

A watercolor illustration of a boat's deck, viewed from the front, sailing on a vibrant green sea. In the background, several grey wind turbines are scattered across the horizon under a light blue sky with soft, white clouds. A small yellow buoy is visible on the left side of the sea, and a red buoy is on the right. The overall style is artistic and serene.

Navigating language policies:

**International employees'
second language socialisation
in a Danish state administration**

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Front and back cover, painting: Ida Lærke

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Pseudonymisation

In this thesis, all people, countries and teams are pseudonymised. In a few cases, I have chosen to combine two people as they expressed a preference to be entirely unidentifiable internally. I use country names from the Danish Energy Agency's authentic partner countries, but I have swapped countries according to an arbitrary, but consistent system throughout the thesis. Thus, when I write about a meeting with the South Korea team for example, it could be a meeting of the Netherlands team.

Abstract

This PhD thesis is based on an ethnographic single case study of the second language socialisation of highly educated, international employees in a workplace in the Danish state administration, the Danish Energy Agency. Due to the Danish Energy Agency's status as a state administration with close ties to the Danish central administration, it has a Danish language policy. As the workforce has traditionally consisted of native Danish-speakers since the Danish Energy Agency was established in 1976, working language was never in contention until recently. As a result of increased climate policy goals, global economic investments in renewable energy, and increased recruitment competition for talents, the Danish Energy Agency began recruiting international employees for their department, Global Cooperation, in 2017. For many of these employees, the Danish language policy in the workplace is associated with challenges and dilemmas, as several of the employees do not have any Danish language skills when they start. The purpose of the study is to investigate the employees' paths to become legitimate participants, ways to create a professional identity in Danish, and how this process takes place in close interplay with the workplace. The study draws on theories of second language socialisation and is based on empirical material from a year of fieldwork. Through in situ observations and interviews, I analyse a pattern of three stages in the employees' linguistic socialisation process that correspond to their first three years of employment. These stages form the framework for my analysis. In the process of becoming professional employees in Danish, the thesis focuses on how the employees socially navigate the organisation's language policy and how the organisation, native Danish-speaking management and colleagues are navigating in relation to them. I explore three aspects in this process: 1) investment in Danish language learning. 2) language use. 3) Performance of professional identity. My study demonstrates the many facets of what it means to know Danish in a specific work context, and how the paths to knowing Danish can take place. It also uncovers second language socialisation as a comprehensive process, which is due to the fact that learning Danish is learning to speak many kinds of Danish as well as knowing and navigating implicit pragmatic contexts in order to achieve a Danish-speaking professional identity.

Resume

Denne ph.d.-afhandling er baseret på et etnografisk single-casestudie af højtuddannede internationale medarbejderes andetsprogsocialisation på en arbejdsplads i den danske statsforvaltning, Energistyrelsen. Grundet Energistyrelsens status som statsforvaltning med tætte bånd til den danske centraladministration har den en dansk sprogpolitik. Da arbejdsstyrken traditionelt har bestået af personer med dansk som modersmål, siden Energistyrelsen blev oprettet i 1976, har der ikke været sat spørgsmålstejn ved sprogpolitikken. Som følge af øgede klimapolitiske mål, globale økonomiske investeringer i vedvarende energi og øget konkurrence om talenter begyndte Energistyrelsen i 2017 at rekruttere internationale medarbejdere til deres center Global Rådgivning. For mange af disse medarbejdere er den danske sprogpolitik på arbejdspladsen forbundet med en række udfordringer og dilemmaer, da flere af medarbejderne ikke har nogen dansksproglige kompetencer, når de starter. Formålet med studiet er at undersøge medarbejdernes veje til at blive legitime deltagere, måder at skabe en faglig dansksproget identitet på og hvordan denne proces foregår i tæt samspil med arbejdspladsen. Undersøgelsen trækker på teorier om andetsprogsocialisation, og den er baseret på et empirisk materiale fra et års feltarbejde. Gennem in situ-observationer og interviews analyserer jeg et mønster bestående af tre stadier i medarbejdernes sproglige socialisationsproces, som svarer til deres første tre ansættelsesår. Disse stadier rammesætter min analyse. I processen med at blive fagligt kompetente medarbejdere på dansk fokuserer afhandlingen på, hvordan de internationale medarbejdere socialt navigerer organisationens sprogpolitik, og hvordan organisationen, den dansktalende ledelse og kollegerne navigerer i forhold til dem. Jeg undersøger tre aspekter ved denne proces: 1) investering i at lære dansk. 2) Sprogbrug. 3) Performance af faglig identitet. Min undersøgelse viser de mange facetter af, hvad det vil sige at kunne dansk i en specifik arbejdskontekst, og hvordan vejene til at kunne dansk kan foregå. Den afdækker også andetsprogsocialisation som en omfattende proces, hvilket skyldes, at det at lære dansk er at lære at tale mange slags dansk samt, at det kræver et indgående kendskab og kompetencer at kunne navigere i implicite pragmatiske kontekster for at opnå en dansktalende faglig identitet.

Chapter 1. Introduction



The head office of the Danish Energy Agency in Copenhagen in the early spring of 2021. In times without COVID-19 restrictions, there is usually much more traffic on the slightly winding path around this time at 8.30 a.m.: a long line of people, who may have just parked their bike below where the path starts or got off the train at the station around the corner, on their way into the office.

Morning meeting

The people in Global Cooperation, a department in the Danish Energy Agency, a state administration that works with renewable energy, are gathered at the weekly department meeting a Friday morning in June 2021. The morning meetings are a tradition that goes back to the department's start in 2011. Back then, there were 10-15 employees, and they could all sit around one table. The management has chosen to keep the meetings, although they are now approximately 85 employees now in 2021. In times without COVID-19 restrictions, there is still one person who brings breakfast to everyone. The purpose of the meetings is to gather all the department's employees once a week, so that everyone is up to date on the latest news and have the opportunity to talk to each other across teams and different schedules after

a busy workweek. During the last half hour of the meeting there is usually a *faglig*, i.e. technical, professional, presentation from someone external or in house presenter. Today, the meeting is set up as both online and onsite. After eight months of working remotely, the Directors of the entire organisation have just lowered the requirements and made it possible to enter the physical office in Copenhagen if the number does not exceed 43 people in each department, but most people participate online. A small group of employees sit together in room b191. One of them does not yet understand Danish. The number of employees who do not understand Danish is higher among those who participate from home. The news from this week is that the department has recruited four new employees and there are still job vacancies that have not been filled so the employees are welcome to share the job postings on social networks. Moreover, the department has officially entered a cooperation with two new countries, and there is information and questions regarding the transition from remote work to physically returning to the office. After a few questions and a little discussion, the time comes for the weekly presentation. Today, an external presenter is to talk about district heating. He turns on his microphone: "*Skal vi gøre det her på engelsk eller dansk?*" [Should we do this in English or Danish?], the external presenter asks in Danish after starting his Power Point. Since the meeting has been in both Danish and a little in English for the last half hour, it seems like a reasonable question now that he is about to give a 25-minute presentation. It may also seem like a simple question. At least for an external presenter. A simple matter of this or that. However, the question is met by silence. The familiar sound of rattles from headset microphones that strike hands, cheeks and clothes, clinking coffee cups in the distance, a phone call far away is gone. Perhaps the convener has put all 63 meeting participants on mute. It happens sometimes. Perhaps everyone has left their computer to get a new cup of coffee or maybe they have used the shift in the meeting agenda to respond to emails. It happens quite often. Perhaps everyone is just holding their breath while waiting for the answer and not least to see *who* answers. It takes exactly six seconds before one of the department managers turns on his microphone. Six seconds may not sound like anything, but for the weekly Morning meeting in Global Cooperation, it is a very long time.

(Morning meeting online. June 2021).

As the vignette reveals, the external presenter's question about language choice ignites an unusual silence. As an outsider he may not know the implications of his question; that he is

pointing to the elephant in the room. Those at the meeting who do not normally ask that question know and those who are expected to answer, know. Everyone knows that whoever comes forward and answers the question answers whether it is ok that not everyone can keep up, because not all employees know Danish, even though they should according to the Directors. It is an answer on whether it is ok to give up on the organisation's Danish language policy and principles of enacting the organisation's deep roots in the central administration through the use of Danish, as required by law, with the aim of including all. It uncovers an unpleasant inequality among employees due to different language skills in a workplace that values inclusion, equality, community, and team spirit. So, it is not a simple question, because the answer, whatever it is, will be wrong.

This thesis focuses on tensions and dilemmas between the organisation's Danish language policy, the challenges that international employees face in their attempt to meet linguistic demands and how they socially navigate these challenges related to language choice. By its rich and unprecedented ethnographic fieldwork in a Danish-speaking state administration with international employees, the thesis aims to contribute to and advance central concepts and theoretical understandings within second language socialisation in the contemporary context of increased highly educated workforce mobility.

In accordance, the seemingly simple and everyday situation described in the vignette above gives rise to questions about how to navigate a Danish language policy through language choice within an organisation in which a growing number of international employees do not speak Danish, or do not understand and master the language to such an extent that they will be able to follow a presentation in Danish. Thus, the language choice has consequences within the particular situation, but it also points to structural dynamics within the organisation that mirrors broader phenomena of both second language acquisition and socialisation through a second language in workplaces in a period of increasing mobility of workforces across borders, also among highly educated people as is the case in Global Cooperation. My case study therefore raises a series of questions and allows for an investigation into less explored subjects within the broader field of second language socialisation: How is the organisation as well as each employee to navigate a Danish language policy when many within the workforce do not speak the language? What does it actually take not only to learn Danish (in class) but actually to use Danish at work? What does the choice of Danish imply in terms of professional identity for international employees

for whom a large part of their job is to communicate with others, including demonstrating their knowledge and presenting arguments? What does the ability or lack thereof to understand and speak Danish imply in terms of experiencing social inclusion or exclusion within the workplace? And how does all this affect international employees' investment in language learning, their Danish-speaking identity, and their perception of career prospects? In short, language choice may seem like a simple choice, but it implies many and complex layers of navigating language, socialisation, and professional identity. At the same time, though, this is not only a challenge for the international employees, but also for the native Danish-speaking management as well as colleagues. How are they to support their new colleagues' second language socialisation and how are they to navigate the language policy in situations which are not about learning Danish as such, but about getting the job done and socially getting along? I will return to these questions later in this chapter when I present my research questions.

What is pertinent about my study is not only that it is about a highly educated international workforce socialising into a second language¹, but in contrast to many private companies in Denmark which have English as their official language, this is a governmental organisation with a Danish language policy. Compared to private Danish companies, it is an organisation with the embedded tension that it must serve Denmark's goal of being globally competitive while at the same time having strong national roots. The organisation's language policy is an expression of practicing national anchoring on an everyday basis. The language policy and its implied language ideology makes the international employees' Danish language skills and their ability to speak essential to how they can perform and define their professional identity within a particular working environment, which does not only require professional knowledge and competences, but also depends heavily on communicative skills in a second language. The Danish language policy puts pressure on each of the international employees to learn Danish, but it also invites the question of what it means to learn and use Danish in a professional context and what it takes to get there. In a Danish-speaking

¹As pointed out by several researchers in the field (Block 2003; Darwin & Norton 2023; Duff 2012), I find the term *second language* imprecise and even counterintuitive, as many are users of multiple languages. In relation to my study, it is more appropriate to talk about Danish being an *additional language* for the employees. To avoid confusion, however, I retain "second language" when I refer to the theoretical concepts of second language socialisation and second language learning due to their proprium function.

workplace of highly educated professionals who constantly need to communicate their knowledge, second language socialisation is not simply about adapting to a social world through language, but also about performing a certain professional identity through language.

This PhD thesis is on second language socialisation of highly educated international employees² specialised within renewable energy and on the implications of a Danish language policy in a growing global workplace, which is part of The Danish Ministry of Climate, Energy and Utilities. The thesis is based on a one-year ethnographic single case study carried out in a department called Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency from 2020 until 2021. The first eight months took place online due to Covid-19 restrictions while the last three and a half months were onsite or through a mix of the two modes. The study focuses on the employees' paths to becoming members of the workplace and how they navigate through and around Danish as a second language, and what it more specifically entails to become members, i.e. being able to participate and perform as a professionally competent employee and a good colleague, linguistically, socially, and culturally. This also has wider political relevance and is connected to issues of migration and second language socialisation into the Danish labour market in ways that I will outline in the following.

1.1. Political context for language, migration and work

The subject of the present thesis speaks into a wider political discussion in Denmark about language skills, migration, and brain drain. In 2021, the Danish government addressed a shortage of highly educated people and a special "(...) need for qualified skilled labour in the sector of green transition." (Regeringen/The Danish Government 2021: 6. My translation from Danish). Flexible migration policies and schemes are used to attract and retain highly skilled labour through financial benefits, open borders, or ease of applying for a residence permit. These include *forskerskatteordningen* [the tax credit scheme], *arbejdskraftens frie bevægelighed* [freedom of movement for workers] - one of the four fundamental rights of EU

² I tend to alternate between the term *international employees* and *non-native Danish-speaking employees*. I see international as a super category for people who are not born and brought up in Denmark and who have specific connotations to work and education areas, which I will elaborate on soon. Non-native Danish-speaking employees have a specific focus on linguistic prerequisites.

citizens – or *positivlisten* [the positive lists] and *beløbsordningen* [the pay limit scheme] for citizens of non-EU countries.

Despite these initiatives, more than half of those who come to Denmark for work-related reasons leave, and "(...) the propensity to emigrate is highest for those working in a high-level job function. These will typically be highly educated immigrants." (Klintefelt, Dansk Industri 2023: 2. My translation from Danish). Under the headline "A catastrophically large amount of specialised labour is leaving Denmark", Lütken, Employment and Integration Mayor in Copenhagen, writes in an opinion piece in the business newspaper Børsen:

"The competition for skilled minds is fierce, and we cannot simply expect software engineers to be dazzled by the possibility of swimming in the harbour [in Copenhagen] or that Nørrebro [a district in Copenhagen] might be the trendiest neighbourhood in the world. It takes more than that, otherwise the skilled minds will vanish from the country before we can even spell 'top tax'." (Lütken, Børsen 2022. My translation from Danish).

In particular, Lütken calls for newly educated foreigners in Denmark to receive job search assistance and knowledge about the Danish labour market based on the premise that entering the Danish labour market poses a particular challenge for graduates and consequently for retaining them.

