social worker as a "social work citizen, i.e. a professional whose work bears an inherent and irreducible reference

to social and economic justice concerns in the public world" (Forster and Rehner 2008: 39). The phrase 'at the forefront of' suggests a perception of a wider social goal which social workers try to bring about. The second extract, and the final sentence of the first, emphasise that the role of the social worker is as an intermediary, not necessarily working with the client long-term but rather linking them with a different agency for ongoing work. The second extract seems to suggest that the intermediary role may be associated, negatively, with a lack of professional specialisation; the phrase 'jack of all trades' is typically not flattering. The third extract introduces a difficulty of the role and advances 'easiness' as a rationale for linking a client with other agencies, rather than suggesting that a key role of the social worker is to make referrals. Here, then, we see social workers seemingly accepting that they must act as intermediaries between clients and other agencies, but also expressing concerns: that this may devalue their own professional role, or that they may be forced to pass people on due to lack of time.

Another interviewee positioned herself specifically against a view of the profession which she ascribed to others:

> *The only problem that I have with social work in Botswana is that everything is dumped into the profession. It's like we are the dumping site, you have ….if there is a celebration ya Boipuso [for independence], a social work is expected to be there. Why can't you say council officers, go organize for independence celebrations? If it's June 16, it's the day of the African child, even teachers are supposed to be spearheading that, but no, a social worker has to do that. That's why sometimes we just get tired… It's just that right now it's not realized, people don't … people still have a vague view of what social work is.*

The extract above shows the social worker as being forced to respond to the agendas of members of allied professions, rather than being able to push forward agendas of her own. Research by Hall et al. (1999) shows social workers constructing their identities partly in contrast to the role-identities of other related professions, and here the interviewee seems to be enacting a struggle to carve out an appropriate professional space. Her relatively informal language, shortening distance between herself and the interviewer, potentially brings the interviewer to empathise with her feelings and line up with her against those 'others' who do not understand what social work is. Arguably, the interviewee uses her K+ epistemic status as a platform to persuade the interviewer – and the potential audience? – that the social work profession is fighting to be valued.

As the extract continues, the interviewee continues to position herself against an allegedly commonly held view, but now brings in her own recent experience as evidence that positive change is happening:

> *They still consider us to be those bo-mmaboipelego ba bogologolo ba ba phakisang [olden days social workers with food baskets], but we know that we are professionals, we are educated to be making a difference. But lately I think it's coming together because since 2010 I have realized that the cases that come in, it's not destitution anymore….but it's my job to assess them and find out if they need to be registered or not, and he takes that. So it makes it easier because most of our cases now, they are social cases like marriage problems, children ba ba sa utlweng batsadi [who disobey their parents] and court cases, so now I know we are doing our job than a few years back.*

The interviewee in this second part of the extract seems to be conceptualising improvement in two different ways. Firstly, she relates it to a recognition of her own status as an expert decision maker 'it's my job to assess… and he takes that'. In this phrase she claims an identity as a gatekeeper, with a recognised role in the implementation of government policy. Secondly, she relates improvement to a difference in the type of social problem being dealt with: less of an emphasis on destitution, and more of an emphasis on what she calls 'social cases'. By evaluating this change positively, she portrays to the interviewer that some cases are more desirable than others for a professional social worker – again, performing an identity by contrasting this role with that of previous social workers who focused on providing practical help. A perhaps unintended consequence of this identity claim is that work with the poor is constructed as having a lower status, not a suitable task for a social worker who is 'educated to be making a difference'.

Language

Botswana is a multilingual country, with two official languages: English and Setswana. The two official languages tend to be used in different contexts, and this presents social workers with some real challenges in terms of how to orient to their clients and to their colleagues or to officials. The social workers indicated that they tend to conduct consultations in Setswana, as this is the preference of the majority of their clients. In response to a question about language use, one interviewee explained:

> *It depends on who the client is, for destitution it's usually home language, Setswana, because most of them are the elderly who don't know how to speak English.*

The phrase 'it depends on who the client is' shows the social worker presenting herself as a bilingual who is able and willing to switch codes; she implies that bilingualism is a necessary part of a social worker's identity in Botswana. Other extracts, however, show that the role of bilingualism in social work practice is a

difficult one to manage. In response to a question about the challenges of writing professional documents, some interviewees brought up the question of language:

- *Let's start with social enquiry report, the challenge is interviewing the client in Setswana, and at the end of the day we are expected to produce report that is written in English, it's a challenge sometimes nna ke nna le kgwetlho ya gore ke translate Setswana seo to English but other documents I don't think ke nale problem le tsone. [I personally have a challenge of translating from Setswana to English but I don't have a problem with other documents]*
- *Just the fact that you will be using Setswana o bo o isa ko [translating to] English. Setswana to English is something else. Re itse hela gore [we know that] English it's not our mother-tongue, it becomes a challenge. Even to the clients, some of the issues o fitlhela ele gore [you find that] if you are asking, ke tse eleng gore di tlhalogangwa ka sekgoa [can only be clear in English], ha o e isa ko Setswaneng le wena go nna dingalo [It's a problem when translating to Setswana].*

The social workers are faced with a situation where they will interview clients using Setswana, but need to ask questions based on a form written in English and then summarise the interviews in a report written in English. This fact places huge demands on them. They must be competent and fluent in two modes, the oral-interactional mode and the written- bureaucratic mode. Not only this, but they must be able to translate from one to the other – successfully accounting, for example, for the differences in information structure that tend to be associated with written versus oral narratives (Prideaux 1993). Then furthermore, they must be competent and fluent in two language systems which come out of different cultural contexts and offer different semantic mappings of the world.

The term 'challenge' was introduced by the interviewer, but taken up by interviewees as they explain the difficulties of translation. Their K+ stance (Heritage 2012b) is particularly interesting here given that interviewees are aware – and orient to this awareness via their own code mixing – that the interviewer is herself a Setswana/English bilingual. Notwithstanding, interviewees seem to assume that she is not aware of the specific problems presented by the use of the two languages in social work, thus projecting a K– status upon the interviewer. The difficulty of finding the right words, for both aspects of translation, is expressed in the extract below:

> *Language barrier. Mo gongwe hela [At times] even if you try to express yourself, o tsaya se o neng o se buisana le [trying to transcribe the conversation with the client], go nna dingalo tota [it becomes a problem] unlike ha one o kwala ka [when you wrote in] Setswana. At times transcribing the conversation with a client is a challenge unlike when it was written in Setswana.*

This is perhaps an acute version of the conflict discussed by Tsang (2007) regarding orality and literacy in social work. Tsang highlights the difficulties which ensue when predominantly oral work with clients must be 'translated' into the written discourse of the profession in order for resources to be accessed. For social workers in Botswana, the translation involves languages and cultural contexts as well as modes and registers.

Cultural norms

Gray and Fook (2004) point out that social workers are likely to be socialised, via their academic education and professional discourses, into world views and value systems which may be radically at odds with those of the communities in which they work. Social workers in Botswana are predominantly from urban backgrounds and all are educated in an urban university, and yet a large part of their work is done with the rural poor. Osie-Hwedie and Rankopo (2008) regard this as a significant cultural gap which social workers, if they are to succeed in the social justice goal of the profession, must work hard to bridge.

As a consequence of the development and growth of the social work profession in Botswana, community and interpersonal issues which would previously be handled through the traditional cultural structures of the rural communities are now within the remit of social workers. For example in the past, family issues were solved by headmen or the chief but nowadays, those cases are dealt with by social workers . The latter, then, need to find a place for themselves alongside these still existing, albeit less powerful, traditional cultural structures. Various social workers interviewed were explicit about the need to make connections:

> *"sometimes we refer kids who are not behaving well with their parents to the chiefs".*

In the past, parents might have had recourse to the Chief directly – now, the social worker acts as a mediator. In Setswana culture in the past, social cases were attempted to be solved by members of the concerned families before they were referred to chiefs. In contrast, these cases are now often referred to social workers before they are even known by other members of the family.

Interviewees also talked of the need to explain the systems and resources that they were trying to introduce to the members of the rural communities who were the intended beneficiaries. In the extract below, the social worker relates the complexity of first explaining why a child needs to be taken for medical investigation at a different location, and then explaining the consequences of that investigation:

> *Let's talk about especially the placement. With placement I have to look for the medication cards and have take the child to go to the medication. Medication on its own has its own language, so I have to come and say to the old man that you have to take this child to the doctor so that he can see X-ray results, the problems of the child. So when I come back I compile the report that this child has tuberculosis; this child is malnourished; this child has kwashiorkor or whatever reason for the report. I have to explain to this woman before I can take the child from her.*

Here, the social worker is relating the need to explain medical interventions to the client – she is not justifying the interventions to the interviewer. In this way, the social worker and interviewer are constructed as sharing a belief in the value of (western) medicine, in contrast with the clients who may have to be convinced of its value. Other interviewees explain that the rural culture in which they are interacting is not accepting of some of the questions that their professional norms and practices require them to ask, for example:

> *if I am interviewing my clients especially the children, there are some ways that I will use or like if I am asking the old lady or the caregiver I will ask the caregiver gore is this your biological child? In Setswana. in Setswana we have to be polite whereas in English we ask is that your real child? Your biological father? Where is the father?*

In rural Setswana culture, it has traditionally been considered taboo to ask an unmarried woman about the father of the child. Denbow and Thebe (2006: 141) explain that unmarried men have low status as fathers; single men were referred to as "makgope", "large yellow locusts", emphasising their lack of family responsibilities and concomitant lack of status. A child born to an unmarried woman would be the responsibility of the uncle or the grandfather in the family, and would not be associated with the father until and unless he and the mother married. So a question like *"Where is the father?"* would be regarded as disrespectful to the mother and her family. The social workers, whose professional training tells them that to ask such questions is necessary and therefore justifiable, nevertheless need to modify their behaviour in order to create good relationships with their clients. This sensitivity is particularly acute when the client is older than the social worker and, as illustrated by the extract below, again the bilingualism of the social worker becomes a key resource:

> *I speak Setswana like I am speaking to my mother at home. So I don't have that superiority strata with me so I go there as ngwana wa mo lwapeng [a member of the family]. I just sit there with the old woman, grandfather. I talk to her like I'll talk to my grandmother, I talk to him like I'll talk to my grandfather. I get there, she's older, she is my grandmother anyway. So that's how we get to the level where the client becomes comfortable around us.*

By reporting their own speech and that of their clients, these social workers portray themselves as having a range of linguistic-pragmatic repertoires available. In the terms of Hall et al. (1999) we could say that they are able and willing to step outside of a predetermined professional *role* in order to take on a contingent professional *identity* suitable to, and derived from, the interaction of the moment – but no less oriented to the achievement of a professional purpose. The social workers portray themselves as willing to refrain from behaving as a higher status person who has the right, through her professional role, to impose a given style of interaction on the client. Rather, she sees it as part of her job to help the client feel comfortable with the mode of interaction and is willing to take the time necessary for this.

This seems to capture one of the distinctive characteristics of social work, in a number of settings. Parton and O'Byrne (2000: 33) argue that social workers are: "differentiated from workers in other services mainly by their willingness to forsake the formality of their roles, and to work with ordinary people in their natural settings, using the informality of their methods as a means of negotiating solutions to problems rather than imposing them".

Such interactions could in principle be the site of an identity struggle due to conflicting expectations (see for example Ojwang, this volume, discussing nurses in Kenya). In our interviews, social workers portrayed the interactions as opportunities to perform professional competence and display their K+ status – thereby, of course, making a claim to the interviewer that this empathy with clients is a part of their professional expertise.

Authority and collective accountability

If the above extracts show social workers constructing themselves as powerful through the very act of diminishing the appearance of power asymmetry, other extracts show them as explicitly underscoring the power they have over clients' lives. For example, the extract below represents ultimate judgement as residing with an external authority, but highlights the social worker as the presenter of the client's case and the report as the appropriate professional setting to make this case matter (Hall et al. 2006).

> *That is why it's important that when you do your assessment you do it thoroughly otherwise if you leave other issues unattended to, chances are that it will be deferred, because you wouldn't have given them the picture or even the full information about the client.*

Interviewees were similarly clear that they do not make their recommendations as individuals, but in their professional capacities. In a discussion about the language of their reports, there was a consensus among the social workers that it was

appropriate to refer to themselves in the third person, as "the officer". An interviewee explained this practice as follows:

> *It's covering us. I mean in 5 years' time, I won't be in here but a person who comes in would still be assisting my clients or the people that are in fact as clients while I was still here. We are saying the officer because even if you are not in, that person can be accountable of the decision that you made, even when you are not in.*

Here the interviewee constructs collective responsibility as a part of her professional identity, and refers to the sort of future-oriented accounting and rational decision making which Hall et al. (1999) associate with societal expectations of social work and allied professions. When discussing this aspect of their practice the social workers orient to the technical rationality approach to their profession, separating themselves and their role from the 'other' who is the client. Here, they have perhaps internalised a discourse of professionalism that tells them that improvement is to be measured in increasing documentation, more formal accountability for individual actions, measurable outcomes, and increased decision making within the legal apparatus of the state. When we look at the two interview quotes above together, the implication is that social workers are carving out a professional space within the apparent double bind of being fully accountable for their actions, and yet not the ultimate authority in decision making.

Conclusion

As they participated in interviews, the social workers in this study were not simply reflecting on their identity, rather they were doing identity work and they were talking into being their K+ status in the social work domain. Conscious that the interviewer was researching their profession, they constructed and drew upon an outward-facing professional identity (File and Wilson, this volume), representing themselves to an outsider.

At first sight, it seems that there may be a mismatch between these social workers' view of the identity and goals of their profession, and the views expressed in official discourse in the country. Many of the extracts in which they discuss their role seems to suggest that they see themselves as working with individual adaptation, rather than to promote social or institutional change (Han and Chow 2010). This echoes the findings of Staniforth et al. (2011) concerning the views of social workers in New Zealand. In a context where social work education was emphasising the social change agenda, respondents nevertheless tended to define the profession as focused on helping individuals or groups improve their situations within the existing context. Staniforth et al (2011: 203). point out, though, that

possibly "… principles of social justice are so ingrained in current social work thinking that respondents took these for granted and did not feel the need to mention them explicitly". Although they drew on questionnaire data, rather than on an interview as in our case – the same point may nevertheless be valid here.

We would argue, however, that even though the social workers' explicit statements about their roles suggest an individual adaptation perspective, comments on other aspects of their practice suggest an orientation towards social change. Gitterman (2014: 601) comments: "In society's division of labor among professions, some professions such as education, law and police are assigned the function of building a stronger and better integrated society. Other professions, such as medicine, psychiatry and psychology, are assigned the purpose of strengthening the individual. Social work with its historic liaison function is the only profession to identify that both people and environments require equal attention." As we will discuss below, social workers in Botswana are embracing this duality and consequently, are re-valuing their liaising function.

The identity of the contemporary social worker in Botswana is as a mediator in several senses: between clients and resources, between Setswana and English, between rural and urban cultural beliefs and practices, between authorities who make decisions and individuals whose lives are affected by them. Such an identity has long been criticised: when Abraham Flexner in 1915 attacked the notion of social work in the USA as a profession, one of his key points was that its function of liaison between clients and other agencies or professions was not a legitimate professional function (Gitterman 2014). Gitterman (2014: 600) recognises that "[s]ince the time of Flexner's (1915) speech to the present, social work has struggled to prove itself as a profession worthy of professional identity status and respect".

Others, however, have argued that this interstitial positioning of social work is a key strength. Hyslop (2011: 404) argues that its very ambiguity makes it hard for hostile forces to co-opt it: "the conflicted nature of practice can generate resilient action for both workers and clients, and potentially facilitates processes of resistance and change, individually and socio-politically". The social workers we spoke to did not represent themselves only as mediating between contexts, but also as having influence in each context. They constructed their expertise as both fulfilling the demands made by the technical rationality of their profession, and engaging fully with the relationship building aspect of their work – this is demonstrated by the way they describe their verbal interactions with clients. They do not present themselves as delivering a service, but rather as embodying a service, embodying a connection between otherwise disconnected sections of Botswana society.

In discussions with us, social workers used the K+ epistemic status offered by the interview to develop a stance through which they argued – to the researchers and perhaps through us to a wider audience – for a desirable identity for their

profession in a situation where they believe the public's knowledge of their profession is very limited. The epistemic gradient of more or less knowledgeable about the social work domain is thus presented as highly stretched in Botswana and by relating day to day aspects of their practice, they can contribute to altering the wider audience's knowledge of this domain over time (cf. Heritage 2012b: 33). Furthermore, the social workers also demonstrated agency in the interpretation of their role. Payne (2005: 8) argues that "workers contribute to how social work is constructed, because what they do in social work is or becomes social work through the process of social construction". It is our contention that these social workers, through their interactions with outsiders like ourselves, as well as through interactions within their professional practices, are spreading knowledge and understanding of their professional domain, while they are at the same time taking control of the direction in which the identity of their profession is developing.

References

Angouri, Jo, and Meredith Marra. 2011. *Constructing Identities at Work*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230360051

Barrientos, Armando, and David Hulme. 2009. "Social Protection for the Poor and Poorest in Developing Countries: Reflections on a Quiet Revolution". *Oxford Development Studies* 37 (4): 439–456. doi: 10.1080/13600810903305257.

Benwell, Bethan, and Elizabeth Stokoe. 2006. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

De Fina, Anna, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael G. W Bamberg. 2006. *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459

Denbow, J. and Thebe, P. C. 2006. *Culture and Customs of Botswana*. London: Greenwood Press.

Department of Social Work, University of Botswana. (n.d.). Mission Statement for Each Programme and Course Descriptions. Gaborone, Unpublished.

Ferguson-Brown, Heather A. 1996. "The Origins of the Welfare and Community Development Programs in Botswana". *Pula: Botswana journal of African Studies* 10 (2): 66–82. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.555.5500&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Forster, M, and T Rehner. 2008. "Educating Social Workers for Social Justice Practice: A Field Education Model". *The International Journal of Learning* 15 (10): 39–43.

Gitterman, Alex. 2014. "Social Work: A Profession In Search Of Its Identity". *Journal of Social Work Education*. http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/10437797.2014.947898.

Gray, Mel, and Jan Fook. 2004. "The Quest for a Universal Social Work: Some Issues and Implications". *Social Work Education* 23 (5): 625–644. doi: 10.1080/0261547042000252334.

Hall, Christopher, Stefan Slembrouck and Srikant Sarangi. 1999. "The legitimation of the client and the profession: identities and roles in social work discourse". *Talk, Work and Institutional Order: Discourse in Medical, Mediation and Management Settings*, ed. by Srikant Sarangi and Celia Roberts, 293–318. New York: Walter de Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110208375.3.293

Hall, Christopher, Stefan Slembrouck and Srikant Sarangi. 2006. "Categorisation and Accountability in Professional Text and Talk". In *Language Practices in Social Work: Categorisation and Accountability in Child Welfare*, ed. by Christopher Hall, Stefan Slembrouck and Srikant Sarangi. 15–34. London: Routledge.

Han, Meekyung, and Julian Chun-Chung Chow. 2010. "What Changes MSW Students' View on the Mission of Social Work?. *Social Work Education* 29 (2): 205–221. doi: 10.1080/02615470902912227.

Heritage, John. 2012a. "Epistemics in Action: Action Formation and Territories of Knowledge". *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45(1): 1–29. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646684.

Heritage, John. 2012b. "The Epistemic Engine: Sequence Organization and Territories of Knowledge". *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45 (1): 30–52. doi: 10.1080/08351813.2012.646685.

Hsieh, H.-F. and Shannon, S. E. 2005. "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis". *Qualitative Health Research* 15 (9): 1277–1288. doi: 10.1177/1049732305276687.

Hyslop, I. 2011. "Social Work as a Practice of Freedom". *Journal of Social Work* 12 (4): 404–422. doi: 10.1177/1468017310388362.

Osei-Hwedie, K., Ntseane, D., and Jacques, G. (2006). 'Searching for appropriateness in social work education in Botswana'. *Social work education*, 25(6), 569–590 doi: 10.1080/02615470600833469

Osei-Hwedie, K. and Rankopo J. M. 2008. "Developing culturally relevant social work education in Africa: the case of Botswana". In *Indigenous Social Work Around The World*, 203–218, ed. by Mel Gray, John Coates, and Michael Yellow Bird. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate.

Parton, Nigel, and Patrick O'Byrne. 2000. *Constructive Social Work*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Payne, Malcolm. 2005. *Modern Social Work Theory*. 3rd ed. London: Palgravee

Prideaux, Gary D. 1993. "Subordination and Information Distribution in Oral and Written Narratives". *P&C* 1 (1): 51–69. doi: 10.1075/pc.1.1.05pri.