The expat community, *Internations*, annual questionnaire survey (*the Expat Insider 2023*) of "best and worst destinations", however, points to other negative factors for retaining international labour in Denmark besides access to jobs, as the majority of their respondents already are in employment. In the latest 2023 survey, Denmark is ranked at the bottom at 51st place out of 53 countries under the super category "Ease of Settling". The category includes the subcategories "Culture and Welcome" (50/53), "Local Friendliness" (51/53), "Finding Friends" (53/53), and (local) "Language" (34/53)³, which is based on a question about language barriers. In contrast, Denmark is ranked 6th out of 53 countries in

³ Up to 2023 "language" is categorised under "Ease of settling". In 2023 it is placed under the super category "Expat Essentials".

the super category "Working Abroad", where parameters such as working hours and work-life balance are emphasised as highly satisfying factors. An exception, though, is the subcategory "Career Prospects" with a ranking of 41/53. The high contrast between "Ease of Settling" and "Working Abroad" is largely unchanged since Internations' first survey in 2014. In a summary from the 2014 survey, specifically regarding Denmark, Internations highlights: "Language barriers (29% vs. 22% globally) and difficulty making friends (44% vs. 29% globally) are also concerns for expats when asked what they struggle with" (Expatriate Insider, Internations Survey 2014). Thus, the survey indicates that social life, the Danish language, and career prospects are key challenges to settling in Denmark, but given the survey's quantitative format, it does not elaborate on what underpins people's responses and what the categories mean for the individual.

The relationship between sociability, language and work has been prevalent on the political agenda in Denmark since the 1960s, when guest workers from the Balkans, Pakistan, and the Middle East came to Denmark and the debate continues to grow (Valentin & Olwig 2015). More precisely, language and work are often discussed alongside *integration*⁴ as a threefold entity, which combine economic independence and tax contributions to the welfare state with language skills. In short, the focus of the debate is how to get people into jobs as quickly as possible. From causally viewing Danish language skills as the path to getting a job, the notion has shifted to the job being the path to Danish language skills and integration.

As highly educated specialised white-collar workers, primarily engineers, the international employees in Global Cooperation are exactly what politicians demand and design policies to attract and retain. They contribute to the national economy and the Danish welfare state through taxes and "(...) are generally not expected to become integrated in the same way as labour migrants (Schrooten, Salazar & Dias, 2015)." (Valentin 2017: 270). For these employees, there are no requirements for participation in integration programmes and mandatory language tests. In comparison to Valentin and Niraula and Valentin's studies of highly educated people from Nepal, categorised as a third country by the Danish state, for

⁴ I will not be using the term integration myself due to lack of clarity. Ejrnæs characterises the meaning of the concept of integration as "exceptionally unclear" (Ejrnæs 2002: 7). As an emic concept, Rytter emphasises the fuzziness of the concept in its connotations to everything from social integration, economic integration, political integration to cultural integration etc. (Rytter 2019: 681). Thus, the imprecision is not diminished in the context of language (social and cultural integration) and labour (economic integration).

whom the goal is to obtain a permanent residence permit and jobs in Denmark that match their level of education and skills (Niraula & Valentin 2019), most of the employees in Global Cooperation can be said to have achieved this goal. The majority come from EU countries and are covered by the freedom of movement for workers. They came to Denmark to study their master's degree, typically in renewable energies. Many also hold a PhD from the same universities in Denmark, and a few continued in a post-doctoral position. Most have therefore gained some experience of the Danish education system and labour market before joining Global Cooperation, which may contribute to the notion that they need no further introduction to working in a Danish workplace. Many choose Denmark as a study destination because of Denmark's reputation as a front runner in green transition and because of a number of attractive and flexible schemes and policies between universities. For example, a Danish and an Italian university have an exchange programme that enables students to obtain a diploma authorising them to work as engineers in both countries, ensuring student mobility, career prospects and security. In general, universities help with the administration of permits, housing and sometimes financial support. The programme in Denmark is free of charge, and if students work between 10-12 hours a week while studying, they can receive *SU* (State education subsidy). After graduation, they are entitled to membership of an *A-kasse* (unemployment insurance fund), which can support them financially and provide counselling during the transition between study and work. In comparison to other migrant groups, most of the international employees in Global Cooperation can go by a number of different labels other than "international" and "high skilled", such as "voluntary migrants", "knowledge workers", "human capital" and "cosmopolitans" (Iredale 2001; Mosneaga & Winther 2013). They are considered to be privileged (Torresan 2007), i.e. mobile and economically comfortable, and in the Danish political framework, integrated and able to easily enter a Danish labour market where learning the Danish language automatically comes with the job. However, like Torresan and Amit's studies (2007) of this classified group of migrants, it is worth asking whether the employees in Global Cooperation also share this view.

1.2. Nordic research on second language learning in workplaces

The political notion that people learn Danish at work among colleagues is contradicted by Danish and other Nordic studies. As Bramm and Kirilova point out, the idea that languages are learnt at work is based on a so-called 'language bath method', where the adult learner

automatically, i.e. seemingly without conscious effort like a child acquiring a first language, acquires the new language if she or he is surrounded ('bathed') by a large amount of the target language. This notion does not consider a number of social factors. Bramm and Kirilova's study of two interns in a Danish supermarket shows, "(...) that the internship provided very limited opportunities for linguistic interaction." (Bramm & Kirilova 2018: 91). The reason for this lack was due to both the work tasks, such as shelving goods, and a lack of access to community with colleagues during lunch breaks. The results of the study are very similar to Sandwall's study of SFI students (a programme for immigrants in Sweden to acquire basic Swedish language skills) internships in Sweden, which shows that the placement of the students in warehouses and other socially isolated places meant that they spoke Swedish on average between 30 seconds to 2 minutes a day (Sandwall 2013). In addition to work activities with very little communication and access to communities, Sørensen and Holmen observe that factors such as noise and time pressure also limit opportunities for linguistic interaction in their study of interns at eight different workplaces (Sørensen & Holmen 2004). The studies show the importance of social and environmental factors for language learning and use. Common to these studies is that they are based on refugees, unskilled or low-skilled migrant groups⁵ who are enrolled in integration programmes, which emphasise the importance of learning the majority language, i.e. the national language, at work/internships for getting into the labour market. Studies focusing on manual labourers in blue-collar construction jobs in multilingual workplaces (Kraft 2017; Söderlundh & Kahlin 2022) and the service industry (Strømmer 2016; Söderlundh & Keevallik 2022) demonstrate that mere presence at work does not facilitate learning the majority languages in the companies (Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish). In addition to the frequency of work activities that do not require much interaction and are carried out in isolated spaces either physically or during off-hours (e.g. early in the morning or at night when the absence of other people is high), several studies also show that employees are organised around a language broker. This is seen in Söderlundh and Keevallik's study of Estonian seasonal employees in a Swedish city maintenance company: "In practice, our observations show that most of the Estonians are exclusively in contact with Jaan [an Estonian-speaking manager and language broker], and Estonian is the language on all of these occasions: in face-to-face interaction, over the phone, and in text messaging." (Söderlundh and Keevallik 2022: 792). Estonian employees therefore have no need to communicate in Swedish, as the language broker, Jaan, informs and

⁵ See Niraula and Valentin's critical discussion of notions of skills (Niraula & Valentin 2019).

coordinates their work tasks in Estonian, but the downside is that the employees are highly dependent on Jaan's help and have little opportunity to participate in social events in the workplace that are conducted in Swedish (see also Marschan-Piekkari et al. 1999 on the empowerment of language brokers or mediators in Finland).

In contrast to the integration programmes' emphasis on the importance of the local language, a few studies show that highly educated migrants in white-collar jobs in Denmark experience that English is articulated as the natural working language, for example in a pharmaceutical company (Lønsmann 2011, 2014), in a software company (Øhrstrøm 2016) and at a university in Denmark (Kirilova & Lønsmann 2020). The need for Danish language skills is understated though: "(...) the local language plays an important role especially in informal interactions" (Kirilova & Lønsmann 2020: 42. My translation from Danish). Exclusion from social contexts and groupings of employees who share the same language(s), which Tange and Lauring refer to as *language clustering* (Tange & Lauring 2009), is thus a consequence of a lack of local language skills. Furthermore, Suni's study of highly educated healthcare professionals in Finland shows that Finnish language skills are not only important for participating in social, informal contexts as they are also crucial for performing the core tasks at work (Suni 2017). Overall, the studies refute the common belief that many learn the majority language at work among colleagues, as many have no access to these colleagues and a social life, or they have no apparent need to know the language due to a favouring of English or the availability of a language broker. At the same time, the studies show that the lack of skills in the majority language presents social - and in Suni's case also professional - barriers. As Suni writes: "There is thus a highly controversial position provided for potential new speakers in work and language communities: they may get officially accepted but still partially rejected (...)" (Suni 2017: 212). What Suni points out is that a positive job interview and employment contract does not equate to social and professional acceptance and recognition. Arguably, it does not equate to full membership of the community. This may coincide with the negative results of *Internations'* survey about ease of settling in Denmark due to difficulties in feeling welcome, local friendliness, local language barriers and career opportunities. Along with Suni, my study is one of a few rare studies of highly educated international workforces where learning and using a second language is integral to being able to perform a professional identity at work. What is particular about my study is that the organisation is part of the state administration and that it consequently has a Danish language policy, which sets the conditions for learning, using and being socialised

through a second language in salient ways. This allows a detailed and in-depth study of the many implications of a specific language choice related to learning a second language and speaking it as part of performing a professional, but also personal identity within that language and its implied cultural and pragmatic contexts. Together, these many aspects of my study may not only point to challenges, but also to possible pathways and useful navigational patterns for language learners within the field of second language socialisation.

1.3. Global Cooperation – a Danish workplace

The Danish Energy Agency was established in 1976. It is a state administration under the Ministry of Climate, Energy and Utilities. The Danish Energy Agency's responsibilities are to contribute to achieving the Minister's climate goals of a green transition, to advise the Minister on climate and energy affairs, to administer Danish climate legislation and to prepare analyses and assessments of developments in the climate and energy sector both nationally and internationally.

As shown in the organisational chart on the website, the Danish Energy Agency is headed by one *Direktør General* [the Director General] who has a few *vicedirektører* [deputy director generals] under him, each responsible for one or more of the nine departments that constitute the organisation. Under the Deputy Director Generals are *kontorcheferne* [the Department Managers], who manage the respective departments and who are responsible for the employees. Among the employees, the most common job categories are *fuldmægtig* [an Official], followed by *specialrådgiver* [Special Advisor] and *chefkonsulent* [Chief Consultant]. Regardless of these job categories, the employees are divided into the two main categories of *generalist* [generalist], who usually have a background in social sciences, law, economics and communication, and *specialist* [specialist], who are typically educated as engineers. I use the English job titles, which correspond to the Danish Energy Agency's own translation of the Danish ones, throughout the thesis and I consistently distinguish between positions to make the power hierarchy visible.

One main characteristic of the Danish Energy Agency, when I began in 2020 to do my field work, is that it is experiencing a burgeoning internationalisation of the internal

employee group as a result of an expanding, global, green political agenda. The first international, and thus non-native Danish-speaking, employee was hired as part of Global Cooperation's internal staff in 2017. Subsequently, more people with a non-Danish background were recruited as a result of a growing global political interest in renewable energy, which led to increased global competition for talented workers. A competitive production of solar and wind power in 2016 compared to fossil fuels, as a result of global regulatory measures and technological development, was one major factor in increased demand for skilled labour. Another, more localised factor was Dan Jørgensen, the then serving Minister of Climate, Energy and Utilities, announcing an ambitious *Klimahandlingsplan* [Climate action plan] in 2020 to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 70% by 2030 compared to 1990. The Climate Act sets out a number of guiding principles for the transition towards a climate-neutral society, among them: "Climate change is a global issue. That is why Denmark must be a pioneer in international climate action, so we can inspire and influence the rest of the world." (Klimahandlingsplan 2020: 5. My translation from Danish). As an extension of the ministry, the Danish Energy Agency is tasked with the realisation of these goals, and when it comes to the global outlook, Global Cooperation is in the lead.⁶ This requires employees. From 2017 to 2021, Global Cooperation grew from around 23 to 85 full-time employees, and today in the summer of 2024, they are around 110 employees. Overall, the Danish Energy Agency grew from around 300 to 650 employees in early 2021, recruiting 150 new employees in 2020 alone (Børsen, 11 February 2021), and by 2023 they had grown to over 900 employees.

The urgent need for skilled labour within renewable energy motivated the organisation to start recruiting specialists with a non-Danish background. The recruitment can thus be contrasted with the state administration in Sweden, which demands representation, i.e. Sweden as a diverse society, and therefore an increase in the proportion of employees with a non-Swedish background (Sundberg 2009). Similarly, the recruitment in Global Cooperation can be contrasted with another movement, namely internationalisation of companies and workplaces: "(...) in particular large, internationally oriented, corporate workplaces" (Lønsmann 2024: 149) who strategically recruit international workers as part of internationalising the workplace (Lønsmann 2017). In comparison, the recruitments in Global Cooperation were rather based on a lack of native Danish-speaking specialists. In contrast to

⁶ See Appendix 1 for a description of the development of Global Cooperation and its work today.

similar studies (Lønsmann 2011, 2017; Lønsmann & Mortensen 2018), the recruitment of international employees in the organisation was not an expression of intended internationalisation and, in this context, the spread of English as a lingua franca. The organisation wanted to maintain Danish as the official language in accordance with *Retskrivningsloven* [The Act of Parliament for Orthography] §2, which states that the correct writing standard "(...) must be followed by all members of the public administration, by the Parliament and authorities connected to the Parliament and by the courts."

(Retskrivningsloven §2. My translation from Danish). Furthermore, Danish has been the natural language choice for decades since the Danish Energy Agency was established in 1976, which until 2017, was made up of predominantly native Danish-speaking employees. In line with the recruitment of international employees and an increase in the use of English, the Directors found it necessary to formulate a language policy around 2018. The Danish language thus confirms the organisation's identity as a state administration and creates a coherence within the organisation between departments. The requirements for international employees to learn and use Danish at work can also be explained by the intention of 'coherence' or equality between employees, which is highly valued in the organisation. The Danish Energy Agency's website states:

"Vi er historien om de moderne nørdere, stærke generalister og en ledelse, der vil motivere. Vi har en særlig holdånd. Vi er faglige. Vi er nysgerrige. Og så tager vi ansvar for fremtiden."

[We are the story of the modern nerds, strong generalists and a management driven to motivate. We have a unique team spirit. We are technical professionals. We are curious. And we take responsibility for the future.] (The Danish Energy Agency's website. In Danish).

One aspect of my analyses will be to explore the "unique team spirit" in relation to how the organisation practices it with a diverse group of employees who have very different conditions for contributing in Danish. According to the language policy all internal communication must be in Danish in the organisation unless there are meetings with the organisation's cooperation countries with the presence of non-Danish-speaking consultants, ambassadors, or ministers. Thus, Danish has the status as the corporate language for pragmatic, ideological, and legal reasons, although the majority of employees in the Danish Energy Agency and certainly in Global Cooperation, know English. From this perspective,

the language policy is tied to traditions and laws from a time when a dynamic labour market, labour migration, and global competition for the most qualified employees did not exist to the same extent as they do today.

1.4. A 'wordplace'

As described in the previous section, the work of the Danish Energy Agency and Global Cooperation consists of paving the way for a green transition nationally and globally through the spread of renewable energy sources. It is not the employees in the organisation who lay the district heating pipes or install the offshore wind turbines, but lead others to do so through words. Language is central to their work. Language is action that helps change the world. More specifically, linguistic activity unfolds through an extensive range of both oral and written genres such as producing the more formal presentations, briefings, discussions, emails, reporting, reports, outlooks and taking minutes. Yet small talk, 'icebreakers', written Christmas greetings, puns and jokes in the chat at online meetings also constitute a large part of the linguistic practice within the organisation as well as in interaction with the cooperation partners. Similar to Sundberg's study from 2009 of socialisation among interns with a non-Swedish background in a Swedish state administration, the work in Global Cooperation can be characterised as highly language intensive and subject of high linguistic demands. The organisation actively maintains these demands through continuous reminders of the importance of being able to express oneself precisely both orally and in writing, that "*sjuskefejl*" [sloppy mistakes] are not acceptable and through close dialogue about the correct choice of words in a given context and correct translations from Danish to English and English to Danish. Danish ranks highest in what Hult describes as *the linguistic hierarchy* (Hult 2012), followed by English, but in some contexts, it is English, for example for meetings on mission trips. In a few, less common cases, other languages such as Mandarin, Urdu, Spanish, German, Italian, and French, spoken by both the cooperation partners and employees in Global Cooperation, may also rank high, but as the practice of using these languages is that everyone present can understand them, it is mostly carried out in one-on-one or on mission trips. The organisation also reminds the employees about the offer of free grammar courses and in particular courses on how to use commas (namely the traditional

grammatical comma in Danish).⁷ The work thus requires extensive productive and receptive skills in speaking, writing, listening and reading and this can be particularly challenging for employees who are just starting to learn Danish. Notions of "perfect Danish" requirements worry many non-native Danish-speaking employees, and these concerns are intensified by divergent definitions of perfect Danish. Some department managers equate it with the linguistic requirements for native Danish-speaking employees, while the Director General describes it as "*viljen og lysten til at lære dansk og til at bruge det*" [the will and desire to learn Danish and to use it].

Similar to Sundberg, I study linguistic practices from the perspective of non-native Danish-speakers. Yet, where Sundberg has a primary focus on text culture, I primarily focus on oral practices and especially how they are expressed in professional meetings – "the lifeblood of organizations" (Boden 1994: 8) - and which are the most frequent work activity in Global Cooperation. Business meetings, online and onsite, have been explored within linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics with topics such as business discourses (Handfort 2010), including negotiation and decision making (Wasson 2000), language ideologies (Barner-Rasmussen et al. 2024; Lønsmann 2014), and emotions and hierarchies (Marra 2013; Petraki & Ramayanti 2018; Rogerson-Revell 2011). My focus is on non-native Danish-speakers' opportunities for participation in relation to language choice, which have also been explored by Kotilainen et al. 2023, Kurhila et al. 2021, Rogerson-Revell 2010 and Sanden and Lønsmann 2018 and furthermore I will connect participation and language choice to registers.

1.5. Purpose, approach and research questions

As Pajaro and Steien point out, much has been written about the link between work and integration from the perspective of national politics, but less from the perspective of the non-native speakers (2021: 237). I would add that this also applies to the native speaking people around them, in this case colleagues and superiors in my case. Even though my study aims to

⁷ Since 1996, there have been two different comma systems in Denmark: the grammatical comma and the new comma. The Danish Language Council introduced the new comma to, among other things, reduce the number of commas and to bring it closer to the comma system in the other Nordic languages, the Romance languages and English (Nyt fra Sprognævnet 2001/2). The choice between the two systems can be fuelled by strong opinions and emotions, which is also the case in the Danish Energy Agency.

contribute to knowledge on how international employees' experiences of being employees in the Danish Energy Agency is deeply intertwined with language learning and socialisation, I will also include the native Danish-speaking management and colleagues' experiences of recruiting and working together with international employees to investigate second language learning not only as an individual learning process, but also as social processes. This includes collective efforts, but also different perceptions of particular situations and patterns due to particular experiential viewpoints and positions within the organisation related both to language, pragmatic contexts, and organisational hierarchy. I will do this through an ethnographic study, which is characterised by qualitative in-depth analyses of people in their natural environment through long-term participation and various methods such as in situ observations, field notes and interviews. In addition, I combine different perspectives, which are also characteristics of ethnography. These perspectives generally include the *emic* and *etic*, i.e. a balance between understanding the informants and the logics and practices of the given culture from the informants' perspective and analysing involvement of theories and critical reflection (Hastrup 1998). To increase the understanding of my primary informants' paths to becoming accepted employees in a Danish state administration and create both depth and breadth in my analyses, I also actively include the 'context', i.e. the perspectives of colleagues and management. The variation in emic perspectives is important to understand the field, the social dynamics of the workplace, encounters, misunderstandings and not least, the rapid change the organisation is going through.

Based on the ethnographic tradition, the aspects I highlighted in my description of the organisation and the questions I raised at the beginning of this introduction, I will condense my research questions into an overall question with three sub-questions:

What does the organisation's language policy imply for the second language socialisation of international employees in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency, and how do the non-native Danish-speaking employees navigate their professional identity through language?

Within this question, I aim to explore three key aspects connected to the employees' social navigation, which include language learning, language use and performance of professional identity:

- *Which expectations for Danish language learning and interactional practices are prevalent in Global Cooperation and how do they affect the non-native Danish-speaking employees' investment in learning Danish?*
- *Which Danish language skills are needed to engage in daily work activities?*
- *How does Danish language learning and use influence the formation and negotiation of the employees' professional identities?*

I will explore the employees' second language socialisation over time, identifying three stages that correspond to the employees' first three years of employment. This time structure and the stages, form the framework for my analyses and enable a comparative analytical insight into employees' second language socialisation and thus their social navigation of language policy, i.e. its development and change, over time. Thus, my interest is primarily in the order of the employees' experiences. Concepts such as investing in Danish language learning and using the language in work contexts can change meaning for the individual employee along with progression in Danish language learning. The employee's build-up of language learning, knowledge and experience, or any lack of such development, can also change how colleagues and management view and interact with the employee. As I will elaborate on in my methodological chapter, this diachronic study of employees' social navigation as a course over time is based on and made possible by my use of different methodological approaches and a careful mapping of my empirical material on each international employee, whom I consider to be my primary informants. Thus, my analyses are based on a collection of individual employees' experiences and actions, which I present as a collective narrative in different stages.

1.6. Outline of the thesis

As my purpose is to explore international employees' second language socialisation with a particular focus on how it develops over time, my research questions run throughout my analytical chapters. I have identified three empirical stages, i.e. developments, in the employees' second language socialisation. The stages serve as a framework for my analysis, which I build using the concepts of investment in language learning, language use and performance of professional identity. In addition, I include affective categories such as

optimism as an analytical parameter for how employees experience their process and well-being at work.

In chapter 2, I outline my theoretical framework where *second language socialisation* is central. The theory concerns the processes by which non-native speakers learn and acquire an additional language through social interactions and cultural practices (Duff 2007, 2012). Within this theory, I find that the focus on the socio-cultural context, participation and identity construction are highly relevant to my study. I include Norton's concept of *investment* (Norton Peirce 1995) as an important aspect in relation to language learning and power relations. In Chapter 3, I describe my ethnographic approach to the field and how I use different methods to gain access to different perspectives. Vigh's concept of *social navigation* (2009) is especially important as an analytical method. The concept of navigation emphasises mutuality between people and their social environments, and it provides a more distinct agency perspective on socialisation, i.e. what drives second language learning and socialisation. In chapters 4, 5 and 6, I will focus on mutuality in an examination of the relationship between employees and the organisation, and I will focus on the action aspect - the activity and interactivity - of second language socialisation. The setting for chapter 4 is the arrival of international employees in Global Cooperation, where I study the social establishment of contracts for second language socialisation at this initiating stage, and how employees interact with their colleagues and department managers to navigate the organisation's language policy and a working day in Danish. A special analytical focus in this chapter is the employees' second language learning in designed learning contexts, such as Danish courses, and in work contexts. In chapter 5, we meet the employees after their first year, where their second language learning is studied in relation to their use of Danish in work situations. A particular analytical focus is on the linguistic practice in the organisation, i.e. the language and communicative skills required to participate in work activities with native Danish-speaking colleagues. In Chapter 6, I explore the employees' social navigation of the organisation's language policy after more than two years of employment in the organisation, where the boundaries of second language socialisation are also addressed in a thematic of membership and career opportunities in this system. A particular analytical focus is on the employees' process of starting to use their Danish language skills in work contexts and what this means for their social environment and professional identity. I have chosen not to have a separate discussion chapter, but instead to discuss the implications of my findings throughout the three analytical chapters.

Chapter 2. Theorising second language socialisation at work



Inside the building. The large spiral staircase is centrally located in the building and connects people and departments in the Danish Energy Agency. At 12.30 p.m., in times without lockdown, the stairs are bustling. Like the rest of the organisation, people in Global Cooperation walk up the stairs from the canteen on the ground floor to their department in the aroma of the day's lunch that overwhelms the light synthetic smell of the new building. People pair up, chatting and energised after a 30-minute break with food and relaxing conversations with colleagues. They greet colleagues from other departments, managers and Directors while trying to keep up the pace and not cause a traffic jam.

In this chapter, I will outline my theoretical framework for exploring international employees' pathways into the workplace and their gradual development into and through language, i.e., the role of language in this process. The main framework is linguistic anthropology at its intersection with sociolinguistics (Hymes 1972) and the main focus within this framework is *second language socialisation* (Duff 2008). As my study concerns international employees' language learning processes within a state administration with a Danish language policy, I will present the concept of *double socialisation* into both language and culture (Li 2000) as

well as what a *language policy* is and implies in terms of *language practice, beliefs, and management* (Spolsky 2009). Another central concept is *investment* (Norton 1995), which not only addresses the different aspects of the international employees' investment in their double socialisation, but also the mutual nature in which an organisation invests in its employees. A final section presents the concept of linguistic registers to address the particular requirements of and challenges in learning to step over the threshold and starting to use Danish at work.

2.1. Second language socialisation

My study is situated within the field of *second language socialisation*, which conceptualises learning of languages other than the mother tongue(s) as a social and cultural process that takes place between the individual and the social environment. Duff defines the concept as follows:

"Second language (L2) socialization represents a process by which non-native speakers of a language, or people returning to a language they may have once understood or spoken but have since lost proficiency in, seek competence in the language and, typically, membership and the ability to participate in the practices of communities in which that language is spoken." (Duff, 2012: 564).

Thus, second language socialisation is not only a question of learning an additional language, but about being socialised into and becoming a member of another culture through language. Seeking competences involves language learning, typically the majority language of the given community, and other forms of cultural practices to become a participant in a community. Thus, second language learning is a central component in the theory of second language socialisation. Where, for example, cognitive language learning theories according to Duff and Talmy primarily focus on grammatical, morphosyntactic, lexis and phonological features, language socialisation attempts to describe and explain language learning in broader terms. These include: "(...) the other forms of knowledge that are learned in and through language" (Duff & Talmy 2011: 95), that is, social and cultural knowledge.

Second language socialisation builds on the theoretical framework of (first) language socialisation, which has a strong grounding in anthropology (Hymes 1972,

Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), linguistics (Halliday 1993), sociology (Durkheim 1922/1956), and social psychology (Vygotsky 1978). The theoretical field takes its point of departure in the child's or the novice's process of becoming social, i.e., a member of a community through internalising the norms, values, and practices of the cultural environment with guidance from adults or more knowledgeable people, and language is central in this process of becoming. Ochs and Schieffelin describe language socialisation as a process " (...) *through the use of language and the socialisation to use the language*" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986: 163. Italics in the original). According to Ochs and Schieffelin, the purpose of language socialisation research is to understand the role of language in the process of becoming a competent member of social groups and this can be investigated from two perspectives: "We can investigate how language is a medium or tool in the socialization process. In addition, we can investigate acquisition of the appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986: 166).

As in language socialisation, second language socialisation is usually mediated by people who are more knowledgeable and proficient in the target language and familiar with the culture, i.e. the experts or the old-timers, to the novices or the newcomers. Duff writes:

"The mentors or agents of socialization typically include teachers, tutors, peers, relatives, or co-workers who have a desire to assist learners to become more proficient not only in normative target language forms but also in the values, ideologies, identities, stances, affective states, and practices associated with the language and its users in particular communities of practice." (Duff 2012: 566).

In this quote, Duff presents what can be called an uncomplicated description of the second language socialisation process with clear roles and commitments. However, Duff adds that even in a classroom, learners are assisted to varying degrees, implying power relations that leads to discrimination among learners. Thus, mentors can assist and prioritise novices in different ways, and different factors can affect the process for each novice. In addition, I would like to note that novices can also let mentors assist them in different ways that can impact individual opportunities. As with (first) language socialisation theory, second language socialisation theory emphasises the dynamic interplay between language and

socialisation, including a reciprocity between individuals, roles, groups, and communities. Lave and Wenger's theory of *communities of practice* (1991) is central in this context. Of particular importance, and central to the researchers in the field, is their emphasis on the connection between practice and learning, differences in the ease of access to practice and expertise, and that both the novice and the expert simultaneously learn together and from each other. Duff refers to Erting and Kuntze's study of hearing parents of deaf children, who may have limited skills in sign language until the children learn it at school or in deaf clubs and socialise their parents into the language and culture (Erting & Kuntze 2008 in Duff 2012).