Ramchandani, J. C. (1970. Community development in Botswana. Pamphlet report prepared for the government of Botwana, available at http://encore.seals.ac.za/iii/encore_nmmu/record/C__Rb2441709__SCommunity%20development.__Ff%3Afacetlocations%3Aca%3Aca%3ACory%20Library%3A%3A__Orightresult__X6;jsessionid=CA355F87BA516C55652A0000837D58BC?lang=eng&suite=nmmu

Staniforth, B., C. Fouche, and M. O'Brien. 2011. "Still Doing What We Do: Defining Social Work In The 21St Century". *Journal of Social Work* 11 (2): 191–208. doi: 10.1177/1468017310386697.

Tsang, Nai Ming. 2007. "Orality and Literacy: Their Relevance To Social Work". *Journal of Social Work* 7 (1): 51–70. doi: 10.1177/1468017307075989.

Tummala, Kamala. (1995). Relevance of home economics knowledge base for social work practice in Botswana. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 10(1), 53–64. http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.513.6730&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Wass, P. (1972). Community development in Botswana with special reference to the evolution of policy and identification. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, UK.

Zhang, Y. and Wildemuth, B. M. 2009. "Qualitative analysis of content". In *Applications of social research methods to questions in information and library science*, 308–319. ed. by B. Wildemuth. Westport CT.: LibrariesUnlimited PDF. www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/content_analysis.pdf

CHAPTER 21

Identity and space

Discourse perspectives

Gerlinde Mautner
WU Vienna

The aim of this chapter is to unpack the links between identity, space and discourse in organizational settings. Following a constructivist approach, the chapter first explores the nexus between space and discourse in general terms, before moving on to the more specific links between space and identity, both in the public domain and in organizations. With the conceptual background thus mapped out, the chapter then proceeds to present an exploratory case study involving a newly built university campus. Both during the building process and after the move, discourse could be seen to be the vehicle through which space was constructed, and struggles over identity and power carried out.

Keywords: organizational discourse, space and identity, power

Figure 1. WU (Vienna University of Economics and Business)

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.21mau
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Figure 2. Outside a lecture hall at WU Vienna

Introduction: Aims and theoretical framework

What do these three images – a building with a university logo on it (Figure 1), the Red Bull logo outside a lecture hall (Figure 2), and a cartoon stuck to an office door (Figure 3) – have in common? First of all, they are markers of organizational identity, or two intertwined identit*ies* (see also Introduction to this volume), to be precise, in the case of Figures 2 and 3. Secondly, they are examples of "emplaced" texts, to use Scollon and Wong-Scollon's (2003) term. That is, their meaning is at least in part derived from where they are located in space. Thirdly, such texts have

Figure 3. A cartoon attached to a lecturer's office door at WU Vienna

a rich discursive history. That is, the texts that we see before us, embedded in space, are often part of a long series of institutional texts and interactions. In Pälli, Vaara and Sorsa's (2009) words, there is "a process of continuous intertextuality"; in other words, texts should never be regarded as isolated elements, but rather as recursively linked to past and future texts. The size and position of the sponsor's plaque, for example, is in accordance with guidelines discussed at length among faculty (in both minuted meetings and informal conversation) and finally laid down in writing by university management; thus, interactions were converted into texts which in turn regulate texts. The cartoon is the visual expression of a lecturer's grievance about the size of her office on the new campus that the university moved to several months previously, and which will be the subject of a brief case study at the end of the chapter. Her new office is actually the same size as the offices of her peers, but significantly smaller than her office in the old building, where offices tended to be allocated on the basis of seniority. In the new building, by contrast, office

sizes were made to correlate with formal status, and a lecturer, no matter how long they had been working at their department, would be given a smaller room than associate and full professors. So space was made to correlate with hierarchy and power. Again, these decisions are the result of organizational discourse in various forms – informal chats, formal meetings, newsletters, minutes – and at the same time result in more such discourse, as the cartoon gets remarked upon by people passing by the office for example; another case, then, of the intertextual nature of text production and reception.

Even this first glimpse at the data indicates that discourse, space and identity are linked in a number of ways, which this chapter aims to unravel. Throughout, my approach is inspired by three research traditions: Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA for short (Wodak and Meyer, eds. 2015), organizational space research (Clegg and Kornberger eds, 2006b, Dale 2005) and linguistic landscape (or LL) research (Shohamy and Gorter, eds. 2009; Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni, eds. 2010; Mautner 2012 and 2014). A loose, though I believe compelling, theoretical bracket can be fitted around the three research traditions, based on their shared interest in power; their broadly constructionist perspective; and the critical impetus that unites them. Whether or not each of the writers quoted in this chapter explicitly acknowledges roots in Critical Theory, most have taken on board one of its key tenets, namely the need to "defamiliarize" what seems familiar (Alvesson and Deetz 2006: 275) and challenge taken-for-granted notions about how the social world is ordered. With a foothold in these theoretical terrains, then, my aim here is to apply linguistic landscape research to an organizational setting, and do so with a critical orientation. The account I offer is conceptual rather than empirical, but inspired and supplemented by an exploratory case study.

Specifically, the chapter pursues three interlocking aims. First, it draws together existing research on identity, space and discourse. Separately, each of these levels of analysis has received a great deal of attention, but it is less common for them to be seen as interconnected. Second, a case study will be presented which illustrates how the three levels interact in a real-life setting, namely the construction of a new university campus in Vienna, Austria. The case study is exploratory in nature in that it aims to identify key themes that "space and discourse" research ought to address. Third, the chapter will draw on the case study to critically reflect on the opportunities and challenges posed by such research.

Space and discourse

As discourse analysts interested in space we find ourselves in varied company – among social and cultural geographers, political scientists, sociologists, psychologists, organizational theorists, architects and urban planners, to name just a few. Attention to space in the social sciences is now broad and deep enough for a "spatial turn" to have been proclaimed (Warf and Arias, eds. 2014). All of these knowledges can and should be tapped into, or at least engaged with if we want to come to grips with a phenomenon as complex but also as basic and ubiquitous as space. As Stenglin (2009: 272) points out, space is a constant presence in human existence:

> Three-dimensional space is an omnipresent semiotic. It surrounds us from the moment of our conception in the womb and envelops all the activities of our daily lives. To this end it shelters and protects us while contextualizing us as we work, sleep, eat, learn and carry out of [sic] the myriad of complex activities that constitute our lives. It also encompasses us as we enact our personal and social relationships, and temporally unfolds as we move through it. Even when we die it subsumes us: either through the burial of our bodies or the scattering of our ashes. It is therefore an all-enveloping semiotic.

Specifically, from a discourse perspective, "space" is part of the context in which text and talk take place; context, in turn, is regarded as an influence on the linguistic choices made by the participants involved, and as a resource in the interpretative toolbox of the analyst. That much can be taken as read. Yet as contextual categories go, space is an odd one. Unlike, say, "politics", "history", or "gender", space is strangely elusive. It has no material quality of its own, yet is manifestly created by material artefacts: by buildings, fences, walls, furniture, and so on. Although intangible itself, space is often defined by tangible boundaries. It is the "in-between", and to get any purchase on the concept of space at all we have no choice but to describe those material boundaries. Tellingly, an early study of public space, first published in 1971, is entitled *Life Between Buildings* (Gehl 2011 [1971]). That "life between" is constituted by discourse – not exclusively, but significantly. As a result, space itself is treated as socially constructed – through material practices as well as discourse – rather than an objective entity which is "out there" to be discovered. A seminal work in this area is Lefebvre's 1991 book, programmatically entitled *The Production of Space*. The heart of his argument is summed up well by Richardson and Jensen (2003), who, referring to Allen, Massey and Cochrane (1998), point out:

> Spaces and places are not isolated and bounded entities, but material and symbolic constructions that work as meaningful and practical settings for social action because of their relations to other spaces and places.

Space not only provides the context for discourse, but may itself become the subject of discourse, creating discourse *about* space. Given the character of space, to return to Stenglin's expression, as an "all-enveloping semiotic", it is hardly surprising that people talk and write about it: complaining or boasting about their offices, for example; giving each other directions, or debating where best to hold a meeting. Furthermore, discourse often precedes the creation of space, and then contributes to it, as those who commission building projects put together briefing documents for architects and interior designers; as juries adjudicating in architectural competitions debate the merits and flaws of the different entries; and indeed as architects themselves talk about their work (Cameron and Markus 2002).

Identity and organizational space

All of the themes raised in the previous section are also relevant in organizational settings; hence, they have been explored in organizational sociology and management studies. In their seminal review article, Taylor and Spicer (2007) identify three strands of research in this area: studies that deal with space as physical distance (investigating workplace layout, for example, or the clustering of firms in certain areas), research that looks at how space materializes power relations, and finally a third strand which views space as the product of lived experience.

In his review of extant literature, Chanlat (2006) pinpoints six key themes, all of which we will come across in our case study. Organizational space is:

1. *divided*; that is, there are demarcation lines between, on the one hand, "inside" and "outside", and on the other hand, internally, between different departments and different floors for example;
2. *controlled*; through surveillance, for example, and mechanisms controlling access;
3. *imposed and hierarchical*; witness the symbolic significance of the size and location of offices, and of furniture;
4. *productive*, because organizations are goal-oriented social systems;
5. *personalized*, that is, appropriated and adapted by the members of the organization, within the limits set by those who control the space in question;
6. *symbolic*, in that the design and use of organizational space is part of organizational culture.

The first and most obvious link between organization and space is established by the buildings in and through which organizations carry out their operations: factories, workshops, warehouses, offices, shops and so on. Even "dot com" outfits

need a physical base somewhere, however small and if only to house computers. That built environment is instrumental in defining and managing organizational boundaries; that is, determining what counts as the "inside" and the "outside" of the organization (Taylor and Spicer 2007: 337). Such boundedness, in turn, is a key component of the very notion of organization:

> Boundaries are intrinsic to organization: defining inside and outside is quintessentially what organizing involves as it enfolds and encloses some activities and excludes others. (Clegg and Kornberger 2006a: 145)

There are immediate implications for organizational identity. For when an entity distinguishes between its inside and its outside, it also says something about what it is and what it is not. "Organisation", Hernes (2004: 80) explains,

> evolves through processes of boundary setting. Like any social system, an organization emerges through the process of drawing distinctions, and it persists through the reproduction of boundaries.

There is no question, then, that buildings "stabilize social life" (Gieryn 2002: 35). But that is not all. In the same paper – entitled, tellingly, "What buildings do" – Gieryn also points out that built environments have a "structuring force" (p. 37). That is, having been shaped by social practices and social relations, buildings then go on to shape these practices and relations.

In organizational research, this performative view of space has given rise to a rich and varied literature. It comes with its own phraseology, which, though occasionally verging on jargon, does try to capture the dynamic quality of space. Beyes and Steyaert (2011: 9), for example, offer a "performative concept of *spacing*", arguing that "organizational geographies are *enacted*" (p. 12, italics added). Indeed, *enactment* is a key notion in this context (Dale and Burrell 2008: 66–77). Enactment emerges, as Hancock and Spicer (2011: 95) explain, "through the *lived usages* of space". Exploring the three-way nexus between organizational space, identity and power is one of the key concerns of Dale and Burrell's (2008) treatise; and again enactment emerges as a pivotal concept:

> The significance of enactment as a socio-spatial form of power is the simultaneous taken-for-granted nature of the power relations as 'lived through' embodied and cultural spaces, and the processes of identity construction that may be facilitated by the narrative opportunities of these spaces. (Dale and Burrell 2008: 77)

With the conceptual territory thus mapped out, let us now move on to our case study, and see how the relationship between organizational space, identity, power and discourse has played out in the planning, building and use of a new university campus.

Discourse, space and identity on a new university campus: An exploratory case study

According to Thomas's (2011: 518) typology of case studies, the present one would be classified as "local", "exploratory", "illustrative/descriptive" and "retrospective". In conceiving it as exploratory, I follow Ogawa and Malen (1991: 271), who explain the technique as follows:

> Often viewed as a preliminary step or a prudent prerequisite to more focused investigations, the exploratory case study is employed to inductively generate, rather than deductively confirm, insights regarding the phenomenon of interest. When the topic of interest has not been the subject of extensive empirical investigation, an exploratory case study is a sound and sensible first step (Mayer & Greenwoord 1980; Yin 1984). This strategy enables researchers to conduct a fairly comprehensive, open-ended search for relevant information, identify the major themes and patterns associated with the phenomenon of interest, develop or adopt constructs that embrace the patterns, articulate tentative hypotheses about the meanings of the constructs and their relations, and refine questions and/or suggest conceptual perspectives that might serve as fruitful guides for subsequent investigations.

I will begin by outlining the institutional background against which the new campus was planned, move on to describing how both the planning process and life on the new site involved discourse, and conclude with a self-reflective critique of the case study.

Background

In 2007, the management of the Vienna University of Economics and Business decided to move from its existing premises – essentially, a collection of nondescript blocks clustered around a 1980s main building – to a new campus, which was to be designed and purpose-built from scratch. From the outset, the university management made a point of emphasizing that the motto "building a new WU" was intended to mean two things: literally, the physical construction process; and figuratively, the creation of a new organizational identity. In keeping with the principle discussed above, namely that buildings "do" things (Gieryn 2002), the idea that the literal and the symbolic are intertwined was thus actively embraced. The new buildings were meant to not only *house* the institution, but to (re)create it.

On the more mundane level of organizational structure, the new campus was to play a key role too. Initatied by university management, the idea was to create organizational spaces to both mirror and promote the new organizational structure that had been put in place only a few years previously. In that move, many smaller departments had been grouped together in eleven schools. Unsurprisingly,

the restructuring process was, and continues to be, a source of positive synergies as much as a cause for irritation and conflict, raising as it does myriad practical and symbolic issues. The new campus cements the new organizational structure both literally and metaphorically. Whereas on the old campus, the department was the primary unit (and also the place that had its own 'front door' and signs giving its name), space is now divided up along *school* lines, so that there are no longer any physical boundaries between departments. Although each building on campus has its own spatial identity – through both architectural design and the décor following different colour schemes – departments do not. Nor are they identified by official signage; again, it is only schools that are recognized by the wayfinding system. There is however one example of a department which does happen to have a separate entrance, and which was thus able to resist the schools-only policy by putting up a sign which gives the name of the department on that door. The sign is a computer print-out on paper, attached to the door with sello-tape, its makeshift quality a constant reminder that this particular spatial arrangement contravenes official policy.

Planning of the new campus began in earnest in 2007. There were two rounds of international architectural competitions, for the general layout of the campus on the one hand and the six separate buildings on the other (see Figure 4).[1]

In October 2009, the groundbreaking ceremony took place, a carefully planned and scripted interactional genre which merges the discursive and the material. Less than four years later, in August 2013, the university moved to the new premises.

Figure 4. Campus map, WU Vienna

1. The winning architects were Zaha Hadid Architects (Hamburg), NP.MAD Arquitectos (Madrid), CRABstudio (London), Estudio Carme Pinós (Barcelona), BUSarchitectur ZT GmbH (Vienna) and Atelier Hitoshi Abe (Sendai).

Discourse about and in space

Space is not only a location in which discourse happens, but itself becomes the subject of text and talk. The texts and interactions involved range from informal chats, among future users for example, to competition briefs and various legal documents, such as planning legislation and planning application (Cameron and Markus 2002). In the case under consideration here, a key document from the early stages of the process was the so-called *Spatial and Functional Programme*,[2] essentially a design guide which listed the various functions the new campus was to fulfill, the number of departments and admin units to be housed, the number and type of offices and teaching rooms required, and so on. Significantly, the general guiding principles listed under the heading *Visions for the New WU Campus* also included the following:

1 • *As a flagship function, the New WU Campus and its location*
2 *should create a very positive image of the WU, conveying its*
3 *visions and underscoring its unique selling proposition as it*
4 *competes with other universities.*
5 • *The new buildings are expected to facilitate a qualitative and*
6 *quantitative improvement in the WU's delivery of services to*
7 *students and researchers.*
8 • *The WU aims to break up design concepts by providing open*
9 *zones of access and communication as well as green spaces,*
10 *allowing for free flow and movement between buildings or parts*
11 *thereof; at the same time, a campus atmosphere should prevail*
12 *right in the heart of the city.*
13 • *The WU wishes to take an active part in Vienna's urban life and*
14 *to make the campus accessible and attractive to the public at*
15 *large.*

Several of these "visions" relate to how the university wished the campus to both reflect and shape its organizational identity. Not surprisingly, the text is also self-promotional, laced with lexis carrying a positive semantic load – including *cutting-edge, accessible* and *attractive* – as well as with a dose of marketized discourse (Mautner 2010): The new campus, it says, is supposed to underscore the university's "*unique selling proposition* as it *competes* with other universities" (lines 3–4) as well as facilitate "the WU's *delivery* of services to students and researchers" (lines 6–7). What the document also makes quite clear is that the spatially defined organizational boundaries are to be permeable (or as permeable as security requirements would allow). There is mention of "open zones of access and communication" (lines 8–9), and of the WU's wish "to take an active part

2. I am indebted to Christoph Sommer, head of the Building Project Management, for giving me access to these documents.

in Vienna's urban life" (line 13). Now that the campus has been in use for three and a half years, it is clear that that part of the vision has indeed been realized. The campus is not an academic enclave. On weekdays and weekends alike, it is populated not only by staff and students, but also by locals going for a stroll or walking their dogs.

The bulleted *Visions* section, as well as the document as a whole, make explicit references to communication. And indeed, the finished campus shows that there are several ways in which the campus creates the relevant "spatial affordances" (Wineman and Peponis 2010) that are needed to facilitate communication. The overall layout of the campus (see Figure 4) ensures that users' paths cross frequently because all buildings are arranged on either side of a wide "main street" which runs from the Western to the Eastern entrance. Although such chance encounters are welcome in principle, there is not always time to let them lead to proper conversations. In practice, therefore, participants have to negotiate how they wish an unplanned encounter to unfold. In the first few weeks after the move to the new premises, a tacit understanding developed that a brief greeting, a wave, or a smile (or a combination of all three) was sufficient, and that one did not always have to stop and talk. Thus, the new space enabled new forms of interaction, but also made users come up with new rules for these interactions.

Incidentally, alternative routes across campus – through the underground parking lot, for example, or via shortcuts through buildings – are actively discouraged (by locked doors and an absence of signage): a clear case of "spatially guided movement" (Wineman and Peponis 2010: 87). In the planning phase, there was strong resistance against the idea. People were not too keen on being "spatially guided", it emerged, when this might mean having to traverse the campus in adverse weather conditions. However, now that the "main street" has proved such a success, these dissenting voices have largely gone quiet.

Inside buildings, too, layout and design create opportunities for contact and exchange. Following Kornberger and Clegg (2004), the buildings on the new WU campus may rightly be called "generative". Echoing Weick's theory of loosely coupled organizations (Weick 1976; Orton and Weick 1990), Kornberger and Clegg explain:

> Generative buildings must create margins where things are loosely coupled so that they can act, react, and interact flexibly. (…) A generative building reflects movements, not static conditions. (…) The generative building distinguishes itself from a terminal building in five respects: (dis)order, flexibility, problem generation, movement, and design. (Kornberger and Clegg 2004: 1106–1107)

Yet the *Spatial and Functional Programme* (SFP) is interesting not only for its content, and how that content in the end measured up against the final product, but also for its discursive history. Like policy documents generally, the SFP

is a rich repository of intertextual residue, much of it untraceable in any detail, as countless meetings, conversations, e-mails and other written texts fed into it. The SFP, in turn, triggered more text and talk, including the competition briefs. Although it has two named authors – the Project Manager as well as an architect hired as a consultant – many different voices contributed to it. Among them were the members of the so-called "Sounding Board" (myself included), an advisory body consisting of representatives of each department, each large admin unit and the Student Union. The Sounding Board was convened regularly throughout the planning and building process. While it was not, as such, a decision-making body, it was a forum in which views could be heard, ideas shared and grievances aired, and which gave users direct access to both the planning committee and top university management.

This arrangement ensured that discourse about space was institutionalized, rather than relegated merely to informal "backstage" communication. Naturally, there were critical voices too. While some appreciated the fact that the Sounding Board had been set up at all (experience from building projects at other universities suggested that this was not to be taken for granted), others derided it as a "talking shop", arguing that without voting rights it was doomed to be a toothless tiger.