Whereas this work is based on children's language socialisation, it can also inform studies of adults as has been done by Duff (2008) and has been pointed out by Pájaro and Monsen:

"Much of the research [in second language learning] focuses on children in primary education, but highlights key aspects of second language learning processes that are relevant for all learners [...] Nevertheless, there are several areas where children's and adults' second language learning processes are significantly different and require differentiated approaches that highlight the particularities of how adults learn a second language [...] adult learners face different expectations for participation in work, education and social arenas than children, and they may experience strong needs to participate in the majority society and the majority language from the beginning of the language learning processes, which in turn affects their agency in different communicative situations and thus their experience of the language learning process" (Pájaro & Monsen 2021: 11-12. My translation from Norwegian)

An example is Lønsmann's study of the international employee, the newcomer, and native English-speaker Sally, who management positions as a catalyst for the increasing use of English in a Danish company. The study shows socialisation as a simultaneous and two-way process, as Danish employees develop a "global mindset", and Sally is socialised into the company's Danish culture (Lønsmann 2017). Lønsmann's study highlights socialisation as a two-way process in the cultural encounter between Sally and the workplace. Thus, Lønsmann focuses on second language socialisation for an adult employee in a company with increasing internationalisation. Compared to studies of language socialisation among children, Sally has

an education, life experience, professional experience, and has already acquired several languages when she joins the company. Consequently, Sally's starting point, and thus the starting point for Lønsmann's study, differs from studies of children.

Second language socialisation and language socialisation theories provide a suitable framework for understanding the social and cultural meaning of language for newcomers' processes of becoming part of a community. In addition to being a theory, second language socialisation is also intimately connected to a certain methodology. Kulick and Schieffelin set three criteria for studies in language socialisation to clarify and demarcate language socialisation as a field:

"They [studies in language socialisation] should be ethnographic in design, longitudinal in perspective, and they should demonstrate the acquisition (or not) of particular linguistic and cultural practices over time and across contexts. These criteria are important to bear in mind when considering whether or not a particular perspective is a language socialization perspective, or if it is a study of language and social interaction." (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004: 350).

My study meets these three criteria as it is an ethnographic study with one year of fieldwork carried out on a daily basis (see Chapter 3) but involves further regular contact with my informants in the field, i.e. at their workplace, spanning almost four years of contact from May 2019 to June 2023. The temporal length of the study enables observations of individual informants' linguistic and cultural development. A central point that also structures the way I have organised the empirical material, is that those central features that constitute second language socialisation, which I will soon specify, are considered as dynamic and changing over time. The rich ethnographic fieldwork that informs my study enables a deep analytical focus on international employees' second language socialisation through their ways of socially navigating the organisation's language policy, their language learning, language use, and how they perceive themselves within the organisation. These factors are also decisive for their wellbeing, feelings of safety and integrity. I explore the connections between these different aspects to study whether or how the employees experience changes over time due to how they build knowledge, gain lived experience and skills, and interact with their Danish-speaking colleagues and the organisation. In accordance with Kulick and Schieffelin's

criterion of specific focus on the acquisition of particular linguistic and cultural practices, I will also study informants' acquisition of skills in learning to use Danish in work contexts outside language courses and other comfort zones. Studying steps from language learning in learning contexts to language use in the desired community is an important but under-researched topic in the fields of second language socialisation and second language acquisition.

2.2. Second language socialisation in workplace settings

As previously mentioned, theories of language socialisation are primarily based on studies of children and adolescents in family or educational contexts. Lønsmann writes in 2017: "Despite the frequent mention of language socialization as a lifelong process in the literature, language socialization in the workplace remains relatively unexplored, as also noted in Roberts's (2010) review article." (Lønsmann 2017: 327. See also Duff 2012 and Kirilova et al. 2023).

Roberts addresses "the workplace as a site of socialization", which is also the title of her survey article from 2010. According to Roberts, the workplace is a community like other kinds of communities, where the entry of new potential members requires socialisation into the community's linguistic and cultural environment. According to Roberts (2010), globalisation has changed workplaces as the globalised economy requires a greater supply of different languages on the part of companies. Furthermore, the global movements of people parallel the globalised economy, which is expressed in the form of bilingual and multilingual workforces. With reference to Heller, Roberts writes: "The new work order creates a new word order, and the workforce has become a "wordforce" (...)" (Ibid: 211). The statement conceptualises that the ability to produce specific "standardised products" to consumers, also in terms of language, is what counts (Heller 2010: 353). This speaks into the idea of language as a commodity (Heller 2003; Heller et al. 2014). Based on Bourdieu's consideration of language as a symbolic capital that can be mobilised on markets and exchanged for material capital, Heller points to the discursive change within linguistic research from associating language with education, refinement etc. to treating it as directly interchangeable with material goods. In addition, she points out a shift from the reliance on, for example, physical strength in the circulation of goods to communicative skills. In this light, multilingualism can be considered a commodity, but it can be problematic for

newcomers to the workplace, who do not master the local majority language. As Roberts emphasises:

"Global flows of people to more wealthy and secure societies have created workplaces where staff are bilingual or often multilingual. However, the dominant language of the national state produces and enforces a linguistic capital that serves to maintain and reproduce linguistic and ethnic inequalities." (Roberts 2010: 217).

Inequalities between non- and native English-speaking employees is explored in Li's study from 2000 of the new employee Ming, a woman from China, who attends a training course prior to her job as a filing clerk in a medical equipment company in the US. Based on Ming's experiences, Li points to a key challenge, which she terms *double socialisation*, i.e., to learn the working language and the culture at the same time as working in the language in the working culture:

"The workplace is one of many sociocultural contexts where novices within a culture, like immigrant women, become socialized into new discourse systems and cultures. As second language (L2) speakers, the process of language socialization in the workplace involves double socialization: as a novice in a new work environment and as novice operating within a new language and culture." (Li 2000: 58).

Based on Ming's experiences, Li finds that the key people in the company, who are "experts" in the role of mentors and are assigned to help Ming into the company, are rude and leave Ming to fend for herself.

I consider the concept of double socialisation a central factor in my study of second language socialisation. This means that when I write second language socialisation from now on, double socialisation is implied. Double socialisation in second language socialisation is relevant in terms of understanding key challenges for international employees when starting in a workplace where Danish is the majority language, i.e., the challenge in learning the target language, and simultaneously performing work tasks through the target

language. As I described in the introduction, Danish is at the heart of the work in the department and in the organisation. In Heller's words, this condition places demands on the workforce as a workforce. Acquired professional skills such as calculating energy consumption and modelling carbon footprint scenarios also require learning the Danish language in order to be able to communicate to colleagues at meetings held in Danish. Furthermore, the process of double socialisation requires the acquisition of the workplace's (cultural) practices of organising and approaching work tasks, which again requires Danish language skills as the tasks are most often communicated and carried out in Danish. Learning a new language is therefore deeply connected to learning a new culture. This gives employees a double focus and workload. In terms of inequalities between non-native and native speakers of the majority language, many employees within my study, like Ming, are behind from the very first day at work despite their high education and rich professional skills. My study addresses how this has an impact on their approach to their role as new employees, their perceptions of career opportunities, and affective states of mind. However, in contrast to Li's study that focus on one perspective only as can be seen in her mentioning of emphasises "the rude mentors", who fail to guide Ming, one of my contributions to the field of second language socialisation is my investigation of different perspectives on the same situations. There can be discrepancies between how international employees conceive of their own needs and how native Danish-speakers, including persons in managerial roles, conceive of their own interaction with international employees. Thus, I intend not only to study mutual interaction, but also to study it through complimentary perspectives.

2.2.1. Language policy and language choice

A particular and highly important condition for the employees' second language socialisation within my fieldwork is the organisation's language policy. Theories of language policy are not directly related to second language socialisation theories, but nonetheless the existence of a language policy is a defining feature of my field. In the introduction, I described the Danish Energy Agency's status as an organisation in the Danish central administration, and that this has a major impact on the language policy and use. Unlike private companies in Denmark (Lønsmann 2011, 2017; Lønsmann & Mortensen 2018; Tange & Lauring 2009), and some public institutions in Denmark such as universities (Mortensen & Hazel 2017; Nissen 2019; Spangler & Adriansen 2021), the central administration is not only bound to the Danish

language as a social tradition and practice, but also paragraph two of *Retskrivningsloven* (The Act of Parliament for orthography), which stipulates that the correct writing standard is mandatory within public administration. In response to the increased recruitment of non-native Danish-speaking employees and an increased use of English, the Directors of the Danish Energy Agency formulate a language policy in 2018 that establishes Danish as the internal working language. To borrow a term from Bourdieu, Danish is enacted as *the legitimate language*, i.e., a (political) set of norms that regulate linguistic practice (Bourdieu 1982/2000). From 2019, the language policy is expanded to include requirements for non-native Danish-speakers to learn Danish in order to utilise the knowledge and skills of employees while ensuring 'sustainable' reproduction of the use of Danish. The organisation's language policy is widely recognised and practised on a daily basis. For employees who do not have Danish language skills, the language policy is a key constraint for their professional and social life. It governs their ability to perform their work and build up networks, and thus their status as full participants and legitimate employees. The organisation's language policy is a focal point in the socialisation of non-native Danish-speaking employees. It shapes their navigation and path into the organisation, their priorities, actions, and desires. For this reason, the organisation's language policy is a continuous analytical focus in my study of employees' language socialisation.

I follow Spolsky's theorising in which he views *language policy* as intimately connected with *language choice*: "Language policy is all about choices" (Spolsky 2009: 1). Language choice is the choice between two or more languages, i.e. Danish or English, but also between different regional languages or dialects. Language policy consists, according to Spolsky, of three independent but interrelated components, which he refers to as *language practices*, *language belief*, and *language management*.

Language practices are: "(...) what people actually do." (ibid: 4) It is in one sense "(...) the "real" policy although participants may be reluctant to admit it." (ibid: 4). The quote indicates that the practices are often implicit or invisible to the users themselves. The practices are the observable use of people's choices of linguistic features and variety of language, and these may be predictable and consistent to such an extent that they constitute a language policy. In short, it can be described as an implicit language policy and a silently operating language norm.

Language beliefs as a concept is used by Spolsky to designate a society's norms for assigning value to different languages and linguistic variations. He proposes a synonymisation between beliefs and language ideologies with a reference to Silverstein's definition of language ideologies as a set of beliefs "about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived structure and use." (Silverstein 1979 in Spolsky 2001: 319). Thus, language beliefs are important for understanding what drives language policies and language choices. Language beliefs also underpin intentions to control and modify certain language practices.⁸ It is relevant for my study to link language policy to language ideologies, as similarly to Lønsmann (2011) and Lønsmann and Mortensen's work (2018) I also observe struggles between a Danish and an English language policy to which contrasting beliefs are connected. This relates to the fact that Danish is understood as the commonsense language in a Danish state administration. In this understanding, the state epitomises Denmark, i.e. the nation, and Denmark is a Danish-speaking country (see Blommaert's discussion of the relationship between language, state, and nation in Blommaert 2006) in contrast to other language beliefs, for example that English is perceived as a socially inclusive or global language. A particular observation in my study is that the same people often have conflicting beliefs, which puts them in a personal and professional dilemma. I see this reflected at several levels in the department and in the organisation. An example of a pervasive dilemma for many of my informants is that they strive to learn Danish because they cannot imagine languages other than Danish in a Danish state administration. In short, a part of their language belief aligns with the Danish language policy. However, while the Danish language is accepted as a condition, in practical terms it also becomes a hindrance to professional participation. Furthermore, English is seen as the natural global language in a modern workplace that enables everyone to be included, a view that substantiates a language belief which contrasts with the language belief embedded within the Danish language policy.

⁸ It is important to bear in mind that there are major differences between the Marxist concept of ideology and the concept of language ideologies. The Marxist idea is that ideology is about false consciousness, that is, a systematic misrepresentation of the world (Carver 2022) in the minds of the deceived masses, a deception that serves the ruling classes. Thus, it is a political concept with an ontology: there is a true world and there are false representations. Language ideologies, on the other hand, refers to ideas about and values attached to certain languages, for example that one language is more important than another. Of course, language ideologies can connect to political ideas, power relations, or even false consciousness, but the concept of language ideologies does not imply an ontological concept of truth. Instead, the approach is that all language ideologies are in principle social constructions, and they are recognised as 'pragmatic reality'. This does not mean that the research, especially the newer generations with which Irvine and Gal (2000) have contributed to develop, does not have a critical approach to the subject (Canagarajah 2005, Rosa & Burdick 2017), but the focus is more on the exploration of different attitudes and the social consequences. In several aspects, the focus of the present study on language policies in a state administration aligns with this language ideology approach.

Thus, conflicts are not necessarily traditional 'vertical' power struggles between management and employees, but also a conflict within each employee to which balancing practices and beliefs become a dilemma. Furthermore, this dilemma is not only for the international employee to face, but also the native Danish-speaking colleagues and department managers.

In contrast to language practices and beliefs, language management is described as the explicit attempt by a group or someone who claims authority to modify practices and beliefs of the participants in their domain. Within language management in a workplace context, Spolsky distinguishes between what he calls *owners*, *employees*, and *advocates*. Owners cover people with the authority to make decisions in general, including language policy. In my case, the Directors of the Danish Energy Agency and the department management in Global Cooperation are examples of owners, but, as Spolsky addresses, employees can also be owners in certain situations. My empirical material shows situations where the department managers facilitate country team leaders or other employees to become owners, the decision makers, or at least co-owners. Spolsky also refers to individuals or groups who: "(...) lack the authority of managers but still wish to change its practices." (Spolsky 2019: 326) as advocates. However, ownership is not always up for negotiation, and the authority to make the decisions resides to a large extent in the titles, role descriptions, and the organisational chart. These different forms of language management allow for an approach that sees language policy not as a structure each agent simply must adapt to, since language choice may be up for situated negotiation. Accordingly, I distinguish between two types of language policies, which I refer to as *the organisation's language policy* and a *local English language policy*. The organisation's language policy is (also) an emic concept referring to the language policy in the organisation that is formulated by the Directors, and which I hear department managers and employees refer to as "the organisation's language policy", "the official language policy", "the Directors' language policy", and sometimes "August's [the General Director] language policy". According to the organisation's language policy, the working language is Danish in all internal contexts, unless the work involves external people from some of the partner countries, where the work must be conducted in English. This language policy thus includes the two languages, Danish and English, and rules for when to choose what. Despite that, the language belief is that Danish is the main language, there is an underlying idea that Danish and English respectively belong in different contexts. This differentiation has features in common with the idea of *linguistic domains*

(Fishman 1972), which in this case, refers to what is considered internal and external activities.

While Spolsky does not work with language socialisation, his conceptual framework is important to my study. First, a language policy is not just a piece of paper, but something which is practiced and sustained through human actions. As such, the framework allows attention to the dynamics and changes, for example related to language management. Second, language policy as language choice is intimately connected with power dynamics in which the power balance between owners and employees may change over time.