One of the issues that led to the most intensive and sustained debate, in the Sounding Board but in several other meetings too, was the question of visible corporate sponsorship. A vocal group of faculty members voiced concerns that corporate symbols would become so prominent and ubiquitous that the WU's own organizational identity might be under threat – symbolically if not materially. To assuage such fears, the university management set up rules that now govern the visual presence of companies on campus. For example, companies sponsoring teaching rooms are not given permission to put up advertisements inside lecture halls, thus forestalling any suspicion that financial contributions might give sponsors control over teaching, and that academic freedom might be compromised as a result. Under these rules, a standardized plaque, like the one shown in Figure Two, is the only available option. The largest lecture hall, the *Audi Max*, was explicitly exempted from any sponsorship deal in order to reflect and honour the highly symbolic nature of its position in the academic heartland. (*Audi* is short for *Auditorium*, not a reference to the car maker, but no one seemed to notice the irony.)

In an organizational change process, it is as interesting to look at those issues that do *not* rise to the surface as at those that do. One of the spatial arrangements that the *Spatial and Functional Programme* specified was the size of offices, both in absolute and relative terms. While some criticism did arise over absolute office size, the relative difference in size was never openly challenged. It seemed to be widely accepted that professors were allocated more than twice the number of

square metres than lecturers on lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy. In the Sounding Board, we spent more time debating the merits of different appliances for the communal kitchens than on the spatial manifestation of power relationships: proof that power depends on the consent of those governed (Haugaard 2009).

That said, there are many ways in which the new campus actually empowers its users. Students certainly have considerably more control over workspaces than on the old site. Not only is there now a great deal more room for self-study, but there are also project rooms for groupwork. There is more room for socializing – there are several cafés and restaurants, well-appointed senior common rooms and kitchenettes – so that work-related and non-work-related identities can blend seamlessly into one another. From a critical perspective, this new organizational landscape is of course a mixed blessing. Commenting on the new library building of a British university, Hancock and Spicer (2011: 92) point out that the building "created an *identityscape*, which sought to interpellate students into the subject position of 'new model workers', who were to become adept at negotiating the flexible and collaborative forms of group work demanded by the new economy" (original italics). The building, they claim further, dissolves the perceived boundaries between the academic, the social and the vocational spheres" (p. 102), so that it becomes "the staging ground for the ongoing production of a post-bureaucratic worker" (p. 103). This account also rings true in the context discussed here. What is much less clear – and essentially a judgement call – is the question whether this particular type of "identityscape" is good, bad or indifferent. From the point of view of a critically oriented discourse analysis, however, asking the question is probably more important than answering it.

Finally, moving onto the micro level of people's offices, we can see that personal workspaces are often used as vehicles to express professional and personal identities (Wells 2000; Warren 2006). Plants, photographs, posters and knick-knacks of various kinds are displayed with the clear intention of appropriating space and "doing identity work". The artefacts thus displayed may be work-related, such as posters submitted to conferences, or very private, such as family photographs. They may be aligned with the dominant organizational identity, or oppose it. Yet the distinction between what constitutes alignment and what signals resistance is not necessarily clear-cut and could ultimately be drawn only on the basis of interview data. Is a holiday snapshot a way of saying, "I'm so comfortable here that I'm treating my work environment as a private space", or "I'd rather be elsewhere?" Is an old desk that a professor insisted on moving from his office on the old campus a sign of frugality, or of resistance against the new standardized office furniture? Furthermore, and ironically, the *absence* of material identity markers in a given office is itself an expression of identity: of detachment perhaps, or a refusal to allow the blending of "work" and "non-work".

Critical reflections

What insights can this case study offer over and above those related only to the specific case in hand? Six in particular come to mind:

First, it was confirmed that there are a number of interconnections between identity, space and discourse. One of the ways in which people express their organizational and personal identities is through their use of space. They claim symbolic ownership of it; negotiate rules governing interaction in it, and accept or resist top-down interventions in these matters.

Second, in a project like this, the amount of potential data is overwhelming, as is its variety. Up to a point, that could be said of any study dealing with discourse, but when space is added as an analytic dimension, all the familiar problems – such as those surrounding data collection, sampling and focus – are compounded. In the case study, it emerged clearly that the construction of organizational space (in both material and metaphorical terms) relied heavily on written texts and spoken interactions which all feed off one another intertextually. But these are countless in number. So which ones should go into the corpus to be analysed, and which ones left out? If we do not know how many texts there are overall, random sampling will not work. Realistically, a combination of purposive and convenience sampling (Gobo 2004) is therefore likely to be the best choice.

Third, a study that falls into the category of "local knowledge case" (Thomas 2011: 514) has both strengths and limitations, and for the same reasons. The researcher's familiarity with the object of study gives them privileged access to people, documents and events, Yet that very same familiarity can be at odds with critical analytical distance. In other words, local knowledge may enable and enrich insight, or restrict and impoverish it.

Fourth, a balance also has to be struck between analytical breadth and depth. While I am confident that the present case study, in keeping with Ogawa and Malen's (1991: 271) comment quoted earlier, managed to "identify the major themes and patterns associated with the phenomenon of interest", it also highlighted the need to *select* certain themes and patterns if one wanted to move from an exploratory case study to an explanatory one (see Yin 1984, quoted in Baxter and Jack 2008: 547). One such theme might be the expression of personal identity in individual workspaces; another the struggle over the ownership of space between public and commercial stakeholders.

Fifth, and in a similar vein, if we acknowledge, as our case study suggests that we should, that the manifestation of space in discourse is both multimodal and richly intertextual, it does not necessarily follow that all aspects of multimodality and all layers of intertextuality – including all the links between them – can be

explored; in fact, it is unlikely that this can be done sensibly and in a way that leads to a readable piece of research. As always in empirical work, respect for complexity needs to be combined with the courage to reduce it.

Sixth and finally, a case study that involves a unique and ongoing historical event also poses unique methodological challenges. Themes and patterns constantly change and evolve under our eyes, with their significance not always obvious until it is too late to record them. It can be very difficult to know *ex ante* what may turn out *ex post* to have been crucial moments in the struggle over spatially mediated identity. As a result, we could not replicate such a study even if we wanted to, at least not in its entirety: clearly a rather worrying methodological flaw. A staff member's first session in a particular lecture hall cannot, by definition, be repeated; nor can students' gradual colonization of social spaces; or administrators' deployment of directive signage. One could argue, of course, that all human interaction is ephemeral, and that all researchers investigating socially situated discourse are therefore in the same boat. Yet there are many genres of organizational discourse that are routinized and repetitive; consider sales negotiations or performance appraisal interviews for example. Any specific data set is also unique, it is true, and data collection is always time-consuming. Yet if we miss one such event we can be confident that another, very similar sort of event, embedded in a very similar sort of context, will come along soon. Not so when the scenario in question is as rare as the building of a whole university campus. The lesson to be learnt, then, is that the more unique and the more dynamic a research setting, the longer in advance the study design has to be developed, manpower organized, and institutional commitment sought.

Concluding thoughts

Discourse, space and identity are connected in myriad ways. Discourse inevitably unfolds in space, because speakers are embodied beings, and written texts need a material base, be it stone, paper, or smartphone screens. Identities, both personal and organizational, also have a spatial dimension. For individuals, the places that they can and do routinely frequent are part of their socio-demographic profile. For organizations, location and the built environment provide not only vital infrastructure, but also a vehicle for organizational symbolism. As the example of the new campus showed, the university management actively construed the building project as the material correlate of a far-reaching organizational change project.

Furthermore, spatial arrangements are inevitably suffused with power. Organizational space is a scarce resource, and the more power someone has, the more

likely they are to be in a position to do the allocating. Power differentials, and the resulting inequalities in control over space, may engender dissent, but they may also be so fully naturalized that they are accepted unquestioningly, or not noticed at all. Nor is dissent always open and on record. It may be aired in minuted meetings, it is true, but it may also remain in the shadowlands of whispers and the organizational grapevine, which, in turn, may yet again lead to intertextual residue in unexpected places.

While space may not necessarily be a significant contextual category for *all* discourse analytic work, it would be worth considering in more projects than is currently the case, rather than simply being taken for granted as a supposedly neutral background. Perhaps ironically, it is a focus on the *back*ground that can help us bring issues to the *fore* that may otherwise go unnoticed. For example, power differentials that are accepted as entirely "natural" by the social actors themselves may be reflected in and reinforced by seemingly innocuous spatial arrangements, such as the amount of space someone has available, and how much control, if any, they have over that space. Power and identity are often intertwined, as power enables the expression of identity. In organizational settings, workplace personalization is a case in point. It is also a crucial site where individual and organizational identities meet, and in some cases clash.

The chapter has reviewed key work at the interface of identity, space and discourse and, hopefully, opened up a few vistas for further research. So where do we go from here? One obvious way forward is to look at discourse and space through an ethnographic lens, carrying out fine-grained analyses of people's discursive constructions of space, in interviews and focus group discussions for example, in order to spot traces of identity struggles. The case study presented here was exploratory, small-scale and introspective; to make it generalizable, a representative sample of users would have to be put together and focus group and interview data gathered.

Another consequence of making discourse studies more spatially aware will probably be the conviction that greater attention should be paid to intertextuality (remember our discussion of the discursive histories of documents relevant for the building project) as well as to multimodality. For whether we examine discourse *in* or *about* space, nonverbal message components are likely to be significant. What is more, we will often be dealing with "emplaced" texts, whose material quality as well as their physical embedding in a particular place have a direct bearing on how they are produced and received. Looking at the nexus between discourse, space and identity also brings it home very forcefully that social actors' choices on the micro level are dialectically linked with social patterns on the macro level. Sadly, it would be overambitious, indeed naïve, to assume that a spatial perspective alone

might illuminate the precise nature of that link, other than confirming the truism that micro choices and macro patterns influence each other. Finally, recognizing that space is significant in theoretical, empirical and practical terms highlights the value of interdisciplinary cooperation: for example, between architects and linguists; cultural geographers and lawyers; urban planners and organizational theorists, or indeed whichever pairing seems appropriate when a particular set of complex spatial data needs investigating. When developing research designs, it does not make sense to be territorial about space.

References

Allen, John, Doreen Massey and Allan Cochrane. 1998. *Rethinking the Region*. London: Routledge.

Alvesson, Mats and Stanley A. Deetz. 2006. "Critical theory and postmodernism approaches to organizational studies." In *The Sage Handbook of Organization Studies*, ed. by Stewart R. Clegg, Cynthia Hardy, Thomas B. Lawrence and Walter R. Nord, 255–283. London: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9781848608030.n8

Baxter, Pamela and Susan Jack. 2008. "Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers". *The Qualitative Report* 14(4): 544–559.

Beyes, Timon and Chris Steyaert. 2011. "Spacing organization: Non-representational theory and performing organizational space." *Organization*: 1–17.

Cameron, Deborah, and Thomas A. Markus. 2002. *The Words Between the Spaces. Buildings and Language*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chanlat, Jean-François. 2006. "Space, organization and management thinking: A socio-historical perspective." In *Space, Organizations and Management Theory*, ed. by Stewart R. Clegg and Martin Kornberger, 17–43. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.

Clegg, Stewart R. and Martin Kornberger. 2006a. "Organising space." In *Space, Organizations and Management Theory*, ed. by Stewart R. Clegg and Martin Kornberger, 143–162. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.

Clegg, Stewart R. and Martin Kornberger (eds). 2006b. *Space, Organizations and Management Theory*. Malmö: Liber & Copenhagen Business School Press.

Dale, Karen. 2005. "Building a social materiality: Spatial and embodied politics in organizational control." *Organization* 12 (5): 649–678. doi: 10.1177/1350508405055940

Dale, Karen and Gibson Burrell. 2008. *The Spaces of Organisation and the Organisation of Space*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gehl, Jan. 2011 [1971]. *Life Between Buildings: Using Public Space*. Washington etc.: Island Press.

Gieryn, Thomas F. 2002. "What buildings do." *Theory and Society* 31: 35–74. doi: 10.1023/A:1014404201290

Gobo, Giampietro. (2004) 'Sampling, representativeness and generalizability', in C. Seale *et al.* (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*. London: Sage, pp. 405–426. doi: 10.4135/9781848608191.d34

Hancock, Phillip and André Spicer. 2011. "Academic architecture and the constitution of the new model worker." *Culture and Organization* 17 (2): 91–105. doi: 10.1080/14759551.2011.544885

Haugaard, Mark. 2009. "Power and hegemony." In *The Sage Handbook of Power*, ed. by Stewart R. Clegg and Mark Haugaard, 239–255. London etc.: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9780857021014.n13

Hernes, Tor. 2004. *The Spatial Construction of Organization*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/aios.12

Kornberger, Martin and Stewart R. Clegg. 2004. "Bringing space back in: Organizing the generative building." *Organization Studies* 25 (7): 1095–1114. doi: 10.1177/0170840604046312

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Mautner, Gerlinde. 2010: *Language and the Market Society. Critical Reflections on Discourse and Dominance*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mautner, Gerlinde. 2012. "Language, space and the law: A study of directive signs." *The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law* 19 (2): 189–217. doi: 10.1558/ijsll.v19i2.189

Mautner, Gerlinde. 2014. "Signs of the times: A discourse perspective on public signage, urban space and the law." In *The Discourse Reader*. 3rd edition, ed. by Nikolas Coupland and Adam Jaworski, 386–403. London: Routledge.

Mayer, Robert R. and Ernest Greenwood. 1980. *The Design of Social Policy Research*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Ogawa, Rodney T. and Betty Malen. 1991. "Towards rigor in reviews of multivocal literatures: Applying the exploratory case study method." *Review of Educational Research* 61(3): 265–286. doi: 10.3102/00346543061003265

Orton, J. Douglas and Karl E. Weick. 1990. "Loosely coupled systems: A reconceptualization." *Academy of Management Review* 15 (2): 203–223.

Pälli, Pekka, Eero Vaara and Virpi Sorsa. 2009. "Strategy as text and discursive practice: A genre-based approach to strategizing in city administration." *Discourse & Communication* 3 (3): 303–318. doi: 10.1177/1750481309337206

Richardson, Tim and Ole B. Jensen. 2003. "Linking discourse and space: Towards a cultural sociology of space in analysing spatial policy discourses." *Urban Studies* 40 (1): 7–22. doi: 10.1080/00420980220080131

Scollon, Ron and Suzie Wong Scollon. 2003. *Discourses in Place. Language in the Material World*. New York and London: Routledge. doi: 10.4324/9780203422724

Shohamy, Elana and Durk Gorter (eds). 2009. *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*. New York and London: Routledge.

Shohamy, Elana, Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Monica Barni (eds). 2010. *Linguistic Landscape in the City*. Bristol etc.: Multilingual Matters.

Stenglin, Maree. 2009. "Space and communication in exhibitions." In *The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis*, ed. by C. Jewitt, 272–283. London and New York: Routledge.

Taylor, Scott and André Spicer. 2007. "Time for space: A narrative review of research on organizational spaces." *International Journal of Management Reviews* 9 (4): 325–346. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2370.2007.00214.x

Thomas, Gara. 2011. A typology for the case study in social science following a review of definition, discourse, and structure. *Qualitative Inquiry* 17(6): 511–521. doi: 10.1177/1077800411409884

Warf, Barney and Santa Arias (eds). 2014. *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. London and New York: Routledge.

Warren, S. 2006. "Hot nesting? A visual exploration of personalized workspaces in a hot-desk office environment." In *The Speed of Organization*, ed. by Peter Case, Simon Lilley and Tom Owens, 119–146. Liber: Copenhagen Business School Press.

Weick, Karl E. 1976. "Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21 (1): 1–19. doi:10.2307/2391875

Wells, Meredith M. 2000. "Office clutter or meaningful personal displays: The role of office personalization in employee and organizational well-being." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 20: 239–255. doi:10.1006/jevp.1999.0166

Wineman, Jean D., and John Peponis. 2010. "Constructing spatial meaning. Spatial affordances in museum design." *Environment and Behavior* 42 (1): 86–109. doi:10.1177/0013916509335534

Wodak, Ruth and Michael Meyer (eds). 2015. *Methods of Critical Discourse Studies*. 3rd edition. London etc.: Sage.

Yin, Robert K. 1984. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage [5th edition: 2013].

CHAPTER 22

Household workers' use of directives to negotiate their professional identity in Lima, Peru

Susana de los Heros
University of Rhode Island

This article examines interactions between employers in Lima, Peru, and their household workers who are generally perceived as unskilled (Fuertes, Rodríguez and Casali 2013). Using a constructionist approach (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), I explore the household workers' struggle to negotiate professional identities using directives in task-oriented situations. Directives are associated with higher professional ranks in the workplace (Holmes and Stubbs 2003), thus indexing power. The data consists of audio-recorded interactions between household workers and their employers. The analysis of these interactions shows that household workers use directives to position themselves in non-subordinate roles with their employers' consent. In using directives, workers take charge and assert their knowledge with certain tasks to claim expertise power (Vine 2004) and create a more professional or skilled work identity.

Keywords: directives, expertise power, household workers, professional identity, language negotiation, work identity negotiation

Introduction

Identity is an interactional and fluid phenomenon performed in discourse and contingent upon the situation and the roles of individuals interacting with each other (see the introduction to this volume; Bucholtz and Hall 2005: 608). Although identity involves more than linguistic performance, it is articulated and negotiated through language (Marra and Angouri 2011: 7). Individuals' roles, speakers' positioning (Davies and Harré 1990), and the context in which interactions occur influence how identity is enacted. Likewise, social expectations, ideologies and societal structures affect identity negotiations. Additionally, the notion of what constitutes work and what is a profession can be sites of conflict and negotiation

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.22del
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

(Marra and Angouri 2011; Holmes and Marra this volume). In professional settings, participants with unequal status and power can discursively negotiate their social standing with challenging discourses (Schnurr, Marra and Holmes 2008).

This study explores Peruvian household workers'[1] struggles to negotiate expertise power (Vine 2004) and construct a more professional skilled worker identity based on the authority of their work knowledge. I argue that by using directives – which are usually employed by individuals with authority to give orders or instructions (Holmes and Stubbe 2003) – household workers can subvert power structures, and play the role of a person in charge. Additionally, by using directives in relation to household tasks, household workers assert their expertise and their identity of a skilled worker, thus contesting narrow perceptions of household work.[2] However, not all directives work as commands, thus a careful analysis of contextual elements is needed to decide how directives are functioning in a particular situation. Furthermore, negotiations of identity in discourse emerge as a process, and thus directives need to be examined within longer stretches of talk and in several turns.

To situate the analysis, I first offer a brief review of household work in Peru and the specific social practices in which it is embedded, outlining household workers' habitual roles and the norms of expected behavior (Fuertes et al. 2013). Then I discuss identity construction in discourse in the workplace, considering directives especially. I present the data collection procedures, the analysis, and finally, my conclusions.

Domestic service in Peru

The domestic service industry in Peru has its roots in the colonial past. Under colonial rule in Peru, Spanish became elite, while indigenous people, cultures and languages were devalued and subordinated. Household workers of the new elite and, later, of those in the upper social echelons, came from the subordinate ethnic groups. Since the sixties, sociopolitical transformations in Peru have contributed

1. Ladegaard (this volume) studies the narratives of foreign female household workers in Hong Kong. He indicates that he uses the term 'helper', even though it is dispreferred in the literature, because the women in his study use that term to refer to themselves. In contrast, I employ the term 'household worker' to refer to women's desire to be regarded as professional workers.

2. Holmes and Marra (this volume) indicate that even scholars do not agree on conceptualizations of work. Many define work narrowly and do not include unskilled workers, while others define it in more inclusive terms.

to more equality and rights for indigenous peoples (Degregori 1993). However, many forms of racism against indigenous and Andean people and *mestizos*[3] still exist (de los Heros 2012; Zavala and Zariquey 2007), and they also affect domestic workers.

Household workers in Peru are defined as "all those who work in the cleaning, cooking, washing, assisting people, taking care of children and who work in anything related to the household maintenance or vigilance" (Article 2 of the 27986 Peruvian Work Regulation quoted by Viviano and Barrantes 2007: 16).[4] Viviano and Barrantes (2007: 54) indicate that around 99% of household workers in Peru are women, 91% are migrants and 52.5% come from Andean rural areas. Many have Spanish as their L2, some have not completed their high school education, and a small percentage is illiterate. Not surprisingly, many are indigenous people or mestizos. Mick (2011: 192) indicates that migrant household workers to Lima perceive themselves as having a *dejo* or an accent different from Standard Limeño Spanish. Their accent is considered by many as an index of difference between them and their employers.

The "Ley de Trabajadores del Hogar" decree No. 27986 D.S. No. 015–2003-TR, approved under President Toledo's government (2001–2006), outlines the benefits and obligations for household workers' employment (i.e., health insurance, paid vacations etc.). Household workers' chores depend on the needs of the family, and on their expertise. Most household workers clean or cook, or do both. Even though there is legislation that regulates household work, many do not consider it *a real job,* or a professional trade (Fuertes et al. 2013: 23; Paan 2010). Social practices between household workers and employers in Lima accentuate social distance and display a hierarchical structure. For example, household workers and employers do not share or sit together at meals, unless they are with children, older people, or at a restaurant. In addition, household workers can watch TV in the TV room, but they usually stay in the kitchen and backyard during free time. When they live with their employers, their rooms are smaller, and are generally located near the kitchen. Also, household workers have their own bathrooms, and they usually wear uniforms. Living together leads to more familiarity and even some intimacy between household workers and employers. Both can manipulate intimacy or the mythical concept of "like one of the family" (Ally 2009: 100, see Ladegaard this volume).

---

3. The term mestizo was a racial category in early colonial times in Peru (sixteenth century) used to designate people who had Indigenous and Spanish blood (de la Cadena 2005: 264). Currently it has different meanings, but is frequently employed to refer to people who are culturally 'occidental' and urban, but have some indigenous physical characteristics.

4. Translated by the author.

Migrant household workers in Lima see themselves as different from Limeño employers; however, as Mick (2011: 207) indicates, migrant Hws "question categor[ies] and asymmetrical social structures, centre-periphery-models of membership and the universality of specific cultural values." As will be shown later, household workers can challenge their subordinate roles in the household in interactions.

Frames, relational work and directives in discursive negotiations of identity

From a constructionist perspective, a person's identity is seen as multiple, variable and manifested in discursive practices and negotiations (Benwell and Stokoe [2006]2010; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, see the introduction to this volume). Identity is a "component of context for talk-in-interaction" which is "a texture of orderly, repetitive and reproducible activities to be described and analy[z]ed" (Zimmerman 1998: 87). As a conceptual unit of study, identity implies "the existence of countable and pluralizeable facts of sameness and difference" in a person's behavior (Agha [2006]2007: 234–235). Certainly, recognition by others is an essential analytical element in identity performance. Therefore, individuals can employ indexical expressions or forms perceived as markers of different social, ethnic, gender, or social roles to present themselves as members of a particular group. Also, individuals may employ specialized jargon at work to portray themselves as authorized professionals in their field (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011).

Discourse identity negotiations need to be situated in reference to social norms and frames (Tannen 1993: 144). These frames are people's expectations on how to behave adequately in different social situations, contexts, and with different types of people (Culpeper 2008; Locher 2004; Tannen 1993; Zimmerman 1998). Furthermore, to enact group membership, individuals need to adopt behaviors accepted as norms by the communities (Marra and Angouri 2011: 3). In the workplace these behaviors are their work routines.

Social and linguistic norms are constantly changing and being renegotiated through relational work or relational practice including polite and impolite behavior (Locher and Watts 2008: 11). Identity negotiation can be a site of struggle. Speakers can employ impolite acts to challenge discourses of others about themselves and subvert power relations (Schnurr et al. 2008). On the other hand, speakers can also use relational work to negotiate their social standing more politely. In the workplace, relational work is not always transactional (Holmes and Marra 2004). Even if it focuses more on the personal, it always supports the achievement of work-related goals by helping in the creation of a work "team," by maintaining "positive workplace relationships" (Holmes and Marra 2004: 379).

The roles and the stance people take in social interactions indicate their position. Most of the time, there are power differences between speakers and these are talked into being in interactions. For instance, speakers' relation of power and familiarity affect the address system employed, as Brown and Gilman's (1960) groundbreaking work revealed. Power differences are manifested in linguistic rights and obligations of speakers. The more traditional, unequal and gender biased societies are, the greater the gap in conversational rights (e.g. who begins or ends a conversation, or who can give orders). Peruvian society is very hierarchical, and that fact manifests itself in language as will be observed later in the analysis. Household workers can challenge the employers' ideas, or make decisions on their own, but they use mitigation devices and/or other conversational strategies to avoid major clashes or conflicts.

In institutional settings such as courts and doctor's offices there are specific traits for language usage (Heritage and Clayman 2012). Nevertheless, sometimes the boundaries between institutional and ordinary talk are hard to define (Schegloff 1999; Heritage and Clayman 2012). This is the case in communications between household workers and their employers, and/or employers' families in their workplace, since the types of interactions amongst them are varied and not always task-oriented. Household workers' workspace is not a public space, so rules of communication are regimented differently from interactions at a store or a public office. Many household workers also reside and work in the same place. Furthermore, there is familiarity between household workers and the employers' families due to daily interaction and shared family routines. Additionally, household workers know about the families' private lives, and sometimes even personal matters are confided. However, interactions between household workers and employers are rarely totally relational and do not resemble interactions between equals. Household workers have a lower social and professional status in Peru, and language ideologies about their linguistic rights and obligations reflect this fact. For example, it is not expected that household workers start conversations with employers, unless they are related to their work or have work implications; the address system also shows this difference in status.

Directives and their strategic employment for identity negotiation in the workplace

Directives are speech acts in which the addressee is asked to carry out a future action (Searle 1976), including requests, commands and suggestions. Haverkate (1984) calls directives exhortative speech acts and distinguishes between impositive and non-impositive. Requests are regarded as impositive speech acts because

they are intruding. Nonetheless, "[s]ome researchers use the terms *directive* and *request* interchangeably" or sometimes "requests are regarded as polite" directives (Vine 2004: 25).

All directives can be mitigated for polite purposes or upgraded to make them more coercive (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989). Mitigators can take the form of hedges, diminutives, modals, or the conditional and subjunctive moods in Spanish (Blum- Kulka et al. 1989: 18–19, Félix-Brasdefer 2005: 67). Research in Spanish shows that even though dialectal variation exists (Placencia 2005; Márquez-Reiter 2002; Ruzickova 2007), conventional indirectness is the most frequently used strategy to express politeness in everyday speech when there is a power differential between interlocutors (Félix-Brasdefer 2005; García 1993; Márquez-Reiter 2002, Placencia 2005).

In the workplace, the need to give clear directions and accomplish tasks effectively is enormous; therefore the use of directives, as instructions or commands, is very frequent (Clyne 1994: 63). In this setting, the interlocutors' social and power differences, their gender, the purpose of communication as well as the characteristics of the communities of practice influence the expression of directives (Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Jones 1992, Mullany 2007; Schnurr et al. 2008; Vine 2009). For example, Jones (1992) noticed that in a Morris dance group meeting, bald directives only appeared when there was a threat to clear communication (e.g. asking to clarify a point). Vine's (2009) examination of managers' use of directives to subordinates in the workplace revealed that social distance and power affected the form of commands, but they were likewise influenced by the purpose of the interaction. Additionally, Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 53) found that "direct and explicit directives tend to be most frequent in routine instructions from superiors to subordinates, unless the superior is asking for something out of the ordinary or 'beyond the call of duty'."

Most studies on directives deal with how these are employed between participants of equal status or by higher rank officials with subordinates. In this chapter, I explore Peruvian household workers' struggle to negotiate a more professional identity in discourse interactions with their employers at work. More particularly, I examine household workers' use of directives – forms that index power – to position themselves in a role of command over tasks and issues being discussed or undertaken, and to defy stereotypes of household workers being unskilled workers (Fuertes et al. 2013; Paan 2010). Since identity negotiations are an intersubjective process (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), the employers are also shaping the interactions, accepting the challenges, asking for directions, or granting household workers control when they self-initiate directives. Likewise, when employers invite household workers' directives in relation to household tasks, they are relying on their expertise and implicitly agreeing to follow their directions.

Data and analysis

The data consists of ten 5–10 minute recordings in naturally occurring interactions between household workers and employers in upper and middle-upper class households in Lima in 2011 and 2012. The interactions were only audio-recorded and not videotaped; however, the researcher was a participant and was able to register more insights by taking notes. Most of the interactions took place in the kitchen and in the dining room at breakfast or lunch time. The majority of the household workers were live-in domestic help employees. The interactions were transcribed and, for purposes of anonymity, all names of the participants were changed and coded. The coding procedure consisted of two parts: first, a code defining the individual as either household worker (Hw), employers (Emp) or guests (guest); and second, a made-up Spanish nickname. The analysis of the data was carried out using Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) identity analysis framework (see introduction to this volume).

Address systems as markers of power differences between household workers and employers

In Peru, there are many status and power differences between household workers and their employers which also manifest in language. The most noticeable language difference is an asymmetric address system between employers and household workers. Employers call them by their names or nicknames, and use informal pronoun forms, whereas employers and their family and friends receive the formal treatment of formal pronoun forms (Vforms),[5] as well as titles such as *señora* 'Mrs.' as seen in (1), lines 1 and 2.

(1)

```
1   EmpOlga:   Fita, un favorcito
               Fita, a small favor
2   HwFita:    sí señora
               Yes ma'am
```

The asymmetries in the address system can and are sometimes challenged. Household workers can gain more status and familiarity with employers when they negotiate the address system as seen in the following interaction below.

5. The terms T and V forms were coined by Brown and Gilman (1960) to refer to the differences between formal (V) and informal (T) pronoun and verb forms based on the formality differences in Latin pronouns.

(2)

```
1   HwPina:       Señora buenas tardes
                  Good afternoon Ma'am
2   GuestLalita:  Hola
                  Hi
3   HwRosa:       ¿Cómo estás Lalita?
                  How are you (Tform) Lalita?
```

In Extract (2) above, Lalita is a guest who has known household worker Rosa since she was a child; therefore Rosa can use her first name + diminutive and the form *estás* (Tform). She may also ask a personal question. In some cases *seño* –a shorter version of *señora* – or a diminutive *señito 'little lady'* is used by household workers with employers to signal familiarity and endearment between them. Similarly, household workers also use first names with children.

The household workers' construction of expertise power employing directives

Household workers negotiate power differences with their employers, manipulating language devices to co-construct and enact, alongside the other participants (Bucholtz and Hall 2005; Schnurr and Zayts 2011), a role that empowers them. Here, household workers' use of directives is examined because these index power and can serve household workers – who are in a subordinate position – to claim expertise power (Vine 2004). Self-initiated and invited directives have different interactional functions. For instance, self-initiated directives show the speaker's agency, while invited directives project the speaker's trust. For this reason, they are discussed separately and considered sequences of negotiations.

Self-initiated directives

Let us begin with Extract (3) which happens in the kitchen during breakfast. Employer Meli wants to heat up both tea and bread in the microwave. Household worker Dina is in the kitchen overseeing what her employer is doing and ends up directing her.

(3)

```
1   EmpMeli:   Esto lo voy a calentar
               I'll heat up this [a cup of tea and bread]
2   HwDina:    Póngale cinco segun=diez, en veinte segundos [for both]
               Put (Vform) five=ten, in twenty seconds
3   EmpMeli:   Las dos cosas juntas no puedo
               Both things I cannot do it
```

```
4   HwDina:    Sí
               Yes
5   EmpMeli:   No creo
               I do not think so [it can be done]
6   HwDina:    Cosa por cosa no se va a poner
               One by one would not do it
7              póngalo
               Put (Vform) it [in]
8   EmpMeli:   ¿Las dos cosas juntas se pueden poner?
               Both things can be heated at the same time? [in less
               than a minute]
9   HwDina:    No
               No [in less than a minute]
10             Este creo que es un poquito más,
               This one I believe needs more (time),
11             Un minuto
               One minute
```

Employer Meli, above, opens the interaction expressing her desire to heat up her cup of tea and bread in the microwave (line 1). Household worker Dina reacts to the employer's statement, in the next turn, and self-initiates a directive telling her to heat up everything in the microwave. The directive is an imperative mitigated by the use of the Vform. Even though this directive was not followed by employer Meli, her request for advice on how to proceed (line 3) validates household worker Dina's power in the kitchen, and switches the employer to a dependent role. Dina, for her part, uses language that portrays her as confident, employing *yes* emphatically to encourage employer Meli to heat up the bread and tea (line 4). This is followed by a statement with the impersonal one 'uno' instead of formal you 'Ud.' which politely suggests that Meli would be wrong if she were to heat up things separately. With the use of 'uno' Dina distances herself from the situation. Immediately after that, Dina self-initiates another directive in the form of the imperative put it 'póngalo' to instruct her employer to do it her way (line 7). The language Dina employs is associated with authority. Also, this bald directive appeared to clarify instructions as in Jones (1992). In contrast, her employer is placing herself in a *subordinate* role: a person who follows directions. Furthermore, the household worker's 'expertise' is accepted by Meli: she asks Dina, again, if she can heat up both things before proceeding (line 8). Finally, Dina instructs Meli on what to do (lines 10–11) and Meli does what she is told. Dina has been able to position herself in a role (Davies and Harré 1990) which portrays her as a person in control. This is done intersubjectively (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) along with her employer. She co-constructs an authority role based on her knowledge and in accordance to Peruvian society's interactional frames where household workers show respect for employers. There are cases where household workers refuse to carry out orders and decide to do things their own way as in Extract (4) where household worker

Tea is serving breakfast for the family and friends in the dining room. Before this extract, Tea had already brought the bread, scrambled eggs, juice and coffee to the guests, who were seated around a table. She was overseeing whether there was something missing at the table when the interaction took place.

(4)

```
1   GuestPaz:  Un poquito de café por favor
               A little bit of coffee, please
2   HwTea:     Ahí está
               There it is [points to the coffee]
               (…)
3              ¿Café de cuál?
               Which one?
4   EmpLis:    Ese,
               That one,
5              el de chiste
               the fake one
6              [Laughter of all people present]
7   HwTea:     Va a faltar agua para su taza señor
               There will not be enough water for your (Vform) cup, sir
8   EmpTito:   ¿Qué?
               What?
9   HwTea:     Va a faltar agua para su taza
               You'll need more water for your (Vform) cup [takes the
               water thermos]
10  EmpLis:    Tremenda
               She's out of control/sassy
11  EmpTito:   Me quitó el agua acá
               She took my water
12  EmpLis:    Ya hijito, ya, ya tranquilo
               OK baby, OK OK, calm down
```

In line 1, a guest asks household worker Tea for coffee. Tea points to where the coffee is while saying: "There it is" (line 2). This is an indirect way of refusing to serve coffee to the guest. In essence, Tea projects a rebellious attitude. This seems an impolite act from Tea which challenges her employer's authority and subverts power (Schnurr et al. 2008). Also, with this statement, Tea voices her independence in deciding what she does and does not do for guests at breakfast. Tea continues going around the table to see if something else may be needed. When she gets near Tito, the male employer, she tells him that more water is needed for his coffee (line 7) and at the same time grabs the thermos with hot water. While this action seems impolite, Tea's statement (line 7) is conventionally indirect enough to downplay the face threat of the directive she makes. This politeness strategy is commonly employed in Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer 2005; García 1993; Márquez-Reiter 2002; Placencia 2005). In the next turn, Tito expresses his confusion in regards to Tea's statement (line 8). Lis, the wife of Tito, who is observing all this, sides neither with her husband nor with Tea. In line 10, she only calls Tea *tremenda*

'out of control'/'sassy', humorously and indirectly accepting the fact that Tea does not always follow protocol. Tito then complains explicitly that Tea took the water from him in line 11. Again, Lis does not stop Tea, instead she calmed her husband (line 12). Clearly, Tea has made a decision on how to serve breakfast and what needs to be done. The female employer – the person who oversees her work – accepts her language and autonomous actions, while the male employer who has less authority in this situation criticizes her. From this interaction, Tea emerges as in charge and knowledgeable of what she is doing. This is done in collaboration with the female employer who in the final analysis certifies Tea's subtle control. Tea has challenged successfully her subordinated position and asserted her household competence.

In Extract (5), the employer, Rita, is having breakfast with a guest in the dining room and the household worker, Flor, is in the kitchen. The door between the kitchen and dining room is open. It can be observed that Flor indirectly criticizes Rita's grocery shopping habits.

(5)

1	HwFlor:	*Ya no tiene que comprar mucha fruta ah,*
		You do not have to buy a lot of fruit, OK?
2		*si el joven*
		if the gentleman [EmpRita's young son]
3		*no viene*
		doesn't come anymore
4	EmpRita:	*No pues ya no viene*
		Indeed he does not come
5	HwFlor:	*Ya no tiene que comprar tanto fruta ah,*
		You do not have to buy so much fruit uh,
6		*compre para usté lo que va a comer*
		just buy what you (V form) are going to eat
7	EmpRita:	*Tú sabes lo que me dice este:*
		[to guest] you know what this one [HwFlor] told me
8		*Flor me dice "señora yo creo que*
		Flor tells me "Ma'am, I think that
9		*a usté le gusta comprar ¿no?"*
		you like to buy right?"
10		[Laughter]
11	HwFlor:	*ah no,*
		Oh no
12		*usté compra hasta por gusto*
		you (Vform) buy for fun
13	EmpRita:	*yo creo que me gusta comprar pues*
		I think I like to buy things, that's it
14	HwFlor:	*Sí pero es que se malogra*
		Yes but it goes bad,
15		*Bueno fuera que se comiera pues*
		It would be nice if you were to eat it

Flor, the household worker, in line 1 starts the interaction with a conventionally indirect self-initiated directive. Using the present tense of the verb *to have* in the Vform, which shows respect to her employer Rita, Flor states that her employer no longer needs to buy a lot of fruit, implying that before there was such need. In the next turn, Flor mitigates her directive by providing a reason, namely that the employer's son (*el joven*) does not visit anymore, implying that he does not eat at her house, so less fruit is needed. Rita, in the next line, confirms that her son does not visit her at her house; however there is no mention of buying less. Flor reiterates her directive and adds another directive in the Vform, but without any other mitigation this time: "just buy what you (V form) are going to eat" (line 6). This repetition upgrades the statement; therefore it makes it more face threatening. However, Rita does not seem to interpret it that way because instead of giving an aggressive answer, she reports what Flor has said in the past about her shopping habits (lines 7–9). Nonetheless, by expressing this, she is refuting Flor's mitigation strategy in lines 2–3. At the same time, this is also relational work, since the employer is giving credence to what Flor believes. Flor, in the following turn, challenges her employer's opinions while defending her own by criticizing her boss for buying produce in vain or shopping for fun 'por gusto'. In Spanish, this phrase is associated with wastefulness; therefore, it could be taken to be impolite. Rita does not seem to take it badly. She merely defends her actions by pointing out that she likes shopping using the emphatic form *pues* implying nothing is wrong with that (line 13). Flor, in the next two lines, upgrades her criticism against Rita's shopping habits, indicating that food goes to waste, implying that Rita is wasteful (line 14), and by closing the argument, in the next line, with "It would be nice if you were to eat it." In the end, this interaction shows that Flor presents herself as a worker who can voice and defend her opinions about household food management. Even though she does not entirely persuade the employer, the latter also does not refute the household worker's ideas. Moreover, Rita partially agrees with her. By doing this, Flor is not acting as a subordinate, but instead as an assertive, rational and cautious worker. In this interaction the boundaries between institutional and ordinary talk are blurred. The household worker is discussing her employer's family matters in relation to work oriented goals or her household food management duties. This also shows how relational practices facilitate work objectives (Holmes and Marra 2004).

Invited directives

Extract (6) is mainly a narrative that the household worker, Ani, employs to build an identity (see also Ladegaard in this volume for household workers' identity construction in narratives). She represents herself as someone who is trusted by her employer who entrusts her with decisions. She is the 'teller' (Zimmerman 1998) who will co-construct her identity along with the audience. She does this in a non-subordinate role, possessing the power of expertise (Vine 2004). The audience is co-constructing this image along with her; they do not challenge her account, and they allow her to hold the floor. It is relational work since this is not related directly to the task of serving lunch, but to entertaining the guests. To better understand the narrative, it should be noted that Ani is the house cook, in charge of ordering food supplies and supervising and directing the other household workers in the house. One of the participants in this interaction is a guest who lives abroad. When she is in Lima, the owner of the house invites her to dinner and serves Peruvian dishes. Before the beginning of the interaction, Ani had told everyone that the lady of the house was going to be late for lunch. Ani decided that it was not necessary to wait for her, and immediately accommodated everybody at the table. After that, she brought a salad, water and other refreshments; then she began her account. Ani's narration consists of her reporting that the lady of the house, Leti, called her to ask for suggestions on what to buy for lunch appetizers. That is, Leti invited Ani to advise her in what food to get. As we will see, this report helps Ani's construction of a more professional identity.