2.2.2. Investment in second language learning and identity

In my study, Danish language skills are crucial for employees to be able to participate on an equal footing with the majority speakers and gain access to the same opportunities. To understand their second language learning, Norton's approach is useful as it explains the dynamic interplay between speakers with unequal language skills.⁹ I draw particularly on Norton's ethnographic studies of migrant women in Canada, which form the basis for her conceptualisation of connections between language learning, identity, and power relations. Based on poststructuralist theories of language as language use, i.e., a situated, meaning making practice (see Bakhtin 1981, 1986), Norton and Toohey take a social approach to learning:

"The theories represent a shift from seeing learners as individually internalizing stable systems of language knowledge, to seeing them as differentially-positioned members of social and historical collectivities, using (and thus learning) language as a dynamic tool. This moves observers toward examining the conditions for learning, and the issues of access of learners for appropriation of practices, in any particular community." (Norton & Toohey 2011: 419).

⁹ Spolsky includes language learning in his later work in what he calls *self-management* as an additional aspect of language management (Spolsky 2019). Based on accommodation theory (Giles et al. 1991), Spolsky draws attention to the influence of other speakers in the language learning process. Thus, self-management contributes a level of language policy, which considers the individual learner's ability to act.

In contrast to a more traditional view of learning as an individual process disconnected from a social environment, Norton and Toohey view second language learning as a social process that involves the whole person. This implies that studies of second language learning must include *learners'*¹⁰ different life conditions and power positions in given settings as all learners are different and have different social conditions for learning. With inspiration from Lave and Wenger's concepts of *situated learning* (Lave & Wenger 1991), Norton and Toohey view language learning as a matter of practicing language and vice versa. In this context, they put emphasis on the social conditions for *access* in the sense that gaining access to desirable communities or networks may provide resources for language learning, which again may be a step towards a new position, a more desirable identity. In this way, language and language learning are seen as meaning-making practices and as power distribution. Norton exemplifies lack of access with her informant, Eva, who immigrates from Poland to Canada and sets out to learn English. As part of her language learning, Eva takes a job in a fast-food restaurant, but she quickly realises that the job does not provide the opportunity to practice the target language (English), as she is assigned to clean the kitchen and take out the garbage, which isolates her from communicative situations such as taking orders from customers (Norton Peirce 1995). Norton's point is that Eva is highly motivated to learn English and invests in this learning process by taking a low-skill job that does not match her education level because she believes there are opportunities to practice, but the workplace is not investing in her.

Norton's social concept of *investment* complements the psychological concept of the learner's *motivation* in second language acquisition. Norton developed the concept to address learners' multiple identities and the unequal power relations she often observed in negotiations over access to learning and positions in different sites (Norton Peirce 1995; Norton 2000). At that time, when Norton carried out her study on immigrant women in Canada, including Eva, in the early 1990s, psychological theories perceived motivation to learn a language as belonging to the individual, a fixed characteristic of individual language learners, and in continuation: "(...) hypothesized that learners who failed to learn the target language did not, for various reasons, have sufficient (or appropriate) desire to learn the language" (Norton & Toohey 2011: 420). In line with Heller's association of language as a commodity, investment also contains a reference to Bourdieu's capital-metaphor, embedding a future perspective. Drawing on Anderson's *imagined communities* (Anderson 1983), Norton

¹⁰ *Learners* are a common category in second language acquisition research referring to people who are in the process of learning an additional language.

links investment with *imagined identities*. The hopes and desires for one's own or the family's future and the ideas about what access to certain communities can provide are part of the language learner's social identity and reasons for investing in learning an additional language. In this way: "The construct of investment seeks to make a meaningful connection between a learner's desire and commitment to learn a language, and the language practices of the classroom or community." (Norton & Toohey 2011: 415). Thus, investment in language learning is seen as an investment in identity. According to Norton, the lack of social focus in the research on motivation is due to a lack of a comprehensive theoretical framework of social identity. Building on theories which portray the subject as multiple, inconsistent, and constantly changing in social spaces and over historical time (Holland et al. 2001; Holland & Lave 2001), she defines identity in this way:

"I use the term identity to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future. I argue that SLA [Second Language Acquisition] theory needs to develop a conception of identity that is understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable, social structures which are reproduced in day-to-day social interaction. In taking this position, I foreground the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity." (Norton 2000: 5).

Norton elaborates on the mutual constitution of language and identity by emphasising the role of language in the negotiation of sense and positioning of self and others. She emphasises how positions are given by social discursive structures, but also negotiated by agents. Norton's case of Eva serves as an example, as Eva refuses her isolated position in the kitchen and continuously negotiates her way further and further into the restaurant, eventually taking customers' orders (Norton Peirce 1995).

The importance of language in building and performing identity is central to employees' second language socialisation, as it is about inclusion in the working community, having a voice, being seen, recognised, and gaining influence. Norton's approach to second language learning, which focuses on the connections between reasons for learning an additional language, the social conditions for learning it, and the learners' identity work, provides an important analytical framework in my study of international employees' second

language socialisation in a Danish workplace. I will focus particularly on investment in learning the Danish language and the culture in the workplace in my study of employees' pathways into the organisation, i.e. what drives this group of highly mobile, attractive talents to learn an 'esoteric language', which, while widespread in Denmark, is very small in a global context. What drives the employees? How do they socially navigate the investment and how does the organisation invest in them? Investment and social navigation share common features in the embedded movements towards a goal, but by seeing them in context I emphasise the agentic aspect of investing. Investment refers more specifically to the concrete actions and strategies which the employees use during the language learning process such as making decisions and taking actions. For the employees, this may include choosing the prioritisation of time, resources and learning methods, e.g. taking the initiative to take care of their own learning process. I understand navigating investment in language learning more broadly as referring to the overall decision that employees dedicate themselves to learning Danish with an understanding of its value and benefits. Thus, I see navigating an investment as managing it in a strategic way to achieve the desired goals.

I examine the relationship between employees' and the organisation's investments and whether, to what extent, and in which ways the employees experience what I call *a mutual investment*. I use the concept as an analytical focus to study the employees and the organisation's change over time. Like Norton, I also view learners, i.e. the employees, as both subject to social structures and as resourceful agents. As Norton does not elaborate on the concept of agency, I draw on Ahearn's provisional definition: "Agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001: 112). Accordingly: "(...) all action is socioculturally mediated, both in its production and interpretation" (Ibid: 112). In reviewing the concept, Ahearn highlights challenges in defining agency. For example, the tendency to synonymise agency as free will within a philosophical tradition, such as intentionality of consciousness, is problematic, as it relegates the phenomenon to a mental, cognitive level belonging to the individual. According to Ahearn, this view only gives lip service to the social character of agency and prevalent influence of culture on intentions and actions. Another erroneous, but widespread view on agency is to equate agency with resistance. Based on examples from anthropological studies and feminist theories, Ahearn describes a tendency to (over)emphasise resistance, which risks reducing the concept since resistance is only one of many forms of agency:

"I find [Arlene Elowe] MacLeod's work very helpful in conceptualizing both women's and men's agency. She notes that women, "even as subordinate players, always play an active part that goes beyond the dichotomy of victimization/acceptance, a dichotomy that flattens out a complex and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest – sometimes all at the same time" (MacLeod 1992, p. 534). Such a nuanced understanding of the multiplicity of motivations behind all human actions should be at the core of our definition of agency." (Ibid: 116).

I draw on this understanding of agency (and positions of power) in my investigations of employees' actions, i.e. ways of becoming legitimate participants through investment in language learning, where both acceptance of the organisation's language policy and resistance to it is seen within the framework of agency and through the lens of investment.

2.2.3. Challenges for learning for international employees

As described, I study the conditions for second language learning from a second language socialisation perspective and what learning implies in relation to international employees' development of a Danish-speaking identity, opportunities to participate in different work contexts and to build a career. In addition, I look at what the employees need to learn, i.e. what participation more precisely requires in terms of linguistic and cultural skills. This calls for an investigation of the linguistic practices in the department and in the organisation, linked to the organisation's language policy. I am interested in what it takes to speak "the Danish Energy Agency" in Danish and what it takes to start doing so, i.e. stepping over the threshold, as a non-native Danish-speaker. I will start by elaborating on the linguistic practices.

To investigate linguistic practices, I draw on sociolinguistic theories of linguistic variation in relation to identity work as seen in Eckert's work with phonetic variation in the Gascon dialect and language and gender (Eckert 2018), Møller's work with *linguaging* among adolescents in school (Møller 2018), linguistic marking of social ingroup (Møller 2002), Karrebæk and Møller's study of timespaces, *chronotopes*, in children's navigation of linguistic norms (Karrebæk & Møller 2019), and in Madsen's study of *integrated speech* (Madsen 2016). The studies provide in-depth insights into the rich

linguistic variation that can be said to exist within what is commonly perceived and referred to as 'one language' such as Danish. A recurring feature of my empirical material is that many, both native and non-native Danish-speakers, share this narrow notion of Danish as one practice, and thus the understanding of what Danish language learning in the Danish Energy Agency implies. In this way, the studies provide an important background for understanding variation and thus complexity in the linguistic practices, which international employees encounter in the workplace. Thus, lessons from sociolinguistic research allow a focus on the varieties of a single language (and the challenges of practicing it that follow) that is otherwise often seen as one language only in theories of second language teaching.

Within the field of linguistic variation, I choose to focus on *linguistic registers* (Agha 1998, 2004, 2015) in connection with language use. Registers are varieties of language used to fit specific situations and the speakers involved etc. The idea is that individuals use 'different languages' within the same language, such as Danish, in different situations for different purposes in and with different social groups. Giving an academic presentation at the university often requires different linguistic forms and codes than talking to the children's teachers in kindergarten or eating dinner with one's family. Agha defines registers in the context of function and social practices:

"The repertoires of a register are generally linked to systems of speech style of which they are the most easily reportable fragments. From the standpoint of language structure, registers differ in the type of repertoire involved, e.g., lexemes, prosody, sentence collocations, and many registers involve repertoires of more than one kind; from the standpoint of function, distinct registers are associated with social practices of every kind, e.g., law, medicine, prayer, science, magic, prophecy, commerce, military strategy, the observance of respect and etiquette, the expression of civility, status, ethnicity, gender." (Agha 2004: 23).

Accordingly, linguistic registers can be viewed as "a system of speech styles", including certain modes and levels of formality. For example, Agha studies honorific registers in relation to pragmatic purposes, stereotypes, and social regularities of value ascriptions by language users (Agha 1998). In his study, he raises critical questions in relation to unequal conditions in users' abilities to make use of specific registers and thus unequal opportunities to participate, to be entitled and recognised as a speaker etc.: "An individual's register range –

the variety of registers with which he or she is acquainted – equips a person with portable emblems of identity, sometimes permitting distinctive modes of access to particular zones of social life" (Agha 2004: 24). In relation to Kulick and Schieffelin's description of language socialisation, Agha emphasises that acquisition of different registers depends on the specific life-course and trajectory of language socialisation for the individual person. He exemplifies it with older speakers who are unfamiliar with the slang of current youth, uneducated who are unused to written registers, and people for whom it takes years of specialised training to acquire scientific terminologies.

The concept of linguistic registers is relevant in an interactional regime (Blommart et al. 2005) or site such as Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency, where many different forms of communication and linguistic interaction, drawing on different genres, modes, and registers, constitute the primary work. Not least, it is relevant to study registers in relation to the language learning of non-native Danish-speakers. As Laursen points out in her study of children's acquisition of scientific registers, the acquisition of these registers presents a particular challenge for second language learners, as they must acquire them through the target language, i.e. the language they are learning (Laursen 2006). In my study, international employees experience a similar challenge of having to learn many varieties of Danish, i.e. different registers, to participate in Danish in onsite and online meetings, go on mission trips, write emails, submit written reports, take minutes, and go to Christmas parties. A recurring finding of my empirical research is that certain registers, modes, and genres are rarely linked to specific situations. A strategic meeting on Global Cooperation's line of advising cooperation countries on Danish experiences with Power to X does not only consist of an exchange of views and a terminology related to the technique. It also involves a high degree of *phatic exchange* (Coupland et al. 1992) or *phatic language* (Turner 1973). This has the sociopragmatic function of establishing or maintaining social relations, which Malinowski, the initiator of the concept, emphasises by referring to the phenomenon as *phatic communion* (Malinowski 1923). In a workplace context, it can be characterised as informal language use and interaction typically related to the genre of small talk. For example, I have numerous observations of professional meetings where participants switch back and forth between three different topics, genres, modes, and registers in the first five minutes without any clear transition markers. For employees, participating in this kind of linguistic practice requires not only solid linguistic skills from a productive speech perspective, but also skills in reading situations and intentions, such as factuality and irony,

and the linguistic registers associated with them. This requires a high and nuanced level of what Hymes calls *communicative competence* (Hymes 1972), which implies linguistic and *cultural fluency*, i.e. adapting to the context and navigating genres and types of activity (Kirilova 2014). This nuanced specification of what it means to master the linguistic practice of not only speaking Danish, but speaking the language of the Danish Energy Agency can help explain what language learning implies for international employees and why many find it difficult to start using language in work situations.