(6)

```
1   HwAni:   Me preguntó
             She [EmpLeti] asked me
2            "Estoy comprando" me ha dicho
             "I am shopping" she told me
3            "¿Qué llevo?"
             "What should I bring?"
4            "¿Qué llevo?"
             "What should I bring?"
5            "¿Qué llevo?"
             "What should I bring?"
6            "¿Qué llevo?"
             "What should I bring?"
7            "¿Qué le gusta?"
             "What does she like?"
8            ¿Qué le gusta a Ud.?
             What do you like? [HwAni faces the guest while she asks the
             question]
9            ¿Tamal verde tamal?
             Green tamale?
```

```
10          ¿Tamal normal?
            [yellow] tamale?
11  Guest:  Todo me gusta
            I like all of them
12  HwAni:  Ah ya
            Oh Ok
13          Yo le he dicho que se traiga las dos
            I told her to bring both
14          [Laughter]
            (.5)
15          Así le he dicho pue
            That's what I said of course
16          ¿Claro pues no?
            Of course, right?
            (…)
17          Que traiga cinco de uno y del otro
            She should bring five of one and five of the other
18          Uno come lo que le gusta ya comen ¿no?
            One eats what one likes, right?
            (…)
19          O si trae cuatro
            Or if she brings four
20          dos cada uno
            two of each
            (…)
21  HwAni:  Claro pues,
            Of course,
22          Mejor pues,
            Better of course,
23          Más practico todavía
            More practical too
```

In line 1 Ani opened her narrative of the reported conversation between her employer and herself with "she asked me." This opening gave her a central role as the protagonist of the story. Furthermore, essential to her story was that she was invited by her employer to provide advice. Also, Ani quoted her employer as repeatedly asking her what she needs to buy (lines 3–6) showing a distressed Leti and implying that she cannot make decisions by herself. In contrast, Ani portrayed herself as the decision maker. In line 13, Ani indicated that she asked her employer to buy tamales, a common appetizer in Lima. Ani also specifies that she asked her to buy two different types of tamales to ensure that the guest would like at least one of the types. It should be noted that before Ani indicates to everybody the food item she requested, she inquired what kind of tamale the special guest liked (lines 8–10). By asking beforehand, Ani can afterwards indicate whether her choice was suitable, and later we learn that she made the right decision. After reporting her solution in line 13, there was a brief silence and then everybody laughed. The laughter of the audience seemed to indicate that her decision was ingenious. Ani did not leave it there; instead, she stated for a second time what she told her

employer with an emphatic *pues* 'right'. Then, she continued her account indicating that by bringing different kinds of tamales, people can select and eat what they like best. Furthermore, she characterized her decision as being the most obvious and practical (lines 22–23). Here she was able to co-construct with the audience the image of a problem solver who knows what to do and takes charge. When her employer arrived for lunch, she brought exactly what Ani suggested.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored Peruvian household workers ' discursive negotiation of a more professional identity in upper and middle-upper class households in Lima, Peru. Household workers used directives in task-oriented situations to negotiate their social standing and to subvert power structures that make them subservient to their employers by challenging negative stereotypes that they are unskilled workers (Fuertes et al. 2013; Paan 2010). Household workers used directives – forms frequently utilized as control speech acts which index professionals in charge (Holmes and Stubbe 2003) – with their employers to project themselves as experts and to position themselves in the role of the decision maker in matters related to their job, thus *performing* their expertise power (Vine 2004).

In the data, it was also evident that directives were embedded in longer negotiation sequences along with relational work and other linguistic strategies. Household workers constructed a non-subordinate role, while adhering to social frames and expectations that household workers need to be respectful of their employers. Household workers gave their employers orders, and advice on household tasks and management, combined with politeness strategies to redress directness. Most directives employed by household workers were either mitigated or manipulated linguistically. For instance, they used impersonals, or conventional indirectness, a politeness strategy commonly used in Spanish (Félix-Brasdefer 2005; García 1993; Márquez-Reiter 2002; Placencia 2005). Furthermore, the address system employed was asymmetric. While household workers were addressed in the Tform and on a first name basis, employers received the Vform. It should be noted that in special circumstances household workers used first names or endearing terms like *seño* 'little lady' with employers making the relation seem less disparate (see Example 1).

Most of the time, directives were self-initiated showing household workers' self-assurance and agency. Since identity construction is an intersubjective process (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), household workers used directives with their employers' consent, to instruct and help them in their undertakings. When household

workers took the role of the decision maker, they gained control and power over the employer, who followed directions. In some cases, directives were invited by employers, showing that they rely on household workers' knowledge and are willing to follow their directions or instructions. Additionally, narratives also served household workers in co-constructing, along with the other participants in the interaction, an identity of a skilled and autonomous worker.

The analysis of the data illustrates how household workers challenge ideas about their work being unskilled based on the authority that their expertise power (Vine 2004) grants them, thus making the notion of household work a site of contestation. The data shows that household workers find ways to broaden the definition of work. However, as these results are based on upper and middle-upper class households in Lima, more research needs to be done on household workers' negotiations with their employers in other Peruvian regions and in other social contexts. This undertaking can provide a more complete picture and confirm or modify the results found in Lima. Likewise, these examples show that even though certain types of work and positions are perceived and considered unskilled labor, people can negotiate their position to be considered more professional. Ideologies about what skilled work is may change over time through discursive negotiations.

As seen in Example 6, household work reveals an area where the personal and the institutional intersect even when the focus is on task-oriented situations at work. In that example, the household worker raised family matters in the course of discussing objectives of household shopping. The distinction between institutions (public space) and everyday contexts (private space) overlap because relationships develop between household workers and employers. Future research should address how relational and family matters are connected to workplace discourse by analyzing language interactions in other workplaces, perhaps nursing homes, where residents and care takers interact with one another in familiar daily routines thus making institutional and everyday contexts interconnected.

Acknowledgements

I would like thank all the participants in this study who authorized me to audio-record their interactions (URI IRB 747135–2). I would also like to thank the editors, reviewers and Mari Felix Cubas, and Cecilia Montes for all of their insightful comments on this chapter. Of course, all mistakes are mine.

Appendix. Transcription conventions

(XX)	unclear speech
,	brief pause
( )	longer pause
(. . .)	section of transcript omitted
[ ]	editorial comments, paralinguistic features
" "	quoted speech
?	rising intonation
___	emphatic intonation
:	vowel lengthening

References

Ally, Shireen. 2009. *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State*. Ithaca: LR Press.

Agha, Asif. [2006] 2007. *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511618284

Benwell, Bethan, and Elizabeth Stokoe. [2006]2010. *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburg: Edinburg University Press.

Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper. 1989. "Investigating cross-cultural pragmatics: an introductory overview." In*: Cross-cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*, ed. by Shoshana Blum-Kulka, Juliane House, and Gabriele Kasper, 1–29. Norwood: Ablex Publishing.

Brown, Roger, and Albert Gilman. 1960. "The pronouns of power and solidarity." In *Style in Language*, ed. by Thomas A. Sebeok, 253–76. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Bucholtz, Mary and Kira Hall. 2005. "Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach." *Discourse Studies* 7: 585–614. doi: 10.1177/1461445605054407

Clyne, Michael. 1994. *Intercultural communication at work: Cultural Values in Discourse*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press.

Culpeper, Jonathan. 2008. "Reflections on impoliteness relational work and power." In *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Miriam Locher, and Derek Bousfield, 17–44. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Davies, Bronwyn, and Rom Harré. 1990. "Positioning: The discursive production of selves." *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* 2: 43–63. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5914.1990.tb00174.x

Degregori, Carlos Iván. 1993. "Identidad étnica, movimientos sociales y participación política en el Perú." In *Las formas políticas de la democracia en los países andinos*, ed. by Alberto Adrianzén, 113–133. Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos/IFEA.

(de la) Cadena, Marisol. 2005. "Are "mestizos" Hybrids? the Conceptual Politics of Andean Identities". *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37: 259–84. doi: 10.1017/S0022216X05009004

(de los) Heros, Susana. 2012. *Utopia y Realidad*. Lima/Madrid: Vervuert/IEP.

Félix-Brasdefer, César. 2005. "Indirectness and Politeness in Mexican Requests". In *Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, ed. by David Eddington, 66–78. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. Retrieved from: http://www.lingref.com/cpp/hls/7/paper1087.pdf

Fuertes, Patricia, Eduardo Rodríguez and Pablo Casali (eds). 2013. *Trabajo doméstico remunerado en el Perú. Situación y perspectivas en función del Convenio 189 y la Recomendación 201 de la OIT*. Lima: OIT/ Oficina de la OIT para los Países Andinos.

García, Carmen. 1993. "Making a request and responding to it: A case study of Peruvian Spanish speakers." *Journal of Pragmatics* 19: 127–152. doi: 10.1016/0378-2166(93)90085-4

Haverkate, Henk. 1984. *Speech Acts, Speakers, and Hearers: Reference and Referential Strategies in Spanish*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pb.v.4

Heritage John, and Steven Clayman. [2010]2012. *TaLk In Action: Interactions, Identities, and Institutions*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9781444318135

Holmes, Janet, and Maria Stubbe. 2003. *Power and Politeness in the Workplace: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work*. Great Britain: Routledge.

Holmes, Janet, and Meredith Marra. 2004. "Relational practice in the workplace: Women's talk or gendered discourse?" *Language in Society* 33(03): 377–398. doi: 10.1017/S0047404504043039

Holmes, Janet, Meredith Marra, and Bernadette Vine. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Jones, Kimberly. 1992. "A question of context: directive use at a Morris team meeting." *Language in Society* 21: 427–445. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500015517

Locher, Miriam. 2004. *Power and Politeness in Action: Disagreements in Oral Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110926552

Locher, Miriam, and Richard Watts. 2008. "Relational work and impoliteness: negotiating norms of linguistic behavior." In *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on Its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Miriam Locher, and Derek Bousfield, 77–100. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. doi: 10.1515/9783110208344

Marra, Meredith, and Jo Angouri. 2011. "Investigating the negotiation of identity: A view from the field of workplace discourse." In *Constructing Identities at Work*, ed. by Meredith Marra and Jo Angouri, 1–14. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230360051.0005

Márquez-Reiter, Rosina. 2002. "A contrastive study of indirectness in Spanish: evidence from Peninsular Uruguayan Spanish". *Pragmatics* 12(2): 135–151. doi: 10.1075/prag.12.2.02mar

Mick, Carola. 2011. "Discourses of 'border-crossers'. Peruvian domestic workers as social actors." *Discourse Studies* 13(2): 189–209. doi: 10.1177/1461445610392136

Mullany, Louise. 2007. *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. doi: 10.1057/9780230592902

Paan, Claudia. 2010. *Empleadas-hogar-ganan300-promedio*. Retrieved from: http://elcomercio.pe/economia/peru/empleadas-hogar-ganan300-promedio_1-noticia-458404Jueves 08 de abril del 2010 | 10:17

Placencia, María Elena. 2005 "Pragmatic Variation in Corner Store Interactions in Quito and Madrid." *Hispania* 88(3): 583–598. doi: 10.2307/20063161

Ruzickova, Elena. 2007. "Strong and mild requestive hints and positive-face redress in Cuban" Spanish." *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(6): 1170–1202. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2006.06.005

Schegloff, Emanuel. 1999. "Discourse, Pragmatics, Conversation, Analysis." *Discourse Studies* 1(4): 405–435. doi: 10.1177/1461445699001004002

Schnurr, Stephanie, Meredith Marra, and Janet Holmes. 2008. "Impoliteness as a means of contesting and challenging power relations in the workplace." In *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*, ed. by Bousfield, Derek and Miriam Locher, 211–230. M. A. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schnurr, Stephanie, and Olga Zayts. 2011. "Constructing and contesting leaders. In *Constructing Identities at Work*, ed. by Meredith Marra and Jo Angouri, 40–60. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

Searle, John. 1976. "A classification of illocutionary acts." *Language in Society* 5(1): 1–23. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500006837

Tannen, Deborah. 1993. "What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations." In *Framing in Discourse*, ed. by Deborah Tannen, 260–279. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vine, Bernadette. 2004. *Getting Things Done at Work. The Discourse of Power in Workplace Interaction*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.124

Vine, Bernadette. 2009. "Directives at work: Exploring the contextual complexity of workplace directives." *Journal of Pragmatics* 41(7): 151–160. doi: 10.1016/j.pragma.2009.03.001

Viviano Llave, Teresa and Carmen Barrantes. 2007. *Detrás del Mandil, Trabajadoras del hogar víctimas de maltrato y hostigamiento sexual*. Lima Ministerio de la Mujer y Desarrollo Social.

Zavala, Virginia and, Roberto Zariquey. 2007. "Yo te segrego a ti porque tu falta de educación me ofende": una aproximación al discurso racista en el Perú contemporáneo". In *Racismo y discurso en América Latina*, ed. by Teun A. van Dijk. 333–370. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Zimmerman, Don. 1998. "Identities, context and interaction." In*: Identities in Talk*, ed. by Charles Antaki, and Sue Widdicombe, 87–106. London/California/New Delhi: Sage.

CHAPTER 23

'We're only here to help'

Identity struggles in foreign domestic helper narratives

Hans J. Ladegaard
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

This chapter draws on a large corpus of the life stories of foreign domestic helpers (FDHs) in Hong Kong. Narratives were recorded at a church shelter that provides temporary accommodation to domestic workers, and the analyses focus on the identity struggles the women are engaged in. They have to accept an enforced identity as maids, who cannot even claim the right to be respected as human beings, but they are also struggling to claim a positive identity as 'helpers' who are in Hong Kong to serve God and their families. The chapter argues that the women's identity as Christian servants allows them to overcome their hardships. It also argues that scholars need to pay attention to how FDHs label themselves. It considers the women's testimonies about themselves and it argues that marginalised groups should label themselves in ways that are meaningful to them.

Keywords: foreign domestic helper, enforced identity, marginalisation, Biblical testimonies, religious identity, linguistic labelling

Introduction

In an article in the Hong Kong Magazine, columnist Chip Tsao referred to the Philippines as "a nation of servants" (HK Magazine, 27 March, 2009). The issue he addressed was the territorial dispute between China and the Philippines, and he advised Filipinos that, as a nation of servants, they could not afford to flex their muscles at their master from whom they earn their bread and butter. Chip Tsao's comment was deeply ironic; in between the lines, he was questioning China's self-proclaimed role as the undisputed master of the entire South China Sea. But Filipinos in Hong Kong and at home saw it differently. Chip Tsao was severely criticised for making racist demeaning comments about Filipinos; labour organisations and Philippine officials demanded an official apology, and the

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.23lad
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

Philippine government declared him 'an undesirable alien'. One week later, Hong Kong Magazine issued a formal apology and the author insisted the article was a satire on territorial disputes, and it had never been his intention to insult Filipina domestic helpers.

The irony is that the domestic helpers in the data that will be analysed in this chapter repeatedly refer to themselves as servants, or helpers. The aim of this chapter is to analyse foreign domestic helper (FDH) narratives as evidence of migrant women's identity construction and identity struggles. The stories were recorded at a church shelter that provides temporary accommodation to migrant women whose contract has been terminated, or who have run away from abusive employers. When the women arrive at the shelter, they are invited to participate in a sharing session that serves to record the details of particular cases, and to provide an opportunity for the women to share their stories in a safe environment. The chapter considers the women's identity struggles through an analysis of their stories. The focus is on how they see themselves and the role they are fulfilling in relation to their families and their host country, and, not least, in relation to God. The Filipina women's Christian identity is particularly salient as they construct their life stories in the light of Biblical narratives and struggle to reverse their employers' demeaning stories about FDHs with Biblical promises of God's everlasting love and care for them.

The study

Theoretical and methodological frameworks

The project that I report on in this chapter draws on a variety of theoretical frameworks and analytical concepts from sociolinguistics, social psychology, pragmatics, and discourse analysis. The data was collected using the ethnography-of-communication approach (Saville-Troike 2003), which argues that the researcher needs to closely observe the research site and include as much contextual information as possible in the interpretation of data. Another framework that has been important for understanding how discourse is conceptualised is social constructionism (Burr 2003), which emphasises the situated nature and dynamic aspect of talk. It argues that when people talk, they present, negotiate and construct their social identities. A social constructionist approach would question the idea that identity (and other forms of social categorisation) should be perceived as evidence of underlying psychological states. Rather, it would see identity as a discursive construction involving not just the narrator but also the audience. It

would see talk as constitutive of the context, and the people who talk as social actors (Augoustinos, Walker and Donaghue 2014). The narratives have been analysed using a narrative-analysis approach combining Toolan's (2001) attention to linguistic detail with a therapeutic component of narrative research (Brown and Augusta-Scott 2007, White and Epston 1990). Narrative therapy argues that we live storied lives and we are therefore encouraged to tell our stories in order to make sense of our past experiences because "our stories do not simply represent us or mirror lived events – they constitute us, shaping our lives and our relationships" (Brown and Augusta-Scott 2007: ix).

Medved and Brockmeier (2008) propose five key functions of storytelling. First, it creates coherence by synthesising personal experiences that initially appear disconnected. Second, narratives serve a distancing function in that the storyteller distances herself from the immediacy of her experiences by converting them to stories. Third, storytelling serves a communicative function: it connects the narrator to her audience and thereby, makes the narrator's universe a shared experience. Fourth, narratives help storytellers evaluate past events; they provide perspective and the possibility to re-evaluate and discuss alternative interpretations. Finally, storytelling serves an explorative function; it encourages the storyteller to compare two sides of human experience: the real and the possible. This function is particularly important in FDH narratives because the shelter encourages the women to question the dominant degrading discourses they have been subjected to while working for an abusive employer, and try to "re-author their lives from victimhood to survival and beyond" (Duvall and Béres 2007: 233).

Data description

The chapter reports on an on-going research project on the life stories of FDHs from Indonesia and the Philippines living in Hong Kong. Despite legislation designed to protect their rights, many are exploited and abused (see Chiu 2005, Constable 2007, Ladegaard 2016). If a migrant worker runs away from an abusive employer, she may seek help at Bethune House, a church shelter for FDHs. At the shelter, she is invited to share her story with other helpers and a volunteer in a sharing session. The invitation is issued by one of the Filipina volunteers in order to ensure that the women may decline if they prefer. The purpose of the sharing sessions is to clarify the details of a particular incident in case a domestic worker needs to file a complaint to the Labour Department or the police, and to serve a therapeutic function by giving the women an opportunity to talk about their experiences in a safe environment.

So far, more than 300 FDHs have participated in Hong Kong.[1] As of October 2015, 60 sharing sessions have been audio-recorded and transcribed and, for the Indonesian data, translated.[2] Each session usually lasts between one and two hours. Prior to each session, the women were informed about the research component of the project, and they were asked to give their consent. They were promised full anonymity; all names are pseudonyms (for more information about the data, the church shelter and the researcher's dual roles, see Ladegaard 2016).

Data analysis

The analyses that follow focus on the different identities FDHs construct for themselves in their narratives, and the identity struggles they engage in. All examples were originally in English (see the appendix for transcription conventions).

The subservient helper

In the first example, Ligaya is telling the group how FDHs should behave towards their employers.

Excerpt 1.

Ligaya, 70 years old, Filipina, 14 years in Hong Kong (HK). Another Filipina and an Indonesian helper were in this sharing session.

```
1.  Ligaya: just show them, to your employer, your loyalty, to work and to serve and
2.          everything, you have to do it (1.0) also your employer will like you because they
3.          will see, they can see what you're doing and then, I think that's (1.0) be patient,
```

1. In addition to the narratives recorded in Hong Kong, 112 returnee migrant workers have participated in sharing sessions, or individual interviews, in Indonesia and the Philippines. These stories are 'coming-home' narratives, which focus on the women's experience of reintegration into the family and the local community.

2. The two dominant groups of migrant workers at the church shelter, Filipinas and Indonesians, are quite different in terms of their social characteristics. The majority of Filipina women tend to be older, well educated, and married with children, and they have often lived abroad for many years. They are usually fluent in English and therefore, sharing sessions with the Filipinas were conducted in English. The Indonesian women, on the other hand, tend to be younger, single, and with little or no formal education, and they have usually been overseas for shorter periods of time. Most Indonesian FDHs do not speak (much) English, and sharing sessions with them were therefore conducted with the help of an interpreter (usually a volunteer or another FDH) using a mix of English, Bahasa and Javanese. The recordings with the Indonesian domestic workers were transcribed and translated by two Indonesian students who were fluent in all three languages.

```
4.          if they shout at you, just don't answer back, just say 'sorry ma'am', like that
5.  Int.:   but how does it make you feel if you have to always say 'sorry ma'am'? you just
6.          take it, but how does it make you feel?
7.  Ligaya: but we cannot do anything, just say sorry
8.  Int.:   okay
9.  Ligaya: because they are our employers, we are here to work for them, say sorry and if
10.         you think you did the right thing, you just explain it in a nice way also
11. Int.:   okay
12. Ligaya: talk to her, talk to the employer, heart to heart, so she will know what's inside you
```

Ligaya is presenting the image of the ideal helper (Constable 2000): loyal, humble and submissive, and always reminding herself that she is in Hong Kong to work and to serve (line 1). By serving her employers, and setting a good example, Ligaya is also serving God, although this is not specifically mentioned in this part of her story. Her statement is reminiscent of passages from the Bible and thus, becomes a testimony to Christian values that most of the Filipina women at the shelter abide by. In Matthew 5 : 16, for example, the disciples are advised to let their light shine before men "that they may see your good deeds and praise your Father in heaven." It may be Biblical thinking that is behind Ligaya's testimony: "they can **see** what you're doing and **then,** I think that's (1.0)" (line 3). It is interesting, however, that it is never explicated what will happen as the heavily stressed **then** is left open for interpretation, and the follow-up clause, "I think that's (1.0)", is never completed. This suggests that Ligaya is not even sure herself that being submissive and apologetic is enough. She rejects the interviewer's question about their own feelings (lines 5–6), and she encourages her fellow helpers to appeal to the employer's heart, which, she claims, will make them see "what's inside you" (line 12).

It is possible that Ligaya cannot complete her statement in line 3 because her own and other helpers' experience, as narrated in the very same sharing session, provides counter-evidence, which essentially invalidates her testimony. She may be struggling with a schism between a Christian dogma, which represents an ideal world that FDHs are brought up to believe in, but which does not apply to their own diasporic experiences. Thus, she is struggling to reconcile opposing identities in her story (McInnes and Corlett 2012).

'My employer is good!'

The tendency to defend the employers no matter what they do, and to expect helpers to be patient, forgiving and forbearing, is also evident in the next example. Melissa has worked for the same employer for 13 years, but when she returns from her Christmas vacation in the Philippines, her employer does not want to see her.

Excerpt 2.

Melissa, 51 years old, Filipina, 13 years in HK; Joyce, 33 years old, Filipina, 14 months in HK, 2 years in UAE before HK; Vanessa, 44 years old, Filipina, 18 months in HK, 14 years in Singapore before HK. Three more Filipina helpers were in this sharing session.

```
1.  Int.:    Melissa, what happened to you?
2.  Melissa: mm: my employer, my employer was good to me, but when I'm (1.0) my employer
3.           she told me to take a vacation in the Philippines, and then (1.0) when I come back
4.           here (1.5) er: my employer told me (1.5) no need to come back
5.  Int.:    mhm, why?
6.  Melissa: er: I don't know sir
7.  Int.:    she didn't give a reason?
8.  Melissa: no she didn't because er: I (1.5) decided to eat my lunch before I go back to her
9.           house sir (1.0) because I'm hungry (2.0) so only that one sir, but my employer is
10.          good so that I can work for 13 years
11. Int.:    you have been with the same employer for 13 years?
12. Melissa: yes sir, it's good and //
13. Int.:                           //and then you get terminated just like that
14.          [snaps his fingers] and you don't know why?
15. Melissa: yes sir, I don't know why
16. Int.:    and she has given no reason?
17. Melissa: only the reason why I didn't come back early
18. Joyce:   that's not the reason, she wanted to terminate you
19. Melissa: because I wanted to eat my lunch first, […] and then I go back to her house, and
20.          then I, because I have no key, when I take vacation, she took my key (1.0) so when
21.          I called her mobile and then the landline (1.0) she didn't answer my call, and then
22.          I go back to her place, her house, I go up and then I knock [on] the door, nobody
23.          opened (1.0) and then […] I called the police (2.0) to help me (1.0) so the police go
24.          up and talk with my employer
25. Vanessa: she's inside the house?
26. Melissa: she's inside the house, and then the police go down and [they] say: 'your ma'am is
27.          (1.5) terminating your contract, so it's better you go, you go away now', but I say
28.          to the police 'how about the, she didn't give anything to me, my salary, my
29.          belongings [are] inside, all the things is inside er: (1.0) //I take a vacation in the
30.          Philippines and then I come back'//
31. Vanessa:                                                            //the long-service award,
32.          that's the reason//  […]
33. Int.:    and she never got in touch with you and explained anything?
34. Melissa: yes sir, but it's my employer, my employer is good to me, and me also, I'm also
35.          good to the whole family
36. Int.:    but you worked for them for 13 years and they terminated you just like that, it's
37.          outrageous, yeah, you should definitely file a complaint, you should definitely//
38. Melissa: //she's good, she's good to me, and also (0.5) I'm also good for them, good for us
```

Melissa keeps reiterating that her employer is good. She introduces her story by saying her employer is good (line 1), she declares she was able to work for the same employer for 13 years because she was good (lines 9–10), and even when her audience questions the employer's motives, Melissa keeps defending her. When Joyce points out in line 18 that being late is not the reason for terminating the contract, and when Vanessa suggests in lines 31–32 that she was terminated so that the

employer could avoid paying the long-service award, Melissa does not acknowledge that they may be right. And when the interviewer asks critical questions about the employer's conduct (lines 13–14, 36, 36–37), Melissa insists that her employer is good. She even interrupts the interviewer (line 38) when he suggests that she should complain to the Labour Tribunal, and reconfirms the mutually beneficial relationship between employer and helper (line 38).

Melissa's audience helps her reinterpret the story. The excerpt is an example of joint storytelling (Georgakopoulou 1997) where the audience provides cues, helps (re)interpret events and tries to persuade the storyteller to see what *they* see: a deceitful employer who betrayed a loyal and devoted employee. Becker and Quasthoff (2004) argue that the storyteller's moral stance and cultural values are reflected in the narrative s/he tells, but it is possible the perspective may change during the course of the telling because of questions from the audience. A shift in the narrative perspective may also lead to a shift in the position of the narrative self (Beran and Unoka 2004). In fact, the co-construction of different narrative selves is one of the key functions of therapeutic storytelling (White and Epston 1990). However, despite being contradicted by her own story, Melissa is struggling to maintain the belief that her employer is good. She admits that the employer took her key before she left for the Philippines, implying the termination was premeditated; yet, she still waited for hours expecting her employer to turn up. The loyalty she demonstrates is unfaltering and she still claims (in subsequent lines not reported here) that she was "treated like family" (Parreñas 2014).

Melissa's response resonates with Chip Tsao's comment in the Introduction, but the difference is that in the present narratives it is the presentation of the narrative self; in Chip Tsao's comment, it is the presentation of the narrative 'other'.

Narrative 'self' and 'other'

The distinction between narrative 'self' and 'other' is evident in Jessa and Marites' joint narrative below.

Excerpt 3.

Jessa, 23 years old, Filipina, 4 months in HK; Marites, 30 years old, Filipina, 1 year and 6 months in HK. One more Filipina helper was in this sharing session.

```
1.  Jessa:   I worked in the Philippines but not (1.0) the salary is not enough so that's why I
2.           decided to come here to Hong Kong
3.  Int.:    yeah, yeah
4.  Jessa:   and then today my madam also terminated me [laughs] that's why [I'm here]
5.  Marites: we have the same employer
6.  Int.:    same employer okay
```

```
7.  Jessa:   and then//                                          //the reason//
8.  Marites:        //but November, October 26th, I don't know what's //the reason// when
9.           she said in the morning 'Marites, Jessa, you can go' xx but she's not giving the one-
10.          month notice, no plane ticket, no salary and then she said 'pack your things, I don't
11.          want to see your face //both of you// stupid, liar, a helper, and she er: //
12. Jessa:                        //stupid//
13. Int.:    //so what did she call you? Sorry, she called you what?
14. Marites: //stupid, no manners// and then liar, helpers//
15. Jessa:   //stupid, liar//                          //no money and no manners, yeah,
16.          and that's why we decided to pack our things and then we come here to Bethune
17.          House to ask for help, and then now (0.5) we file a labour case because we're
18.          underpaid […] and last September 26th , I paid $500 because her son lost that one
19.          [a memory stick] and she blamed me, she say I'm the one who lost it, but I never
20.          did because I said to my madam 'I came here to work, not to touch or to lose
21.          anything in the house, because this is not my country, this is not my house' I said
22.          to her, but she said 'give me the 500, I'll take the 500 Hong Kong dollars and you'll
23.          pay for the new' (1.0)
24. Int.:    memory stick
25. Jessa:   yeah
26. Int.:    it's 100 dollars max
```

Despite being first-timers, Jessa and Marites refuse to be intimidated by their employer's demeaning discourses and, as the two women's turn-taking suggests, they are a strong team who support each other. There are several interruptions but they are supportive in nature, i.e. the two women co-construct their narratives. Name-calling is used by this employer to demean her helpers (lines 11–12, 14–15). The term 'helper' here occurs together with demeaning nouns/adjectives like 'liar' and 'stupid' and thus, acquires negative connotations. When FDHs use it as a term of self-reference, on the other hand, it is used as a positive label connoting pride in one's job. Also note how the employer's reference to poverty is linked to perceived cultural deprivation ("no money and no manners", line 15), nicely presented as alliteration. In Jessa's account of the lost memory stick (lines 16–23), which she is accused of stealing,[3] she creates an 'us-them' scenario, which helps her strengthen ingroup solidarity and presents the employer as a member of a dispreferred outgroup (Ladegaard 2011). She positions herself as a stranger in her employer's household and in her country (line 21), and thereby, she claims an outsider identity for herself, but she also reaffirms that she is the right kind of helper who 'knows her place' (Constable 2007). What Jessa's statement shows is racial (or cultural) distancing "where workers craft their racial self-identity as being different from but also morally superior to that of their local Chinese employers"

3. Prior to this excerpt, Jessa is trying to explain what it is she is accused of stealing, but she does not know the word (memory stick/USB), neither does she know what it is used for. So the idea that she would steal something that she knows absolutely nothing about seems ironic.

(Paul 2011: 1069). It is the cultural 'other' looking back and, whilst facing racial and cultural denigration by their superiors, they are struggling to claim a valued identity for themselves.

From the employer's perspective, Jessa's statement could be seen as evidence of commonly held stereotypes of Filipina domestic helpers among Chinese employers. In her study of employers and employment agencies' attitudes towards FDHs in Taiwan, Lan (2006: 77) found that employment agencies characterised Filipinas as "outgoing, individualistic, opinionated, and difficult to manage." From a Chinese perspective, according to which filial piety, obedience and subordination would be seen as desirable virtues in a helper (Constable 2000), these cultural generalisations are extremely damaging, and would help employers construct Filipina domestic workers as inherently inferior, and thus, assert their own status and superiority (Paul 2011). However, racial and cultural stereotyping, or, the discursive accomplishment of intergroup differentiation (Ladegaard 2011), also works as a defensive mechanism for FDHs. As Paul (2011: 1082) puts it

> By labeling and describing their employers in such categorical ways, these workers convince themselves that they *know* their all-powerful masters and thus gain a semblance of control over their own situation as live-in servants. … [They] also deploy racial stereotypes to counter the daily reminders of their inferior class and racial status in their host country. They console themselves that they in fact occupy a higher position than immediately apparent in the global racial hierarchy on cultural and moral grounds.

Thus, intergroup differentiation between Chinese employers and FDHs becomes a coping mechanism for both parties involved. It helps both groups construct themselves as morally (and/or culturally) superior, at the expense of the other, and therefore, reaffirm a positive ingroup identity (Hogg and Abrams 2003). This subtle affirmation of ingroup value and moral superiority may be confirmed by Jessa's laughter when she tells the group that her employer terminated her (line 4). It is possible that laughter (also) serves to mitigate a potential face-threat, but it is perhaps more likely that it is a laughter of superiority, which helps Jessa gain the upper hand by laughing at her abusive employer (Ladegaard 2013).

Servants of God

One aspect of FDHs' identity, which is presented as salient in the majority of narratives (particularly among Filipinas), is their Christian faith. Excerpt 4 provides an example.

Excerpt 4.

Jovelyn, 25 years old, Filipina, 2 years in HK; Janet, 24 years old, Filipina, 2 months in HK; and Brenda, 31 years old, Filipina, 3 years in HK, 2 years in Lebanon before HK. Six more Filipina helpers were in this sharing session. The women are discussing how they endure their hardships.

```
1.  Int.:    how do you keep going?
2.  Jovelyn: for me, uh: faith in God, and think positive that everything has its own purpose, to
3.           make me strong, and for my family, I will uh: do everything for them, yeah, and
4.           then, just  uh: pray to God every night, that because everything has its own
5.           purpose so I know this one, he will not give me this one if I cannot make it (1.0.)
6.           my faith is really very very important
7.  Int.:    okay, yeah, what else keeps you going?
8.  Janet:   I'm always thinking about my kids, so I always think I must be strong, I know that
9.           I can, I know that God won't give me any problem that I can't uh:, how to say?
10. Jovelyn: cope with, yeah
11. Janet:   yeah […]
12. Jovelyn: and since I came [to Hong Kong] the relationship with the family is much stronger,
13.          and then uh: with God, much closer
14. Int.:    okay
15. Brenda:  and I always think that uh everything will be fine because I'm a single mom, I have
16.          to be strong, cause I have one kid, one son to be raised, she needs my, he needs
17.          my, you know support
```

For the majority of Filipina domestic helpers at the shelter, their Christian faith, and their role as mothers, are always salient identity positions. During the telling of a narrative, they may move into the foreground (and they often do), or occasionally retreat into the background, but they are an omnipresent influence in the vast majority of narratives and therefore, always potentially relevant to the interpretation of narrative content (cf. Holmes 2006). Jovelyn interprets the difficulties she experiences in the light of her Christian faith, and this enables her to accept "that everything has its own purpose" (line 2). She believes that the purpose of her trials is to make her strong (lines 2–3). Thus, her conviction resonates with Paul's testimony in 2 Corinthians 12 : 10: "I delight in weaknesses, in insults, in hardships, in persecutions, in difficulties. For when I am weak, I am strong." Furthermore, there is confidence in the helpers' stories that they will not be tested beyond their means (lines 5, 9–10). This again resonates with Paul's promise in 1 Corinthians 10 : 13: "God is faithful. He will not allow you to be tempted beyond what you can bear." These women demonstrate a firm belief that despite hardships, trials and tribulations, God is in charge. Their Christian faith is very important to them (line 6); it becomes *the* interpretative framework they apply to their diasporic lives; it provides meaning when there is none, and it gives suffering a purpose: to bring them closer to God (line 13).

The other salient identity that is portrayed is their role as mothers (lines 3, 8, 12, 15–17). Like their Christian faith, their identity as mothers is an omnipresent influence on their lives (cf. "I'm always thinking about my kids", line 8), and

provides perspective and motivation as to why they have to be strong (lines 15–17). However, for many, their identity as diasporic mothers is also associated with unmitigated pain and therefore, constantly needs to be renegotiated and reaffirmed. As Jovelyn explains:

Excerpt 5.

1. you'll have to sacrifice your family really […] you need to make a decision to leave them just
2. to help your family, so it's really quite uh: **very** very painful, especially if your employer's
3. also not treating you good, insulting you or treating you like you're **not** human (1.0) yeah,
4. so sometimes you just go find a corner and cry, yeah because, just think this is for my family,
5. I have to fight whatever the consequences because this is what I want, so I'll take whatever
6. the risk, for the sake of my family.

The dilemma expressed in this excerpt is that migrant mothers have to sacrifice their families in order to help them (line 1–2). This, as Lai (2011: 580) argues, "calls for compartmentalized forgetting and remembering simultaneously": forgetting home because it is too painful to remember (line 2), but, at the same time, remembering their children and other loved ones because this provides them with the strength to endure their hardships (lines 5–6). Thus, migrant women have to fight whatever the consequences (line 5). They have to reinvent themselves and become 'absent mothers', and they do it for the sake of their families (line 6). FDHs consistently define themselves *in relation to* their families (Lin 2008). It is the idealised 'good-mother' identity that the women are struggling to maintain. This identity is clearly embedded in family relations, and it is these relations that ultimately justify the women's migration (Huang, Teo and Yeoh 2000). Therefore, it is detrimental, not just to the family but also to the women's identity, when family relations are torn apart because of the destructiveness of distance (Pratt 2012).

The help

The term 'helper', which is by far the most frequently used term for self-reference in the narratives, deserves further attention. It is the dispreferred term in the migrant worker literature,[4] which argues that domestic labour should be recognised as work, and part of the recognition is entailed in labelling domestic duties as 'work', "as opposed to minimizing it as 'help'" (Constable 2014: 8). The indexical processes of linguistic labelling are closely related to the multifaceted image of

4. An example of this widely acknowledged practice comes from reviewer reports. On more than one occasion, I have been told by reviewers to avoid the term 'domestic helper' and acknowledge the legitimacy of my participants' work by referring to them as 'domestic workers'. As one reviewer bluntly put is: "Don't call them 'helpers', they are not helpers, they are workers."

its purported speakers (Milani 2010). How individuals or groups decide to label themselves has implications for how they see themselves, and also how they want others to see them. As Lanza and Woldemarian (2009: 189) argue, "what we think about language will be related to how we perceive ourselves and eventually how others perceive us." I now consider a number of examples of how the term 'helper' is used as a term of self-reference in FDH narratives.

1. "They don't treat us as human[s], they treat like this sir, so very small, they did not respect us as a helper (1.0) because they must be, **must** be good to us, because we give them services" (Eva, Filipina, 40 years old, 2 years in Hong Kong).
2. "We're domestic helpers […] we can see sometimes some employers have uh: a good heart, yeah, they respect their helpers, but mostly, mostly they, yeah, they really treat their helpers as rubbish […] it's unfair yeah, because we're all human, we're made by the same God, so why, because she's rich we're poor [does she] need to treat us like that?" (Jovelyn, Filipina, 25 years old, 2 years in Hong Kong).
3. "So it was too hard, that's why I was thinking at that time, I was crying '**God**, give me an employer to serve for two years'" (Marinol, Filipina, 38 years old, 1 month in Hong Kong, 4 years in Lebanon and 3 years in Saudi Arabia before Hong Kong).

FDHs consistently use the term 'helper' for self-reference, and when they do, it is associated with positive value. In the quote from Eva's narrative (Example 1), the term 'helper' is linked to the term 'service', i.e., someone who serves the people of Hong Kong. The same idea is evident in the quote from Marinol's story (Example 3). Her contract has been terminated and now she begs God to give her a new employer she can serve and thus, be enabled to fulfil what she considers her mission in Hong Kong: to serve and to help. What these women would like is a reciprocal relationship where helpers provide services to their employers and, in return, are respected as helpers (see de los Heros, this volume). But the problem is that they are made to feel "so very small" (Example 1). The problem, then, is not that they are helpers, but the fact that they are not respected as helpers. Jovelyn makes indirect reference to a fundamental truth in Christianity that we are all equal before God (Galatians 3:28), and therefore, there is no justification for letting money and class decide how people are treated (Example 2).

When FDHs consistently refer to themselves as 'helpers', this suggests that for them, the term is associated with positive value. It communicates how they want others to see them: as people who have sacrificed their own happiness to serve God, their families, and the people of Hong Kong. However, the term 'helper', or

more frequently 'maid', may also be used by employers to demean and humiliate as the next examples show.

4. "They are employers, we are only helpers [laughs]" (Janet, Filipina, 37 years old, 6 years in Hong Kong).
5. "They think we are just domestic helpers and we are rubbish (1.0) like this, yeah (0.5) they don't think uh: (0.5) we're human beings" (Niken, Indonesian, 25 years old, 8 months in Hong Kong, 2 years in Singapore before Hong Kong).
6. "Because they always say 'you're just the helper, you don't have the right to (1.0) you're are just the helper'" (Mandy, Filipina, 35 years old, 2 years in Hong Kong).

When Janet says in Example 4: "they are employers, we are only helpers", she is referring to the employer's perspective. In the eyes of their employers, they are 'only helpers'. This is an implicit criticism of a hierarchical, essentially non-Christian world-view, which, according to FDHs, is prominent in Chinese society (Paul 2011). Note how the women underline the same egalitarian perspective that was brought up by Jovelyn: "we're all human" (Example 2). Therefore, the discrimination and mistreatment are all the more hurtful. It is noticeable that when the women refer to the narrative 'other' (the employer's perspective), they either use the term 'maid', or they add an adverb, which changes the connotations of the term 'helper' from positive to negative. Thus, the women reiterate the point that was made repeatedly in previous examples: that in the eyes of their employers, they are 'only helpers' who have no rights (Example 6), or something less than human (Tileaga 2005).

However, as an ingroup label, 'helper' in FDH narratives has positive connotations and is applied to the women's stories to give them purpose and perspective. In a sharing session, the interviewer promises the women to do his best to make sure that people in Hong Kong get to know their stories, and Julia, a 40-year old Filipina helper with 16 years of experience, adds this request: "and please tell them that, if **they** don't have **us** […] they cannot go to the office if there's no Filipina here, what they do they do because of us." Julia's testimony encapsulates the identity struggles FDHs are engaged in. While forced to acknowledge that their employers see them as 'just helpers', they are struggling to claim a different identity for themselves: one that takes pride in their work and sees themselves as an essential part of Hong Kong's economy.

Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has considered the identity struggles FDHs are engaged in during sharing sessions at a church shelter. The term 'helper' is used repeatedly for self-categorisation and indexes positive labelling. The women see themselves as helpers who provide much-needed services to the people of Hong Kong, and who serve God and their families by what they are doing. They are willing to sacrifice their own personal happiness in order to help their families. 'Helper' is a positive ingroup marker, which signifies sacrifice and commitment in relation to their families, and commitment to serve God, but also ingroup pride in the work they do. The term 'helper' is also frequently used to create contrast in FDH narratives, as in Vanessa's story: "they don't treat us like helpers, they treat us like slaves." Milani (2010: 120) argues: "we cannot ignore the unpacking of those very processes through which linguistic phenomena are invested with names and values in discourse, and become over time culturally scripted in conventional ways." How individuals or groups choose to refer to themselves gives important information about identity: how they see themselves and how they want others to see them. Milani (2010: 118) advises that we should "tease out the ideological underpinnings of linguistic labeling", and this could also be an academic discourse, which denies marginalised groups the right to name themselves. When FDHs consistently refer to themselves as 'helpers' and testify how they see themselves as servants to God, who are in Hong Kong to help their families and their employers, we are, arguably, disempowering them if we argue that "they are not helpers, they are workers" (see footnote 4). Individuals and groups label themselves in ways that are meaningful to them, and the term 'helper' is indeed a meaningful label, and a meaningful identity position.

The chapter has also considered how FDHs' Christian faith provides a framework for interpreting their diasporic experiences. When they are being mistreated by their employers, they are still confident that God will not allow them to be tested beyond their strength. Their suffering draws them closer to God and therefore, serves a purpose. However, this does not mean that FDHs can escape identity struggles. Ligaya (Excerpt 1) is struggling to reconcile the ideal docile servant identity she is claiming for herself with the stories she hears of injustice, exploitation and abuse. And Melissa (Excerpt 2) is struggling to maintain that she was 'treated like family' by an employer who secretly terminated her contract after 13 years of loyal service. However, through the sharing of life stories, FDHs may become empowered to question the dominant discourses they have been subjected to and claim a new identity for themselves: the identity of the knowledgeable migrant worker who wants to fight for her rights. This is the core of the

therapeutic approach to narratives, which has informed this research as well as the sharing sessions: "Narrative therapy exploits these sites of resistance, unpacking the constraining aspects of our self-stories and resurrecting the suppressed voice by recognizing and emphasizing the agency and creativity available to individuals in re-authoring their identities" (Brown and Augusta-Scott 2007: xvii).

In conclusion, future research on identity struggles in the workplace needs to further consider that for some, identity positions are enforced rather than given. In contemporary identity research, it is often assumed that everybody 'has' or 'owns' an identity, which can be negotiated and used for making social or political claims. This idea of possessive individualism is a Western concept, which "fails to recognise that for many identity is a position that is forced, that has to be occupied, for which there is no alternative and which is attributed with no value and hence cannot be mobilised as a resource for enhancing privilege" (Skeggs 2008: 26). FDHs' work is granted little value and recognition and therefore, their lives become invisible. It does not mean they cannot attempt to construct positive identities for themselves (and they do), but it means "it is often the dominant regimes of the powerful that dictate the identity game to them" (Lin 2008: 1). Future research needs to further study marginalised groups and their struggles to gain the recognition they deserve in the workplace, and in society in general.

Acknowledgements

The research reported in this chapter was supported by two General Research Grants from the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong [grant numbers HKBU/244211 and PolyU 2444/13H]. I am immensely grateful to staff and volunteers at Bethune House and, not least, the migrant women who participated in the research and willingly shared their stories with me and with their friends.

References

Augoustinos, Martha, Ian Walker, and Ngaire Donaghue. 2014. *Social Cognition. An Integrated Introduction* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.

Becker, Tabea, and Uta M. Quasthoff. 2004. "Introduction: Different dimensions in the field of narrative interaction." In *Narrative Interaction*, ed. by Uta M. Quathoff, and Tabea Becker. 151–167. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Beran, Eszter, and Zsolt Unoka. 2004. "Construction of self-narrative in psychotherapeutic setting." In *Narrative Interaction*, ed. by Uta M. Quathoff, and Tabea Becker. 151–167. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Brown, Catrina, and Tod Augusta-Scott (eds.). 2007. *Narrative Therapy: Making Meaning, Making Lives*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Burr, Vivien. 2003. *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (2nd ed.) London: Routledge.

Chiu, Stephen W. K. 2005. *A Stranger in the House: Foreign Domestic Helpers in Hong Kong*. Published by the Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies and the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Constable, Nicole. 2000. "Dolls, t-birds, and ideal workers: The negotiation of Filipino identity in Hong Kong." In *Home and Hegemony: Domestic Service and Identity Politics in South and Southeast Asia*, ed. by Kathleen M. Adams, and Sara Dickey, 221–247. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Constable, Nicole. 2007. *Maid to Order in Hong Kong: Stories of Migrant Workers* (2nd ed.). Itacha, NY: Cornell University Press.

Constable, Nicole. 2014. *Born Out of Place. Migrant Mothers and the Politics of International Labor*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Duvall, Jim, and Laura Béres. 2007. "Movement of identities: A map for therapeutic conversations about trauma." In *Narrative Therapy: Making Meaning, Making Lives*, ed. by Catrina Brown, and Tod Augusta-Scott, 229–259. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. doi: 10.4135/9781452225869.n12

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 1997. *Narrative Performances. A Study of Modern Greek Storytelling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/pbns.46

Hogg, Michael, and Dominic Abrams. 2003. "Intergroup behaviour and social identity." In *The Sage Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. by Michael Hogg, and Joel M. Cooper, 407–431. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holmes, Janet. 2006. *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Gender Identity Through Workplace Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. doi: 10.1002/9780470754863

Huang, Shirlina, Peggy Teo, and Brenda S. A. Yeoh. 2000. "Diasporic subjects and identity negotiations: Women in and from Asia." *Women's Studies International Forum* 23, 391–398. doi: 10.1016/S0277-5395(00)00103-5

Ladegaard, Hans J. 2011. "Stereotypes and the discursive accomplishment of intergroup differentiation: Talking about 'the other' in a global business organization." *Pragmatics* 21 (1), 85–109. doi: 10.1075/prag.21.1.05lad

Ladegaard, Hans J. 2013. "Laughing at adversity: Laughter as communication in domestic helper narratives." *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 32, 390–411. doi: 10.1177/0261927X13489301

Ladegaard, Hans J. 2016. *The Discourse of Powerlessness and Repression: Life Stories of Domestic Migrant Workers in Hong Kong*. London: Routledge.

Lai, Ming-yan. 2011. "The present of forgetting: Diasporic identity and migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong." *Social Identities* 17 (4), 565–585. doi: 10.1080/13504630.2011.587309

Lan, Pei C. 2006. *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. doi: 10.1215/9780822387787

Lanza, Elizabeth, and Hirut Woldemarian. 2009. "Language ideology and linguistic landscape: Language policy and globalization in a regional capital of Ethiopia." In *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, ed. by Elana Shohamy, and Durk Gorter, 189–205. London: Routledge.

Lin, Angel M. Y. 2008. "The identity game and discursive struggles of everyday life: An introduction." In *Problematizing Identity. Everyday Struggles in Language, Culture, and Education*, ed. by Angel M. Y Lin, 1–10. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

McInnes, Peter, and Sandra Corlett. 2012. "Conversational identity work in everyday interaction." *Scandinavian Journal of Management* 28, 27–38. doi: 10.1016/j.scaman.2011.12.004

Medved, Maria I., and Jens Brockmeier. 2008. "Talking about the unthinkable: Neurotrauma and the 'catastrophic reaction.'" In *Health, Illness and Culture: Broken Narratives*, ed. by Lars-Christer Hydén, and Jens Brockmeier, 52–72. New York: Routledge.

Milani, Tommaso M. 2010. "What's in a name? Language ideology and social differentiation in a Swedish print-mediated debate." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 14 (1), 116–142. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9841.2009.00435.x

Parreñas, R. S. 2014. "Migrant domestic workers as 'one of the family.'" In *Migration and Care Labour. Theory, Policy and Politics*, ed. by Bridget Anderson and Isabel Shutes, 49–64. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Paul, Anju M. 2011. "The 'other' looks back: Racial distancing and racial alignment in migrant domestic workers' stereotypes about white and Chinese employers." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34 (6), 1068–1087. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2010.528783

Pratt, Geraldine. 2012. *Migrant Mothers and the Conflicts of Labor and Love*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. doi: 10.5749/minnesota/9780816669981.001.0001

Saville-Troike, Muriel. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication* (3rd edition). Oxford: Black well. doi: 10.1002/9780470758373

Skeggs, Beverly. 2008. "The problem with identity." In *Problematizing Identity. Everyday Struggles in Language, Culture, and Education*, ed. by Angel M. Y Lin, 11–34. New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Tileaga, Cristian. 2005. "Accounting for extreme prejudice and legitimating blame in talk about Romanis." *Discourse and Society* 16, 603–624. doi: 10.1177/0957926505054938

Toolan, Michael. 2001. *Narrative Analysis: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

White, Michael, and David Epston. 1990. *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*. New York: Norton.

Appendix. Transcription conventions

Bold	pronounced with stress/emphasis
[it's a]	word(s) inserted by the transcriber to ease comprehension
,	short pause, less than 0.5 second
(2.0)	pause in seconds
'give me that'	reporting direct speech
: (as in ah:)	the vowel sound is prolonged
xx	incomprehensible
//	interruption
//as I said//	overlapping speech
?	question/rising intonation
[…]	turn(s) left out

CHAPTER 24

Epilogue

Identity struggles as a reflection of knowledge, competing norms, and attempts for social change

Dorien Van De Mieroop and Stephanie Schnurr
KU Leuven / University of Warwick

Introduction

In this volume, a wide variety of contributions has been brought together capturing a wide range of different workplaces including relatively well-researched sites such as white collar companies, as well as largely neglected places such as constructions sites, rugby fields or private homes, where people also carry out their jobs on a day-to-day basis. In addition to investigating identity struggles in the contexts of these "new" work sites, another aspect that makes the contributions in this book stand out from current scholarship is the fact that it brings together insights gained from workplaces around the world, including geographical areas that have largely escaped linguistic scrutiny (e.g. Botswana, India), as well as often overlooked communities (e.g. indigenous people in reserves in Canada)

However, in bringing together relatively diverse contributions that appear to be wide apart – thematically, culturally and/or geographically – the question arises as to what unites these chapters, apart from presenting a plethora of identity struggles, and ultimately, what contribution the research presented in this volume makes to current scholarship on identity. We attempt to address these questions in this epilogue by describing some of the threads that cut across the different identity struggles set out in the Introduction and that run through the various contributions to this volume, and by critically discussing their implications for identity research.

We start by recapping what kinds of identity struggles people encounter in their workplaces. Given the diversity of the contexts on which the previous chapters draw, one of the questions we asked in the Introduction was whether these struggles are workplace- and context-specific or whether there are perhaps

DOI 10.1075/dapsac.69.24van
© 2017 John Benjamins Publishing Company

similarities as well as similar ways in which interlocutors make sense of these struggles across the different workplaces in different socio-cultural contexts. Looking back at the empirical and theoretical evidence provided in the various chapters, two overarching strands of identity struggles – and ways of constructing these – emerge across the various contexts, namely (1) struggles related to knowledge and (2) struggles related to competing norms. We discuss each of these struggles in more detail, thereby also addressing the second question we developed in the Introduction, namely how do interlocutors experience these struggles and make sense of them. But before we do this, it is important to emphasize that there is – inevitably – some overlap between these two strands, as will become clear from the following discussion.

Identity struggles related to knowledge

Professional identities are of course closely related to knowledge, since part of being a professional entails being competent and having the necessary knowledge to be able to do one's job adequately. As a consequence of this, a knowledge differential can be expected to exist between professionals and non-professionals. In Membership Categorization Analytical terms, membership in the category 'professionals' implies that knowledge of a specific domain is one of its category-bound predicates (Sacks 1992). For example, doctors are expected to be competent in confidently diagnosing patients. However, when facing patients with medically unexplained symptoms, as in the chapter by Sowińska, they often struggle to construct themselves as knowledgeable professionals and try to hide their uncertainties. Furthermore, other, non-professional or lay, interlocutors are expected to orient to the epistemic status of these professionals as experts in their fields (cf Heritage and Raymond 2005). It is thus not surprising that whenever non-professionals challenge the professionals' identities as experts, identity struggles related to the participants' epistemic rights and authority occur. In this volume, we have seen such struggles between guides and guided persons, (see contribution by De Stefani and Mondada), between vets and animal owners (see contribution by Burrow) and between nurses and mothers (see contribution by Zayts and Schnurr). However, such struggles are not limited to professional-lay interactions and may also occur amongst professionals. In the context of interdisciplinary meetings in higher education, for example, as was demonstrated in the chapter by Choi and Richards, participants may establish epistemic precedence on the basis of disciplinary membership, thus illustrating how struggles over epistemic statuses may just as well occur amongst colleagues within an organization. Finally, by asserting their knowledge, employees also claim expertise power and as such challenge

their – potentially subordinate – roles, as was illustrated for the household workers in Peru studied by de los Heros.

Furthermore, when people (try to) enter a new workplace or have obtained a new position in their organization, it is almost self-evident that knowledge issues come into play. The inexperienced manager in Hong Kong discussed in the chapter by Chan, the Ukrainian newcomer in a French engineering company analysed in the contribution by Clifton and Van De Mieroop, the novice professional in job interviews described in the chapter by Reissner-Roubicek, as well as the apprentice builder in New Zealand studied by Holmes and Marra – all these professionals struggle to adapt to their new positions or their new workplaces, and they all encounter various problems related to knowledge *per se* as well as in relation to knowledge about how to perform the category-bound activities associated with their new professional membership. As knowledge transfer in these aspects is essential for novices to develop their identities into those of *full* professionals, collaboration with other, more experienced colleagues is essential. And, as the various contributions in this volume have demonstrated, the struggle over the development of novice identities to full-professional identities is particularly visible in the interactions with other employees, who often guide those less experienced on their learning curve and thus function as facilitators, but whose efforts may sometimes also be counterproductive (as shown, for example, in Chan's contribution).

In addition to knowledge regarding category-bound activities, other causes for identity struggles may be rooted in a differential in what one might call 'cultural' knowledge. Even though the notion of 'culture' is problematic, as it "is a vague conglomeration of miscellaneous properties, at different levels of 'depth' or 'superficiality', observed in or ascribed to groups of people" (Verschueren 2008: 25, see also Schnurr and Zayts 2017), several of the chapters in this volume have pointed to the difficulties professionals encounter when they have to enact their professional identities in unfamiliar socio-cultural contexts. As newcomers in a society lack the "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1986) other employees dispose of, newcomers often encounter struggles that are related to their colleagues' "habitus" (Bourdieu 1990) or routinized behaviour. These routines may seem innocent, but they are often precisely those points at which "patterns of inequality enter into our everyday behaviour" (Blommaert 2005: 233). This difference in "cultural capital" and knowledge about professional "habitus" may result in various identity struggles with different outcomes, as some of the contributions in this volume have demonstrated. Some chapters illustrate processes of exclusion, which may result, for example, from different ways of using humour in Austrian, Croatian and Serbian cultures (see contribution by Miglbauer) or from a lack of familiarity with New Zealand's egalitarian ethic (see contribution by Holmes and Marra), while other chapters demonstrate that inclusion may be established across cultural

categories, for instance by drawing on *common sense laughables* which accentuate shared knowledge (see contribution by Tranekjær) or by demonstrating linguistic knowledge and drawing on multilingual repertoires to highlight adaptability to the 'host'-context (see contribution by Franziskus).

Hence, challenges to and negotiations of various kinds of knowledge may cause professionals to engage in identity work that assists them in overcoming these struggles to display their (knowledge related) competence. That the term competence does not merely refer to technical knowledge, but also to familiarity with linguistic norms, to cultural capital and to various other aspects of knowing how to behave and respond 'appropriately', has been amply demonstrated throughout many of the chapters in this volume.

In addition to the crucial role of knowledge in relation to identity struggles – as manifested in interlocutors' lack of "cultural capital", or familiarity with and knowledge of particular socio-cultural norms – another crucial aspect underlying many of the identity struggles described in this volume is related to the competition between different norms and expectations.

Identity struggles related to competing norms

Within societies, various norms circulate, and some may be considered as 'unmarked', while others are seen as 'deviations' from these unmarked, hegemonic norms. Of course, what is marked, and what is unmarked, is subjective and often a matter of debate. And so not only competitions between norms arise but also issues of power are at stake because the various norms are often related to either powerful or powerless groups within a community. A good example of this, which is discussed in a few chapters in this volume, is the fact that workplaces are often still governed by masculine norms in which women are considered as deviations. This may result in exclusion from the professional in-group and sometimes even discrimination (as discussed in the contributions by Miglbauer and Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop), and, particularly for women at senior management level, this often entails a struggle between positions of relative powerfulness and powerlessness when constructing their leadership identities (as elaborated in more detail in the chapter by Baxter). Such power differentials may materialize in various forms, and, while the case studies in many chapters illustrate how they are talked into being, it is worth noting that they are also constructed through spatial arrangements (see contribution by Mautner).

Moreover, the general socio-cultural norms may compete with the particular norms of the workplace – and of the specific Community of Practice (Wenger

1988) in which a professional operates. For instance, in cultures in which favouritism is still deeply entrenched as a socio-cultural norm, clashes may emerge when professional norms dictate fairness and efficiency (see contribution by Ojwang), or when cultures that conceptualize life and work in non-compartmentalized ways, are confronted with western notions of work boundaries, as in the chapter by Medved and Brockmeier, this may result in continuous struggles in both of the cultural worlds in which these professionals have to operate and function. Also, some workplace norms may be so unjust that they clash with humanitarian norms, and so people struggle to construct their identities as humans when trying to make sense of their work experiences (see contribution by Ladegaard). And of course, workplace norms themselves may change as well, which may result in a competition between aspects of the old and the new norms (see contribution by Nkateng and Wharton).

Finally, at a more micro-level, there are also various norms at work in relation to the different activity types (Levinson 1992) professionals have to engage in. A job may entail a diversity of such activity types, and so professionals may struggle to switch between constructing identities that each orient to the correct set of norms in relation to a specific activity and audience (see contribution by File and Wilson). Moreover, certain activity types already entail a number of identity struggles as their norm, as is the case for complaining in professional contexts. As the chapter by Benwell and McCreaddie has shown, while complainers often struggle to construct their identities as reasonable people, (professional) complaint handlers construct their identities as mediators who struggle to find a balance between protecting their organization, which is the object of the complaint, and empathizing with the complainer.

Overall, such competing norms often result in struggles over the priority of one set of norms over another. Such struggles, however, usually occur under the surface and are rarely made explicit. Yet, they can be observed in the negotiation of and challenges to the appropriateness of the construction of particular identities that are related to these norms, as many of the chapters in this volume have illustrated. Finally, as mentioned above, there is quite some overlap between knowledge- and norm-struggles, as specific, often professional-bound, knowledge is 'the norm' in workplaces, and so professionals who construct their identities as knowledgeable, may do so in relation to one norm, while thereby at the same time disregarding another norm. And thus, by prioritizing one norm over another, they talk into being and actively reinforce a norm-hierarchy, which may be challenged by others. But in addition to knowledge as 'the norm', there is often also a lack of knowledge about norms that are not part of one's own cultural capital, which may lead professionals to judge the behaviour of 'others' and exclude them from the

professional in-group. Hence, these struggles related to knowledge and competing norms are often intertwined, and so in many of the contributions in this volume both are discussed in relation to one another.

Another important aspect that is cross-cutting through the various chapters is the ways in which the contributors have endeavoured to investigate identity struggles – analytically, methodologically, as well as in relation to their (more or less explicit) potential for social change.