The second focus in relation to the international employees' learning objectives imply the process of starting to use Danish at work. This is a very important point for the employees, as they invest in learning Danish primarily to use it at work - not in the classroom - and the workplace not only expects, but demands, that they can do so. Not speaking Danish at work poses significant challenges not only for employees, but also for the workplace. However, many find it difficult to start using what they have learnt in the Danish courses. From my time as a Danish language teacher, I have seen that the challenge of learning to use the target language outside of the classroom, *the safe zone* (Onishi 2019), applies more broadly to second language learners and not just to the employees in the Danish Energy Agency. Repeatedly my students invested in learning Danish by attending Danish courses, often several times a week and after a long working day, to be able to use the language in contexts outside the classroom. Many performed well in class and on their language tests, but despite this, they reported that they very rarely used Danish in the intended contexts. In my attempt to understand this gap, I studied their textbook materials with a critical eye as to whether they facilitate learning the use of Danish outside the classroom. I found that the materials rarely embed such a learning objective didactically and pedagogically (Jensen 2016, 2018). However, this does not provide knowledge about their challenges in using the language outside the classroom and, conversely, what factors allowed some to succeed. Although the process of moving from learning the target language to using it is incredibly important, surprisingly few studies address this transition directly. In my study of international employees' pathways to start use of Danish at work, I draw on studies in second language acquisition, which focuses on learning and use outside the classroom, often referred to as *language learning beyond the classroom* (Reinders & Benson 2017; Reinders et al. 2022), which, among other things, focuses on language activities in everyday life and second language learning as a meaningful process. Others work on the topic of *language learning in the wild* (Eskildsen & Wagner 2015; Hannibal Jensen 2019; Theodórsdóttir 2018), where

linguistic resources for learning and use are in focus.¹¹ "In the wild" represents everyday life in the studies, in contrast to the language classroom. Eskildsen and Wagner take a language use approach to learning, meaning that learning develops in the context of use. However, the challenge for many learners is that they find it difficult to take the step to use Danish in everyday life: "Help is needed to take this step since we know that bilinguals do not take advantage of opportunities for interaction on their own (Brouwer & Nissen 2003; Eskildsen et al. 2014)" (Eskildsen and Wagner 2015: 94. My translation from Danish). Thus, the aim of Eskildsen and Wagner's study is to help learners create Danish-speaking networks, use everyday resources, and organise their own learning process over time. This implies the pedagogical development of an infrastructure between the classroom and everyday life:

"The building of an infrastructure implies a continuation and expansion of the communicative approach that has characterised Danish language teaching, and second/foreign language pedagogy in general, for many years, but which in practice has its limit at the classroom door" (Eskildsen and Wagner 2015: 94. My translation from Danish).

Eskildsen and Wagner as well as Jensen (2016) acknowledge learners' challenges in starting to use the target language outside the classroom and that second language teaching does not sufficiently facilitate learning outside the classroom door. Eskildsen and Wagner's study draws on conversation analysis and ethnomethodology and is based on learners' self-recordings of using Danish in everyday scripted situations such as ordering a pizza, which forms the basis for studies of resources such as *repair* (Schegloff et al. 1977). This provides important insights into specific linguistic resources for use in interactions. Like Eskildsen and Wagner, I also have a practice-orientated or language use-based view of learning, and I am also interested in investigating resources for using and learning Danish. However, in my study I focus on employees' paths to start using Danish in the workplace by following their process of stepping over the threshold meticulously through observations and interviews. In comparison to everyday scripted situations, the workplace is a fixed site in the employees' lifeworld that requires more comprehensive linguistic and cultural competences in a social

¹¹ Language learning in the wild also is the title of the Nordic research network, which Eskildsen and Wagner are part of. The title is a reference to Hutchins' ethnographic study of *Cognition in the wild* (Hutchins 1995) among a US navy crew navigating ships.

site with more at stake than in scripted and role-defined everyday interactions. For example, the workplace contains multiple genres and linguistic registers and roles are more negotiable and can shift and vary according to the context. Thus, my interest is to explore what stepping over the threshold implies socially and linguistically, and in doing so, I will shed light on the differences between employees' visible and invisible language skills from the perspective of others.

In summary

The presented theoretical framework draws on theories within sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology to address *second language socialisation* (Duff 2012; Lønsmann 2017; Norton 2013) of international employees within a Danish state administration. The purpose of this theoretical framework is to contribute to answering my analytical question: how do international employees navigate language learning, language use and performance of professional identity in Global Cooperation within the Danish Energy Agency? The question includes a study of possible connections between language learning, language use, and the construction of identity in a long-term perspective. Whereas language socialisation stresses the ways that socialisation goes through language learning and practice, second language socialisation involves a double socialisation of both speaking a language and becoming part of a social world. In my case study, the language requirements are high as are the stakes for the employee. This requires *investment in language learning* (Norton Peirce 1995), *competence in language use* (Hymes 1972), and performance of *social identity* (Norton Peirce 1995). In my study, the *language policy*, including its various practices, implied beliefs, and management of language choices in different contexts, are central as are the required competences in terms of the many and context-dependent necessary linguistic registers. The next chapter addresses my methods and approaches to my field in order to be able to outline patterns in the ways international employees socialise and navigate through language into a workplace identity, and how they manage to begin to use and perform themselves in Danish at work.

Chapter 3. Socialisation into the field



Photo from October 2020 of my two unused access cards on my dining table. I had hastily cleaned the table of leftover oatmeal from my children's breakfast and moved crayons, mountains of Duplo blocks, and a lone doll's sock to the sides to make room for my two laptops; one from the university and one from the Danish Energy Agency. This was my routine every morning five days a week for eight months. Within two months, I had taken on two new positions, that mutually influenced one another, but which I entered exclusively through digital platforms from my small, messy home island. During the day, I attended a lot of meetings located in various spaces and time zones from my dining table. I attended a meeting about energy efficiency while Ida participated from her kitchen in Copenhagen and Kasper from the Danish embassy in Tokyo. Ida noted their agreements to access companies, committees, and climate policy agendas in Japan. I noted how they linguistically and socially approached their agreements, and I noted that Ida was taking notes.

In the previous chapter, I introduced theories of second language socialisation in the workplace, as these form the basis for my conceptualisation of international employees' process of becoming part of the workplace. In this chapter, I focus on my own socialisation

into Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency and my learning processes in connection with my ethnographic fieldwork, which I entered as an employee, but as an employee who was allowed to develop many roles over time, which provided a multitude of access points to the field and my informants. Overall, I view the fieldwork as a close collaboration that was made possible by multiple roles and relationships, dialogue, and transparency. In the first part of the chapter, I describe my entry point, which includes an intrusive COVID-19 lockdown that led me to develop different roles and methodological approaches. In the second part of the chapter, I outline my use of ethnographic methods and the process of developing my empirical material and what key analytical issues it introduced. Finally, I introduce Vigh's concept of social navigation (Vigh 2009), which in combination with theories of second language socialisation serves as a central method of analysis.

3.1. Entering the field-workplace

My official fieldwork period ran from the 1st of October 2020 to the 10th of September 2021, during which time I was employed as an unpaid intern in the Danish Energy Agency and worked in Global Cooperation five days a week (Appendix 2). I followed the usual working day from around 8.30 a.m. to 16.00 p.m., which could start earlier or end later when there were meetings with the embassies in, for example, Japan or the USA due to different time zones. Entering the organisation as an employee meant that I was registered internally, given the same items, and subject to many of the same conditions as any other employee: a contract, a boss, a mentor, a desk with a nameplate, a key card, a laptop, an email account, access to the intranet, a welcome gift, lunch, an onboarding programme, and at the end a farewell/see you again event with cake and wine, a speech from one of the department managers, and a job recommendation (Appendix 3). Although I occasionally performed tasks that other employees would have done, my tasks were different. My work primarily consisted of observing the work of others and conducting interviews, which the employment framework allowed me to do during working hours. I had a high degree of freedom to create my own roles, pursue my research interests, and manage my own working hours. These were three conditions which in many ways reflected those of the employees. As the organisation emphasised independence, their work essentially consisted of finding ways into new energy cooperations through the creation of roles and relationships. Besides, they had flexible hours. In contrast, however, my work primarily consisted of observing the work of others and

conducting interviews, which the employment framework allowed me to do during working hours.

I consider the period from October 2020 to September 2021, ritually marked by a welcome and a farewell, to be my actual fieldwork period, which I will henceforth refer to as my "intensive fieldwork". However, my relation to the organisation and especially to a group of non-native Danish-speaking employees extends over a period of about four and a half years in total. This period goes both further back and extends further than my intensive fieldwork period. Before I took up a PhD position at Aarhus University in September 2020, I worked from May 2019 until June 2020 as a Danish teacher at a language school for highly educated *foreigners*, which is the formal categorisation within the language school-system. As part of this role, I was engaged to teach in the Danish Energy Agency. After my intensive fieldwork period from 1st of October 2020 until the 10th of September 2021, I continued in Global Cooperation as part of my fieldwork for two days a month until June 2023, and I did my last interview in November 2023.

As a language school teacher before my PhD position, I would check in at the reception desk in the spacious hall of the Danish Energy Agency once a week and wait on a comfortable couch for Delphine, Alexandra, Hannah, Leo, Valentina, Oscar, Jorge, Alice, or Carl to come down the wide white spiral staircase and show me to a meeting room while people in tight blazers and click-clacking leather shoes passed by hastily. The next three hours from 9 a.m. to 12 p.m. were spent working with the Danish language. Most of my students were fast learners, especially in comparison to previous students. On the other hand, as is the case with most internationals learning Danish, they did not use their language skills outside of the classroom, despite their impressive learning curve. For example, Alexandra had attended courses at various language schools, but still found it incredibly difficult to learn the Danish language. According to an initial language test, Alexandra was at a high intermediate level, but she felt she rarely used Danish either at work or elsewhere. She explained this to me in fluent Danish, and I understood it to mean that her problems were more specifically about learning to use Danish outside of a teaching context - at work, in shops etc. - than learning Danish in general. Unfortunately, as an external teacher, I could not see what was at stake for her and my other students, at work. I was teaching at their workplace, but I was not with them at work.

When I was offered a PhD position, and inspired by Lønsmann's studies, my plan was to do ethnographic fieldwork in a private company, seen from the perspective of international employees. That plan changed in June 2020 when I told my students in the Danish Energy Agency that I had taken the new job at the university and that my project was about international employees' learning and use of the Danish language. "*Vi er internationale i Danmark. Hvorfor studerer du ikke os?*" ["We are internationals in Denmark! Why don't you study us?"], they said (from my teacher-notebook). I had not considered the Danish Energy Agency, or any other of the companies where I was teaching, as an option. I thought I would explore a new place with 'fresh eyes', and I had the vague notion that a background as a language teacher could be a complication in terms of implicit knowledge, fixed notions, and mutual expectations of roles. I was also concerned that my presence as their former language teacher could be invasive and inhibiting to the employees.

Concurrently, I was very curious about their workplace, which was a different organisation than those I was used to teaching in, primarily private companies such as those studied by Lønsmann (2011, 2017), which want to internationalise the company, deliberately recruit international talent, and where English as the corporate language is a powerful tool and status symbol in this transformation. In these companies, Danish courses are an important way for employees to socialise more broadly, but not to perform core tasks. The language policy in the Danish Energy Agency, on the other hand, was Danish in all internal contexts. According to my students, all the work was done exclusively in "Danish, Danish, Danish", as they often said in a mocking tone of voice, which made the conditions and opportunities to carry out the work and actively participate in the workplace very difficult for them. Despite my year of familiarity, I still had a hard time figuring out how that worked. What were my students doing in a place where only Danish was spoken? Why had they ended up there, of all places in the world? How did they manage to get through the workday? How did their employment benefit them and the organisation? I had no experience with the organisation, or the language and culture of state administrations in general and could not read up on potential other people's knowledge in the research literature as it was virtually non-existent (with the exception of two studies about written communication cultures in Swedish state administrations (Höög et al. 2012; Sundberg 2009)). From a more practical perspective I could also appreciate how the large open-plan office and the meeting rooms with horseshoe tables could easily allow for observations and video recordings. I considered their offer for

around two weeks and realised that it might be my opportunity to experience my students "in the wild" (cf. Eskildsen & Wagner 2015).

I set up a meeting with one of the students, Delphine, at a café, and I told her that it was important for me and for the study that my former students were comfortable with me joining their workplace as a researcher. She wrote me an email a few days after saying that they all found my project exciting and helpful, and that it would be meaningful if I did it with them since we already knew each other, and they trusted me (Appendix 4). She gave me her boss's contact information, and from there, the process moved quickly. I called Delphine's boss, Eva, and told her I was starting a PhD project on language learning and language use among international employees, focusing on socialisation and well-being. Eva's response was that these topics were very important matters for her and for the organisation. She seemed accommodating, keen to get me in and efficient, always answering me within a couple of days when we started setting expectations and designing my contract. It was up to me to decide my job title, and I found the position as an intern suitable. It was sufficiently flexible and at the same time precise in the sense that I was going to learn about the employees and their workplace from the employees and the place, and in this sense, a traditional *studying up* according to Nader (1969). Moreover, it was an unpaid position, and since I was funded by the university, it would minimise that sort of confusion. According to points 8 and 9 in the contract, I would hand over any materials in my possession upon termination, and I was bound by professional confidentiality both during and after my internship. Due to my research purpose, this was clearly problematic. A follow-up email specified and confirmed that the organisation did not think there were problems with either saving printed emails or writing about it in the project, since "*det er jo hele formålet med dit ophold hos os.*" [that's the whole purpose of your stay with us.] (Appendix 5). Thus, my position as a former language teacher for several of the international employees was central to my smooth and rapid entrance into the field. Whereas *rappport* (Geertz 1967) in anthropology refers to the process of building up the necessary trust and confidence to enable the anthropologist's entrance into the field, my prior position as their teacher where I had functioned as their helper was reciprocated as they now functioned as helpers for me to pursue the gatekeepers and enter the field.

During September 2020, I also worked on a consent form in accordance with the GDPR legislation. I carefully considered the language choice in the consent form since I did not know the Danish language level of all the international employees in Global

Cooperation and for obvious reasons it was important that everybody knew what they were signing. English seemed like an ideal choice, but the specifications of the rules in the Personal Data Regulation were only valid in Danish. Consequently, I ended up with a compromise as we could go through the Danish specifications together thereby establishing a more personal contact around the subject (Appendix 6).

About a month later, I met with Eva and Janne from Human Resource Management, who made it clear to me that everything in the Danish Energy Agency took place in Danish. The meeting ended up in a final approval of my access into the organisation, and suddenly Delphine and I were colleagues with the same boss and furthermore, Delphine was also going to be my mentor. I had read Krause-Jensen's description of the potential challenges of doing ethnographic fieldwork in organisations and felt relieved that it had actually gone smoothly so far (Krause-Jensen 2011). Five days before my start, Delphine called me to brief me on my first days at work. She had already set up a series of meetings for me and informed me in detail about what I should say at which meeting and who I should try to get in touch with. Everyone in the entire department was aware I was starting. Everything was set. The only problems were: 1) that she had just resigned and could only be my mentor for the first three weeks. 2) With the exception of my first day I was going to work from home. The Director General had just announced that due to an increasing number of COVID-infected people in Denmark, all employees should work from home the next 18 days on the recommendation of the Danish Health Authority. Those 18 days turned into more than 8 months.

3.1.1. Entering an online field online

A week and a half into my online fieldwork, the Director General announced that the period of closure of the physical office would be extended. At this point, it was already clear to me that the online format¹² made it difficult to take on the role as an intern in practice. I had imagined that I would be doing photocopying, room bookings, event catering and the like, i.e. helping out with ad hoc tasks. I was also supposed to go on a mission trip. The plan with being an intern was that through the general tasks I could see and talk to different people, but the role did not work online as none of the small tasks made sense. At the same time, the

¹² Howlett (2022) uses the term *mediated* (mediated approaches and mediated interactions) in her methodological reflections on doing fieldwork on digital platforms during COVID-19. I mainly choose the emic designations *online*, *onsite*, and *mixed* (meetings).

online format made it difficult to get an overview, meet people randomly and talk one-on-one with someone without everyone overhearing. In contrast, other ethnographic researchers were able to observe movement patterns and contexts in their informants' workday (Lønsmann 2011, Söderlundh & Keevalik 2022) or school day (Maegaard & Quist 2003; Quist 2012). They were able to form a holistic impression of the informants, and they were able to create more informal, non-committal and at the same time, discreet conversations with them about their activities as they performed them. In comparison to these studies, the online formats, primarily Skype for Business and Pexip, only gave me access to very small, static sections of the total department, where employees were represented in small two-dimensional squares on the screen with either a camera or a chest-up photograph. Their height, width, ways of walking or standing etc. were ellipses that I had to fill in myself. In terms of creating an overview, there were plenty of gathering points, such as the weekly department meetings and the Director General's House Meetings, but apart from a list of participants with the names of everyone who had logged in, the format did not allow for a more comprehensive view of the department's approximately 85 employees or the organisation's approximately 600 employees, nor did it allow for observations of who chose to sit next to each other and other communication such as smiles and eye contact. Compared to large onsite meetings, where people were typically gathered in a large meeting room or the canteen, I could not choose my own location or change perspective, but had to participate on an equal footing with everyone else, which challenged my fieldwork as it did for others during this crisis (Arya & Henn 2021; Howlett 2022, Watson & Lupton 2021).

Initially, it was difficult for me to simply find employees who were learning Danish, i.e. my potential key informants, in the vast sea of different teams and series of meetings. It would have taken me months to map each meeting and its participants, as the meetings ran both parallel and crossed over each other like a sophisticated railway network, requiring permission and a link from each meeting coordinator to gain access. On several occasions, I was granted access to a team after the meeting coordinator had involved all participants in the team to get their permission, only to find out that there were only native Danish-speakers. For the sake of the employees and my study, I did not want to explicitly ask if there were any non-native Danish-speakers in the team who did not yet speak Danish effortlessly, as I did not want to single anyone out or stress them unnecessarily during my observations. So, mapping every single meeting series in a search for key informants was not a productive method, as it was extremely time-consuming, required the involvement of a lot

of people, and I risked losing my credibility as someone worth spending time on. I knew my previous nine students, but wanted to include more employees in my study that I had no prior knowledge of. In some of the regular meeting series I attended, I would occasionally observe an employee who I thought might be learning Danish, or I would hear someone talking about someone I wanted to meet. In these cases, I wanted to talk to them a bit or ask them which teams and meetings they were following and what language(s) were usually spoken, but it was difficult as I could not do this without everyone overhearing. Had it been an onsite meeting, I might have been able to sense if they were available, signal to them that I wanted to talk a bit, walk out of the meeting room with them, lower my voice, and thus create a small intimate, but non-committal space, but this kind of discretion was not possible online. On the contrary, communication on the chosen platforms did not allow for a one-to-one chat functionality. The communication therefore required a high degree of explicitness, such as saying the name of the person you were addressing, and when the meetings ended, everyone disappeared in a click. I said good morning, talked about the weather and the latest news about COVID-19, but refrained from asking questions during the online meetings that would break the "diegesis" (Genette 1990), to use a term referring to narrative fictions that online reality could feel like, i.e. the employees' usual business and topics of conversation. I did not want to interrupt everyone, intrude, and draw attention to myself as a researcher. It was all or nothing, even in the chat, which was open to everyone. If I wanted to speak to someone in private, it required an Outlook appointment with a minimum meeting time of 30 minutes, which I found very cumbersome both to the employees and to me. If I did not want to risk being perceived as merely disruptive, a meeting had to warrant more than just a clarifying question.

3.1.2. Change of plans

"Charlotte startede med at være en flue på væggen, men endte med at blive integreret."

[Charlotte started out being a fly on the wall but ended up being integrated.]

(From my boss' joint farewell email, in Danish, September 2020).

The limited conditions for observing and the need to build up a wider rapport in the organisation (and not only with my former students) caused me to change three of my plans. These changes turned out to be crucial for my study and my position in the field. One of my initial plans was that the first two months would be spent solely on observational studies to guide my interviews, but I soon started doing interviews as they guided some of my observations and gave me an idea of which teams, meeting series and people to seek out. The second change of plans was to compensate for being a functionless intern. Even though I had politely declined a month before to be a Danish teacher as I wanted to distance myself from my previous role, I now invented a related role in the hope that it would strengthen my contact and observations while making myself somewhat useful. I set up an online room called *Sproghjælp* [Language help], where everyone in the department could book a private appointment from around half an hour to an hour and a half every Thursday if they needed help or just had questions about the Danish language. For some of the employees, *Sproghjælp* functioned as a supplement to the Danish courses, as I helped them with their homework. My intention with *Sproghjælp* was to provide a service that, based on my experience, I knew many non-native Danish-speakers requested, but which most workplaces could rarely accommodate. Apparently, this need was also felt in the department, as it was almost fully booked every Thursday and as I did not want to turn anyone away, I often took other days to help. It was intense and time-consuming, but incredibly meaningful to work so closely with each employee, first online and later onsite. It allowed me to have a place in the department and people could associate me with a more concrete role than a researcher in linguistic anthropology. Many employees volunteered to participate in my research, probably because they could see a more direct point to it, and I was invited to work with and follow their language learning process directly, which was extremely valuable.¹³ As my knowledge of the organisation's practices grew, my language helper role evolved into what Duff refers to as a language mentor (Duff 2012), especially for new, non-native Danish-speaking employees, and this function was previously lacking in the organisation. It was not planned, but slowly the department management and other mentors in the department started referring new employees to *Sproghjælp*. This continued even after my intensive fieldwork period, where I continued to come to the department for *Sproghjælp*. My main purpose for continuing to

¹³ This has similarities with Mauss's concept of *gift exchange* (Mauss 1925/2001), although my arrangement with the employees did not have the same extensive ritual character and moral obligation, but was a time-limited exchange where people received help with their Danish language learning, and where I as a researcher and in return had access to their Danish language learning.

come was to follow the ongoing collaboration with the employees, but in addition to this, I also met a lot of new employees and was able to follow their second language socialisation and development in the organisation until June 2023.

The third change was that after four months, I slowly developed a new role as "the language consultant", which my boss, Eva, started presenting me as to other staff. The role involved me establishing a close dialogue between employee groups and organisational layers, based on my observations, which ended with a field intervention in the shape of a new language policy. The work on the language policy was initiated around January 2021, when I cautiously started sharing some of my key observations with the department management. Eva, with whom I had regular one-to-one meetings, had been asking for a few months whether my fieldwork was going well, whether I had access to the right meetings and whether she could help me with anything, using the same phrase several times: "*Du kan bare spørge mig. Jeg vil gerne dele!*" ["You can just ask me. I'd love to share!"] At the same time, my mentors¹⁴ used similar phrases accompanied by searching, curious expressions on their faces. Neither my boss nor my different mentors, asked me directly if I wanted to share my observations, but I slowly realised that this was their tentative way of setting the stage for an exchange.

I had planned to give a presentation to the whole department at the end of my fieldwork, but I carefully considered whether sharing my observations would change my study and whether it would be unethical to influence the field. My purpose was not to construct the field while I was in the field, and already I felt I had crossed a line between observation and intervening interaction with Sproghjælp. Just as importantly, I had built up familiarity with many of the employees, especially my primary informants, which I would risk jeopardising if I shared my observations of them with others. Conversely, my close collaboration with them had enabled me to see – together with my primary informants - some fundamental problems that seemed to be invisible to native Danish-speakers in the workplace. Perhaps I could help draw attention to them. Intuitively, I felt it was almost a duty to do so, but at the same time, I was worried that I might expose individuals or exacerbate an ongoing language conflict. I spoke to my mentor, Leo, and several of my primary informants about it, who, except for the employee Jorge who I will introduce later in the chapter, to my

¹⁴ I had three mentors, Delphine (October-November 2020), Hannah (November-December 2020), and Leo (January-September 2021), when first Delphine and then Hannah took on a new job.

surprise reacted as if it was to be expected. What had happened was that my initial rapport with my former students now extended across the organisation to a number of other employees, but also vertically to different levels of management. This created a more complex system of rapport and mutual exchanges in which both international employees and management had an interest in my work, yet from different positions, as I also had an interest in testing my observations by sharing them.

After three months of work to establish dialogue through meetings and conversations as well as two workshops that I organised for all non-native Danish-speakers in the department about my observations, my boss said to me in April 2021: "*Jeg kan godt lide, når det bliver mere konkret*" ["I like it when it gets more concrete"]. This indirect call was the beginning of a collaboration on a new language policy, which I based on my observations and conversations with different groups and layers in the organisation. Had it been created in another organisation, it would probably have looked different. The new language policy is divided into three parts (Appendix 7). The first part explains why Danish is the official language of the Danish Energy Agency. The second part specifies the use of Danish and English in Global Cooperation, and the last part consists of some language pedagogical guidelines that I thought should be included in the language policy itself to emphasise mutual responsibility to make linguistic interactions work. In relation to the second part of the language policy, the intention was to legitimise the existing practice - the local English language policy - by making Danish and English optional in a number of settings, thus creating a more equal negotiation on language choice. When I showed the language policy to Delphine, Hannah, and Alexandra, who had been out of the Danish Energy Agency for some time, they expressed that the mere acknowledgment and recognition of international employees was utterly novel.

In June 2021, I presented my key observations to the entire department and, following this, my boss presented the new language policy. Many people in the department were aware of my observations at this point because of the language consulting work, but it gave everyone the opportunity to see some of the issues that I would most likely write about in my thesis, provide feedback, and raise any objections. The purpose was to maintain my ethical approach to the informants in the field, which was achieved through collaboration, dialogue, and transparency. I have taken transparency into my writing phase, where I have systematically informed my informants about the interview quotes, I intend to use in the

thesis. Some have also read parts of the thesis. I have made it clear that I can omit quotes, but that I will keep my analyses. Omissions though, have not been necessary.

3.1.3. Construction of the field

My study of international employees' second language socialisation with a particular focus on ways of navigating the organisation's language policy is based on an ethnographic single case study conducted through fieldwork in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency. As the first eight months from October 2020 to the end of April 2021 took place exclusively online and the remaining three and a half months onsite with a short transition of mixed meetings, i.e. about half online and half onsite, I have conducted my study in two or three different sites, as the conditions for the linguistic and social interaction vary according to the 'formats'. However, I choose to consider my fieldwork as conducted in one place, i.e. in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency, as we were all subject to the same conditions and because the people, meeting series, agendas, and language choices were largely the same. The online format and restrictions such as travel restrictions caused some specific challenges, which I will make explicit in the analyses when they constitute a relevant difference in meaning compared to onsite. Overall, I see the workplace as one place belonging to a large field, which for a period was located online and for a period at the physical office in Copenhagen.

3.2. A "home study" of a workplace

Like a range of sociolinguistic fieldwork studies (Lønsmann 2011, Møller 2018, Söderlundh 2012), studies in the acquisition of Danish as a second language (Karrebæk 2011, Øhrstrøm 2015), anthropological organisation studies (Karsten 2021; Krause-Jensen 2005, Vohnsen 2020), and studies in regional anthropology (Gilliam 2022; Gullestad 2001, Larsen 2022), my study can be characterised as a *home study*. Within the field of anthropology, the home study should be seen in contrast to classical fieldwork, where the assumption was that the young anthropologist, as part of a rite of passage from novice to initiated anthropologist: "(...) for an extended period of time - preferably at least a year – explored an unfamiliar place on the ethnographic atlas (...)" (Olwig 2002: 112. My translation from Danish). Valentin's fieldwork among Nepali squatters in Kathmandu is a recent example of an 'outside study', where the

researcher settles among her informants, acquires their language, Nepali, and participates in their lives (Valentin 2006). According to one of the founders of ethnography, Malinowski, the purpose of ethnography is: "(...) to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realise his vision of his world" (Malinowski 1922: 25), albeit not one-to-one, but with a reflexive gaze (Krause-Jensen 2005). Although the approach and way of looking at the participants, the field, and what it means to be native and to go native as a researcher has changed since 1922, the reflexive understanding of the participants' perspective remains at the core of ethnographic fieldwork (Marcus 1997; Rosaldo 1989, Sluka & Robben 2012). Being a 'native researcher' who goes into the field 'at home' can thus be considered a study in one's own culture (Amit 2000; Pink 2000). This necessitates a double vision and critical reflection on fixed expectations, notions, and biases, which also applies to 'outside studies'.

As in Larsen's study (2011) of the encounter between the refugee Daniel and a small community in rural Denmark, my primary informants were neither born nor raised in Denmark, and like Daniel, many expressed a sense of confusion and alienation towards workplace practices in their encounters with implicit rules, the "*uforventede forventninger*" ["unexpected expectations"] as one of my primary informants put it. The field was both familiar and different to me. For example, I automatically took a summer holiday for almost three weeks in July like most people in Denmark, correlating with the children's school holidays. When I returned to the office around mid-July, a little before the standard for most, it was, as I had expected and planned for, very empty. In the kitchen, Juan suddenly appeared with a confused expression on his face. He had been recruited to Global Cooperation from Chile two months earlier. He said something like: "Why didn't you tell me I should go on holiday? I've been here all alone! It's been impossible for me to work without my team!" For Juan, it was strange that everyone went on holiday at the same time. He also thought that "for a country that prides itself on being efficient", it was exceptionally inefficient. He sketched out a list of implications from the slow execution of projects to efforts to the need to cancel the office's delivery of fruit, i.e. the office's offer of free fruit to employees. Juan's perspective allowed me to see how the accepted cultural practice of summer holidays was foreign to Juan. In Hastrup's words: "to see with the eyes of others" (Hastrup 1992: 45), one could say that the summer holiday was a small example of how my primary informants continuously kept me in dialogue with 'my own home'.

However, due to his education and specialisation in the field of energy, Juan was in other respects much more at home than me. Since I had no knowledge of renewable

energy, diplomatic work, and the organisation of state administrations, I was set back professionally and linguistically. I could attend a meeting on wind energy, listen intently and not understand a word. The frequent use of technical terms, abbreviations and acronyms combined with a very fast pace of speech, the widespread use of "we", and implicit ways of disagreeing with a colleague's point of view meant that if someone who had not been in the meeting asked me later whether it had been a good meeting, who had done what, and what Christian and Laurent had agreed on, I could not really answer. In these meetings, everything felt alien, and especially in the beginning I observed it through a somewhat 'exoticising lens'. My field notes are also characterised by this: "*De taler og taler. Hov, nu griner de!*" [They talk and talk. Oh, now they're laughing!]. What they were talking or laughing about is not mentioned. A lot of the time I just sat and wrote down all their 'strange words' and considered making a poem out of them. They were detached words that I could not connect to anything. Although I have good receptive skills in both Danish and English, my experience at these meetings could be reminiscent of my informants' expressed experiences with the Danish summer holidays and sitting through endless meetings held in Danish. However, as with most of my informants, the meetings became more and more comprehensible over time. I acquired a little knowledge about the different technologies and the relationship between them and the major political cooperations, so I could reproduce a simplified version of what the meetings had been about. In this way, socialisation to and through language was also a condition for me on a small scale.

3.2.1. Ethnography and language socialisation

The interest in language socialisation was one of the reasons why Hymes (1962), in collaboration with Gumperz (1964), helped pave the way for the ethnographic method in recent research, particularly in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics.¹⁵ The purpose of using the ethnographic method should be seen in the context of the researchers' view of language, which, in contrast to the paradigmatic tradition and Chomsky's view of language as "a system of rules", sees language as rooted in a social-pragmatic context:

¹⁵ See also Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008 for a discussion of the relationship between linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics and Watson-Gegeo & Bronson 2013 for intersections between language socialisation and sociolinguistics).

"In any case, these approaches [paradigmatic] tend to stay within received bodies of linguistic data rather than to move outward into the exploration of speech behavior and use. Such exploration is essential whether one is concerned with semantics delimited as dealing with designation and intension or whether one is concerned also with one might then term "pragmatic meaning", as the ethnography of speaking must be." (Hymes 1962: 18).

Hymes and Gumperz argued that language use, learning, and linguistic competence should be seen in relation to social competence, and that the ethnographic method was best suited for studying language use. Kulick and Schieffelin's first criterion for conducting research on language socialisation, as presented in the previous chapter, can be seen as a continuation of this perspective (2004). The ways to gain insight into the participants' language use, their lives, practices, experiences, and perceptions are thus provided through various methods, with participant observation and ethnographic interviews predominating. In combination with a prolonged stay in the field, linguistic ethnographic methods have also been my way of approaching my research questions, where I am interested in exploring implications of linguistic issues for international employees' experiences of being in a Danish workplace and ways of becoming full members. In this way, my questions lend themselves to an inductive and qualitative enquiry in that I approach my informants as individuals in a system from which I identify some recurring patterns. In the next section, I will present my use of the methods.

3.2.2. Participant observation

"Participant observation is not a strict, straightforward method, but rather includes a wide range of research techniques and ways of collecting data" (Krause-Jensen 2005: 34, referring to Otto 1997). The method is characterised by the researcher conducting the study through participation. In this way, the researcher inscribes herself in the space of others (Hastrup 2003). Characteristic of my fieldwork is that I inscribed myself into or accessed many different sites, as my position as a researcher included many different roles such as intern, mentee, colleague, language teacher or language helper, language consultant, and friend. Often these roles flowed in and out of each other. My observational studies concern the

common activities in the department and in the organisation, which include many different types of professional meetings, seminars, induction courses for new employees and morning coffee, lunches, quizzes, and morning yoga, which were also facilitated online. When the COVID-19 restrictions were relaxed and people were allowed to gather physically again, I also participated in Friday drinks after work, summer parties, Christmas parties, other types of parties and beer and pizza after work, the annual cabin trip with communal living and cooking and other excursions. In addition to these regular activities, I observed a Danish course, and I had my own meetings, which in addition to my one-to-one meetings with my mentors and with my boss, also included meetings with the department management and Directors and my regular activity - Sproghjælp. Sharing time and space with the employees enabled me to learn about their workday, their linguistic and social interactions, and their relationships and, through Sproghjælp and the Danish course, to obtain first hand into their language learning process. Furthermore, participant observation sharpened my awareness of several implicit norms and values and divergences between policies and practices, words, and actions.

Hastrup emphasises that the researcher is subject to the fundamental condition that he or she is present as both participant and observer, which she describes as a dual role (Hastrup 1988). In a similar vein, Krause-Jensen writes:

"The two poles of participation and observation mark out the structural contradiction that every fieldworker must negotiate, transpose and interpret in perpetual attempts at finding an epistemological position and developing concrete research techniques within what is ultimately a methodological paradox." (Krause-Jensen 2005: 34).

My navigation of the "two poles", i.e. the degree of observation and participation in terms of interaction, varied according to the individual situation, such as the type of meeting, my role or responsibility, the topic, the number of participants and what the meeting chair was calling for. In the highly technical team meetings, my participation consisted primarily of some introductory small talk, whereas I not only participated, but was in charge of Sproghjælp. Regardless of the degree of my participation, I was always observing, which is reflected in my field notes.

It is a consistent pattern in my notes that I started by writing the name of the meeting or activity, date, start and end time, location, number of participants and, as far as possible, the names of participants. In both the online and onsite meetings, but also during other activities such as lunch in the canteen, I have particularly noted: language choice, language shifts, the meeting structures, turn-taking systems, who talked a lot in the meetings and who did not, how people talked, what kinds of talk, and subject matter. There were some clear interactional differences between online and onsite meetings. In the online meetings, the interaction patterns were more static compared to the onsite meetings, where participants, for example, interrupted each other more and established parallel conversations. In addition, there was a lot of non-verbal communication (smiling or frowning at each other as a sign of confirmation or disagreement with the given speaker's statement). However, I did not see significant differences in relation to my key analytical focus points: language choice, language shifts, what my primary informants found most demanding in terms of keeping up, taking the floor, etc.

A special condition during my online observations was that behind the screen, sheltered from other people's eyes, it was easy for me to avoid "(...) the potentially embarrassing 'framebreak' caused by a notebook" (Krause-Jensen 2005: 26). I was camouflaged in the absence of arms, hands and notebooks and writing tools placed next to the laptop. In short, the narrow section of "my body and the world" and "*being in two spaces at once*" (Wasson 2006) made it easy for me to maintain the illusion that I was just participating as an ordinary colleague. This also applied to my recordings of meetings. Since the online platforms have a recording function, I just had to press a button. The disadvantage of using the platforms' recorder function was that you could only see the participants who were speaking in the recordings and not the other seven to eight participants represented in mini format that were otherwise available and thus no reactions. Since most people, especially at the big meetings, turned off their cameras, I often only recorded the audio. No one ever expressed reluctance at my recording of the meetings. I always sent a standard email to meeting participants a few days beforehand that I wanted to record, describing my purpose, how I would use the recordings, and that participants should contact me if they had questions about it or objections. In the series of meetings that I followed closely, I asked all the participants for permission to record five meetings in a row, so that I did not overwhelm them with emails, but still reminded them regularly that I was recording. It was more difficult both to write field notes and make recordings when the meetings started to take place onsite. As

Krause-Jensen, Maegaard and Quist point out, "The note writing exposes the observer role." (Maegaard & Quist 2003: 50. My translation from Danish). Everyone knew that I participated in the work activities to observe, but perhaps because my note writing very concretely manifested the role of observer, the employees suddenly had the opportunity to observe me as the observer. By this time, around May 2021, I had been in the department for eight months and was treated as a colleague by most, which included friendly teasing. When I opened my notebook, occasionally people would comment: "Are there any good artifacts to write about?", "Is there something exciting happening on the savanna today?", "Didn't you hear what I said before? You have missed my good point!" My in-situ notes from the onsite period are significantly shorter and more descriptive, while I have long, reflective and occasionally analytical notes from meetings and situations written retrospectively during a break, in the evening or in the following days when I had a spare moment.

3.2.3. Interviews

In addition to my participant observations, I also conducted ethnographic interviews during my fieldwork, which are typically characterised by a conversational and semi-structured form that gives room for the interviewee to shape the interview along the way (Spradley 1979). My interviews therefore have a lot in common with many of the conversations I had with people as part of my participant observations. Here I am not thinking of joint small talk, but of more in-depth, confidential conversations one-on-one or in small groups, of which I had many. Sproghjælp, the language consulting work, my mentor meetings and one-to-one meetings with my boss, provided an obvious framework for this type of conversation. It was also part of the work culture to openly make an agreement to "talk about it after the meeting" and "discuss it (the subject or question which did not concern everyone) bilaterally". I was quickly drawn into this practice during the online period by someone asking, "*Lad os tage det bilateralt! Kan du blive hængende [efter mødet]?*" [Let's discuss it bilaterally! Can you hang around [after the meeting]?] or people simply called me on my phone. Occasionally we also agreed to meet somewhere in Copenhagen and go for a walk. In the physical, open office, there was "*Kaffe i køkkenet?*" [Coffee in the kitchen?] and "*Kom med!*" [Come along!] i.e. to a flex room or a copy room with a door, the custom.

My primary distinctions between these conversations and my interviews are that I had a more standardised procedure for the interviews. For example, they were always

scheduled and, apart from one interview, all of them were recorded. Before the interviews, I sent an email asking if the person was interested in doing an interview with me, and most often I briefly described key topics that I wanted to talk about. The procedure for the interviews was very reminiscent of invitations to work meetings and was treated as such by the recipients with standard answers: "*Du booker bare i min kalender*", "*bare book mig!*" [You just book me in my calendar, just book me!] (Appendix 8). If I had not asked for permission to record the interview in the initial invitation, I did so before the interview, and I started each interview by disclosing. In this way, I distinguished between a conversation between 'two colleagues' and an interview, which made the colleague a more direct research informant whose words and statements were archived. For everyone's sake, I found it very important to mark this distinction. This especially applied to Sproghjælp, which was and should remain a safe space, and it also particularly applied to my meetings with the department management and the Directors when we began to develop the new language policy. Most often, I made use of a set interview guide when I interviewed an employee for the first time, which initially followed a few indicative standard categories:

Initial: name, age group, place of birth and upbringing, language skills, education (area, location, time), work experience (area, location, time)

The Danish Energy Agency:

- Job title, teams, employment period

Languages in the Danish Energy Agency:

- What is the working language(s) in Global Cooperation and in the Danish Energy Agency? Why?
- Which language or languages do you speak? When? Why?

COVID-19

- How does COVID-19 lockdown affect your everyday life?
- Are there any differences in your work during and outside of lockdown?

I endeavoured to have relatively few general questions, as I wanted to make as much space for the interviewee as possible. As part of the study, it was important for me to see what the employees themselves found relevant to talk about. For example, to begin with I mostly thought of the interviews as a window into the informants' present situation. However, when we came to the topic of language in the Danish Energy Agency during interviews, many non-native Danish-speaking employees began telling me about starting their employment even though I had not asked about it, or even thought of it as a topic. Due to this iteration, I started including the topic in my interview guide at the end of my intensive fieldwork period to be able to compare employees' experiences.

A central advantage of combining observations and interviews is they inform each other. Accordingly, my questions to the individual informant were also more varied after the first interview. Typically, they centred on a series of follow-up questions from the previous interview combined with some of my ongoing observations of the person in question. "I noticed..." and "I have noticed ..." are phrases that I repeated over and over in these interviews. "How is it going now?" is a question that recurs among the informants whom I interviewed between two and six times during my intensive fieldwork. For example, this was the case with Leo, Valentina, and Sofia, with whom I was in close contact throughout my fieldwork. The intention of continuing to do specific interviews with them - and not just conversations - was also to have continuous recordings of their experiences of being employees, including the organisation's language policy, their language learning, and language use. In relation to language learning, my interviews in themselves provide an insight into the employees' language learning process and progression. For example, I did three interviews in the autumn of 2020 with Sofia, who was hired a month before me. Sofia was born and raised in Spain, and she immediately set about learning Danish. The three interviews are in English. In the winter of 2020, we did an interview in which we spoke both English and Danish, and in the summer of 2021, we only spoke in Danish.

During my intensive fieldwork period, I conducted 64 interviews in total lasting from half an hour to two hours. 47 of these interviews were with non-native Danish-speaking employees, of which 29 took place in Danish only, 3 consisted of a mixture and 15 were in English. Three of the interviews consist of focus groups of 4, 7 and 8 participants respectively, all non-native Danish-speakers. Two of the focus groups consist of recorded

conversations on set topics from two workshops I held in April 2021. The formal set up for the workshops was to share knowledge - challenges and opportunities - about practices for performing work activities in Danish as a newcomer and more experienced employee. At the same time, the workshops functioned as focus group interviews, as the participants engaged in a dialogue (primary informant to primary informant) and thus negotiated and adjusted experiences and views. This gave me an insight into their way of creating shared knowledge and meaning and enabled a direct comparison of their experiences. I will provide a more comprehensive overview of my empirical material later in this chapter. The intention of doing the interviews in Danish with non-native Danish-speakers was not to do Labovian sociolinguistic interviews, i.e. focus on how they spoke, for example style changes and variation (Labov 1981), but primarily hearing what they said. I always let the interviewee decide the language choice or choices. Most non-native Danish-speakers who had the skills and felt comfortable being recorded in Danish preferred to do the interview in Danish, as they saw it as an opportunity to practice the language. During the interviews, they sometimes asked for words and expressions, which I gave them by saying them and writing them in the chat when it was online, or on a piece of paper when it was onsite, so they could keep and collect the words. In general, I would characterise my interviews with particularly non-native Danish-speaking informants as quite multilayered and with an interaction between roles such as language teacher and student, expert and novice, mentor and mentee, friends, and colleagues, which implied dynamic variations of power relations throughout the interviews. Often the interviewee also asked me questions about my work: "Do you feel good about being a PhD student?", "How is your work going? Is it progressing or do we need to invent a new role for you?" and to my private life: "How are things with Carlo and Sonja [my children]?", "Does Birger [my partner and father of our children] cook? Every day?" and they contain a lot of collegial gossip: "Have you heard that Carl [colleague in the department] has been infected with corona?", "After you left [from Valentina's birthday party], Peter told me..." Or they would correct me: "No, no, it's not the way you think", "Perhaps you could be a little more ... professional when you call a meeting!" In that sense, the interviews reflect our various roles and relationships and show very clearly that we had access to each other in various sites beyond the interview situation. In addition, the interviews enabled me to gain access to several spaces through the language, which were not directly perceptible either online or onsite. One of the great strengths of language is that it can transcend the boundaries of time and space, and through this I