Identity struggles as a potential for social change

Relating to the third question posed in the Introduction about the methodological and analytical tools used to investigate identity struggles, there are, as we have elaborated in more detail in this first chapter to this volume, two broad strands of data types that formed the basis of most of the chapters, namely naturally occurring data and data obtained through (ethnographic) interviews. Of course, significant differences between these two data types exist, especially regarding the location of data collection (at the workplace itself or elsewhere) and the role of the researcher in the data collection process (which is as minimal as possible for naturally occurring data and which is significant in the case of interviews, where the researchers usually acted as interviewers). Self-evidently, then, these differences have important implications for the way the analyses are carried out, as becomes clear when comparing the individual chapters. However, in spite of these differences, in this epilogue we want to draw attention to a similarity between these data types that may not stand out at first sight and that is closely related to the second question we asked in the Introduction (about how interlocutors experience these struggles and make sense of them), namely the potential of identity struggles to contribute to social changes in the world.

In the case of naturally occurring data, the potential for initiating social change is rather obvious due to the social constructionist perspective that is endorsed by all the chapters in this volume. When reading through the numerous data extracts, we can almost visualize how these utterances constitute our social worlds. So when in the data, household workers use directives vis-à-vis their bosses (as in the chapter by de los Heros) or nurses ignore patients' claims to preferential treatment (as discussed by Ojwang), we actually see the participants in these interactions talking into being a world with, respectively, less hierarchical differences and less favouritism. Hence, we see how identity struggles may become sites and vehicles for social change, and how they thereby may eventually contribute to a more egalitarian and just world. Working with authentic data enables us researchers to identify and trace these processes as it offers us a window into the

communicative process "that is instrumental in the creation of our social worlds" (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011: 21).

Yet when reading through interview data, this window is directed at the communicative process between the researcher, as interviewer, and the interviewee. Of course, these interviews are also interactions in their own right (Cicourel 1964), but in relation to professional life, one could say that the interviewees actually take a step back from 'real' life at the workplace. Instead, they reflect upon the experiences that they encountered there and so the focus shifts from actually *living* and *talking into being* (professional) life, to the (professional) life that has been *lived* and *constructed through talk* (cf Georgakopoulou 2007). Thus, although at first glance it appears that these interviews do not pose the same potential for social change as authentic data, it is important to note that while interviewees construct their answers, tell their stories and collaboratively negotiate their identities with the interviewers, they may become empowered to construct 'new' or 'revised' identities for themselves during the interview, which they may be able to draw on in the future. Furthermore, during these interviews, the interlocutors also orient to shared socio-cultural norms, or, as one may also refer to them, dominant discourses or master narratives. These can be defined as "pre-existent sociocultural forms of interpretation" (Bamberg 2005: 287) that may function as "resources which can be used in interaction for identity performances" (Kiesling 2006: 265). As these norms are shared widely in a culture, these resources are automatically available to interlocutors and this thus often results in hegemonic identity work, confirming the social status quo. However, instead of aligning with these culturally available identity positions, people may also take on agency and act upon them to construct identities that are 'dissident' in relation to the dominant group's norms. Thus, instead of producing discourses that align with the societal master narratives, they may challenge them by drawing on other dominant discourses (Clifton and Van De Mieroop 2016) or even produce counter narratives (Bamberg 2004). If these 'dissident' identities, alternative dominant discourses and counter narratives are constructed over and over again by an increasing group of people, they may become the norm themselves (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006: 7), and in time effectuate social change. So when Indian women talk about how they flouted the patriarchal norms of their workplace (as in the contribution by Chatterjee and Van De Mieroop), when social workers in Botswana describe how they attempt to carve out their own professional space (as in the chapter by Nkateng and Wharton), or when Philippine household workers try to make sense of the exploitation they suffer through Christian master narratives (as in the chapter by Ladegaard), they not only challenge the dominant discourses of more powerful groups, but they may also become empowered, and quite literally find a voice, in their struggle for (professional) recognition and equality.

Thus in spite of their differences, the two data types – naturally occurring data *in* the workplace and interviews *about* the workplace – have in common that they offer us a window upon society and the way it is constituted – and can potentially be changed – through discursive processes.

In the next section we address the last question we posed in the Introduction and spell out some of the insight that can be gained from the case studies presented in this volume for identity research more generally, and discuss what implications this may have for future studies.

Opening up new avenues for identity research

While the various chapters, without a doubt, make several important observations which, we hope, will be picked up by future research, in this section we draw attention to only a few of these observations. As we have argued above, through their talk, people construct the (professional and social) contexts in which they live, as well as instigate social change. As societies go through structural changes, there is a bi-directional process of, on the one hand, new roles and identities being projected upon people, who are thus confronted with new boundaries within which they can construct their identities, and, on the other hand, people who agentively talk into being new identities and as such either corroborate, or challenge and potentially refute, social changes. As several chapters in this volume have discussed, this seems to be particularly true for often marginalized groups (such as the women in the Canadian reserves researched by Medved and Brockmeier), and research-wise largely neglected geographical areas (such as Kenya and Botswana in the chapters by Ojwang, as well as Nkateng and Wharton). In these contexts, identity struggles are closely related to the massive changing processes that (parts of) these groups and societies are undergoing as they move away from an orientation to traditional cultural structures. Data from these contexts thus offer a unique window into this dialectic process of structural change and changes in, as well as challenges to, people's identity work. The insights gained from the research presented here also call for longitudinal studies that attempt to map these developments in identity constructions, which are closely tied to changes in the master narratives, and this will allow researchers to explore the relation between these two in more detail.

Finally, identity research has always very strongly emphasized the dynamic nature of the ways in which people construct and negotiate their identities, which are thus viewed in the plural (Bamberg, De Fina and Schiffrin 2007: 1). This pluralization of identity has been very productive and useful for the analysis of identity in western, post-modern worlds, in which people move back and forth between various contexts and communities (all associated with their own norms

and expectations) on a daily basis. During a 'typical' day, many professionals enact different identities at their homes, during their commutes, at their workplaces when talking to colleagues or to customers, during their grocery shopping and their leisure activities. Often, many of these activities entail a particular set of people who participate in the interactions, and although there may be *some* overlap, in general, this overlap tends to be fairly limited. As these 'audiences' often require different identity work (see contribution by File and Wilson), it is not surprising that people dynamically construct various, sometimes contradicting, identities (Bucholtz and Hall 2005) depending on what they are doing and with whom (Schiffrin 1996: 199). Yet, when rejecting this typical western, post-modern way of (more or less strictly) differentiating between the domains of 'work' and 'social life', this has implications for the identities one constructs. As Medved and Brockmeier have illustrated in their chapter, indigenous people adhering to traditional conceptions of non-compartmentalized ways of life, blur the boundaries between their different spheres of 'work' and 'life', which results in the construction of a more 'holistic' identity, or, under the influence of western ethics, of a hybrid identity that conceptualizes 'work' in a much more extended way. These observations may lead us to question the general applicability of current conceptualisations of identity as "fragmented and fractured" (Hall 1996: 17). Of course, much more research is required for really getting to the bottom of this, but based on the empirical evidence provided in some of the chapters in this volume, we can already hypothesize that exploring non-mainstream, often non-western, contexts that adhere to alternative and marginalized (and hence usually overlooked) ways of doing things, may shed more light on this interesting issue. Insights gained from such research, we believe, have a lot of potential to further our understanding of the concept of identity; and we hope that this book has offered several stepping stones for intriguing new avenues of research, which will inspire more research on non-mainstream, non-western contexts. Bringing these under-researched contexts into the spotlight, we believe, will help us deepen our understanding of how identity *works* in the workplace, as well as contribute to new insights into the concept of identity in a more general sense.

References

Bamberg, Michael. 2004. "Considering counter narratives." In *Considering counter-narratives: Narrating, resisting, making sense*, Michael Bamberg and Molly Andrews (eds.), 351–371. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/sin.4.43bam

Bamberg, Michael. 2005. "Master Narratives." In *The Routledge encyclopedia of narrative theory*, D. Herman, M. Jahn and M. L. Ryan (eds.), 287–288. New York: Routledge.

Bamberg, Michael, De Fina, Anna and Schiffrin, Deborah. 2007. "Introduction to the volume." In *Selves and Identities in Narrative and Discourse*, Michael Bamberg, Anna De Fina and Deborah Schiffrin (eds.), 1–8. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/sin.9.02bam

Blommaert, Jan. 2005. "Bourdieu the Ethnographer: The Ethnographic Grounding of Habitus and Voice." *The Translator* 11(2): 219–236. doi: 10.1080/13556509.2005.10799199

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. "The forms of capital." In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, John G. Richardson (ed.), 241–258. New York: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bucholtz, Mary and Hall, Kira. 2005. "Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach." *Discourse Studies* 7(4–5): 585–614. doi: 10.1177/1461445605054407

Cicourel, Aaron V. 1964. *Method and Measurement in Sociology*. New York: The Free Press.

Clifton, Jonathan and Van De Mieroop, Dorien. 2016. *Master Narratives, Identities, and the Stories of Former Slaves*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

De Fina, Anna, Schiffrin, Deborah and Bamberg, Michael. 2006. "Introduction." In *Discourse and Identity*, Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin and Michael Bamberg (eds.), 1–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.001

Georgakopoulou, Alexandra. 2007. *Small Stories, Interaction and Identities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi: 10.1075/sin.8

Hall, Stuart. 1996. "Introduction: Who needs 'identity'?" In *Questions of Cultural Identity*, Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (eds.), 1–17. London: Sage.

Heritage, John and Raymond, Geoffrey. 2005. "The terms of agreement: Indexing epistemic authority and subordination in talk-in-interaction." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1): 15–28. doi: 10.1177/019027250506800103

Holmes, Janet, Marra, Meredith and Vine, Bernadette. 2011. *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199730759.001.0001

Kiesling, Scott F. 2006. "Hegemonic identity-making in narrative." In *Discourse and Identity*, Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin and Michael Bamberg (eds.), 261–287. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi: 10.1017/CBO9780511584459.014

Levinson, Stephen C. 1992. "Activity types and language." In *Talk at work – Interaction in institutional settings (Studies in Interactional Sociolinguistics 8)*, Paul Drew and John Heritage (eds.), 66–100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sacks, Harvey. 1992. *Lectures on Conversation (2 vols, edited by Gail Jefferson with introduction by Emanuel A. Schegloff)*. Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell.

Schiffrin, Deborah. 1996. "Narrative as self-portrait: sociolinguistic constructions of identity." *Language in Society* 25: 167–203. doi: 10.1017/S0047404500020601

Schnurr, Stephanie and Zayts, Olga. 2017. *Language and Culture at Work*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Verschueren, Jef. 2008. "Intercultural Communication and the Challenges of Migration." *Language and intercultural communication* 8/1: 21–35. doi: 10.2167/laic298.0

Wenger, Etienne. 1988. *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Index

A
accountability 67, 376, 382–383
address system 411, 413
affiliation 110, 186, 192–193, 247–248, 253–256
agency 67–68, 228–229, 232–233, 374, 414, 441, 451
animals 115–119, 355–368
apprentice 130–133, 140–142
assertiveness 263–264
audience design 330

B
balance 6–7, 80, 173–174, 273, 278, 290, 304, 307–308, 310, 314, 449
  balanced negatives 319
  see also epistemic (im)balance
  see also gender (im)balance
bilingualism 376, 378, 381
  see also multilingualism
biology 168–173, 176–178, 181
Botswana 371–385
boundaries
  boundary crossing 128, 140
  group boundaries 188, 199, 208, 226, 228–229
  organizational boundaries 200–201, 393, 396
  professional boundaries 7–8, 52, 128, 139–141, 300, 304–306, 358
builder 130–134
business meetings 42, 51

C
Canada 301–303, 312
Cantonese 41–42, 82
challenge 3–4, 6–7, 21–22, 40–41, 50, 58, 81, 98, 120–121, 132, 149–151, 168–171, 308, 335–337, 379, 410–411, 451–452
clients
  client communities 373
  client rights 273
  client satisfaction 263–265
  see also interaction with clients
coaching discourse 319
co-construction 61, 74, 83, 139–140, 277, 359, 433
colonialism 299–301, 307, 312–313
co-membership 58, 185–187, 189, 193, 198–201
common sense laughable 185–186, 189–193, 199–201
community 169, 233, 270, 303–314
  community development 372
  community of followers 330–331
  Community of Practice 1, 4, 12, 24, 39–40, 92, 131–132, 134, 187, 225–227, 330–331, 337, 448
  see also client communities
competency framework 59–60
complaints 243–259, 263–265, 348
  complainer/s 243–244, 247–248, 258–259
conflict 74, 160, 166, 207–209, 219–220, 243–244, 252–254, 267–268, 273–275, 278, 395, 407
content analysis 375
contextual constraints 127–128
conventional indirectness 412
conversation analysis 12, 15, 42, 80, 95–97, 121, 165, 188, 244, 246, 355–356, 358, 368

D
directives 132, 319, 324, 328, 407–408, 410–412, 414, 419, 421–422
discipline 165–167, 169, 181
discrimination 207–208, 234, 273, 439, 448
discursive strategies 21, 34, 73, 284
disempowerment 232–233, 238
  see also empowerment
  see also power
domestic helper 427–428, 437
  see also household worker
double voicing 22
drys 165, 168, 173–181
  see also wets

E
emotions 6, 210, 245, 281–291, 295–296, 325
  emotionally intelligent 24
  emotional disengagement 290
emplaced 388, 402
employers 60–61, 142, 193, 272, 409–412, 428–429
  see also graduate employers
empowerment 59, 234, 236, 300, 307, 314
  see also disempowerment
  see also power
epistemics 80, 97, 166–168, 188–189, 193
  epistemic authority 81–82, 92, 98, 121, 180, 248, 358
  epistemic (im)balance 91–92
  epistemic status/stance 80–81, 90–92, 97–99, 121, 173, 177, 193, 375–377
  epistemic struggle 79, 89–90

ethnomethodology 188, 246
evaluation 169–170, 186, 213, 218, 283
evaluation phase 160, 210, 231
see also IRE sequence
exclusion 157, 188, 201, 227, 229, 239, 273, 447–448
expectations 1–2, 5–7, 21, 51, 57–58, 81, 131, 186, 199, 243–244, 281–282, 322, 336, 348–349, 382–383, 407
expertise power 408, 414, 421–422
see also power
Extreme Case Formulations 86, 154, 250, 256
see also formulations

F
face
face damage 278
face threats 258, 328, 344, 417, 435
face-threatening acts 266–267
face work 41, 267, 278
feminist poststructuralist discourse analysis 21–22
First Nation 299–304, 312
focus groups 220, 283
formulations 244, 246–247
see also Extreme Case Formulations
frames 410
France 96, 229, 338

G
gate-keeping 57, 127, 201
gender 21–24, 147–150, 207–208, 211–214, 233–239, 265, 273, 299–300, 307–309, 391, 410–412
gender (im)balance 148, 300, 304
General Practitioners (GPs) 281, 283, 294
graduate employers 57
see also employers
group membership 4–5, 186, 208, 218–219, 410
guided tours 95–96, 98

H
healthcare 80–81, 91, 244, 248, 258, 265–266, 283, 295, 305, 357
Hong Kong 40–41, 79, 427–429
Hong Kong Chinese 41, 79
household worker 408–410, 422
see also domestic helper
humour 71, 131–132, 187–188, 214–216

I
identity
collective identities 215, 281, 303
enforced identity 427
ethnic identity 187, 214, 337
expert identity 79, 81
gender identity 153, 187, 213, 239, 309
(inter)disciplinary identity 165–167, 173, 180
professional identity 1–8, 22, 40, 58–62, 81–82, 96–97, 127–128, 166, 186–187, 208, 253–254, 282, 311, 335–337, 372, 446–447
religious identity 427
identity dilemmas 57–58, 258
identity navigation 228
identity negotiation 142, 190, 407, 410–411
ideology 12, 160, 192, 227, 339, 407, 440
impoliteness 267–268, 278
inclusion 156–157, 161, 188–189, 228–229, 273, 328, 447
indexicality 10–11, 82, 218–219
India 147–148
Indigenous people 299–304, 408–409
ingroup 160–162, 225, 434–435, 439–440
institutional agenda 81, 254
institutional discourse(s) 59, 73
interaction
interaction with clients 253, 263–264, 269–278, 340, 347–348, 358–364, 367, 379–382
Interactional Discourse Lab 165
interactional level 207–208
interdisciplinary 167–168, 176, 180–181
meetings 165
engagement 165, 181
intern 135–142
internship interviews 190
intersubjective 178, 412
intertextuality 26, 389, 400, 402
interviews 12–15, 26, 42, 82, 150, 208–209, 227–229, 300, 320, 339, 372, 450–452
see also focus groups
see also internship interviews
see also job interviews
see also media interviews
see also sharing sessions
IRE sequence 85
see also sequence
Italy 96

J
job interviews 57–60

K
Kenya 263–266
knowledge 79–83, 97–98, 142, 166–168, 189, 192, 281–282, 342, 358, 375, 385, 400, 415, 422, 446–448

L
laughables 107, 170, 185–189, 448
see also common sense laughables
leadership 21–24,148, 312–313, 317–320, 331–332, 448
linguistic labelling 437
Luxembourg 337–339

M
marginalisation 186, 301–302, 427, 440–441, 452
master narratives 451–452
media interviews 319, 321
Medically Unexplained Symptoms (MUS) 281–283, 446

meetings 24–26, 39–40, 168, 390, 398
meeting chairing 25, 39–40
see also business meetings
see also interdisciplinary meetings
Membership Categorization Analysis 96, 189
metaphor 58, 269, 284, 291, 294, 300, 395
middle managers 51
migrant 135, 189–190, 225–229, 337–338, 409–410, 428–430, 437
mobile settings 96
modality 254, 284, 286–287, 292
morality 367
multilingualism 335–340
see also bilingualism
multimodality 96, 400, 402

N
narrative analysis 150–151, 209–211, 227–229, 429
National Health Service (NHS) 243–244
nationality 142, 187, 196, 215, 231–233, 236–238
New Zealand 62, 129, 132, 136, 139, 142, 321
nurses 79–82, 251, 263–266, 299, 311

O
otherness 154, 157, 161

P
patient 80, 243–246, 264–266, 282–283, 355–357, 361, 365–367
Patient Centred Care 259, 291
patient literacy 91
Peru 408–410
Poland 283
politeness 412, 421
politeness theory 27, 266–267
positioning 33, 61, 73, 80, 115, 169, 311, 344, 408
positioning theory 63, 209–211, 219–220
see also subject positioning
power 22, 26, 142, 148–149, 167, 201, 208, 227, 264, 300–301, 307–309, 311–313, 336, 358, 382, 390, 392–393, 399, 401–402, 408, 410–412, 421–422, 448
power asymmetry 140, 358, 382
see also disempowerment
see also empowerment
see also expertise power
professionalism 52, 383

R
recruitment settings 59
reported speech 160, 220, 256
requests 100–101, 256, 411–412
reserves 299–303, 305

S
spatial affordances 397
Scotland 246
sequence 69, 100, 110–111, 113–115, 120, 193, 249–250, 253, 346, 376, 421
sequence organization 114
see also IRE sequence
signage 395, 401
sharing sessions 430
social / socio-cultural norms 142, 207, 410, 448, 451
social realism 129
social work 305, 372–374
socio-cognitive representations 281–282
space 118–120, 391–393
sports discourse 320
stereotypes 22–24, 41, 149, 302, 412, 435
story 61–63, 151, 194, 208, 420
storytelling 209, 429, 433
subject positioning 21–22, 26
subordinate role 275, 410, 415
Systems Biology 168–169

T
task-oriented situations 421–422
testimonies 427

U
United Kingdom 229
unskilled workers 421

V
veterinarians 355–357
visibility/invisibility vortex 148–150

W
wets 165, 168, 173–181
see also drys
women 23–24, 147–150, 208, 234, 303–304, 409, 428–430, 448
workplace
workplace conflict 207–208
workplace discourse 127–130, 142, 335–336, 422
workplace interaction 41, 129
workplace transitions 127–128, 141–142

This collection provides a kaleidoscopic view of a range of identity struggles in the workplace context. It features twenty-two case studies that present an eclectic mix of workplaces in different socio-cultural contexts. They include, among others, household workers in Peru and Hong Kong, female professionals in India and the UK, social workers in Botswana and on Canadian reserves, tourist guides in Europe and construction workers in New Zealand. The volume addresses important questions on professional competence, group membership, (sometimes competing) expectations, and identity boundaries. The chapters establish that identity struggles are a reflection of issues of knowledge, competing norms and attempts for social change.

"*Identity Struggles* offers a refined view of how interactants negotiate their roles in the workplace. Generally following a constructivist approach to identity construction, it draws on a rich set of methodological and theoretical approaches and offers insights derived from the study of an impressive range of cultural and linguistic contexts. It is a must-read for scholars of workplace interaction and analysts interested in the intricate interplay of language and action resulting in interpersonal effects."

Miriam A. Locher, *University of Basel*

ISBN 978 90 272 0660 2

9 789027 206602

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY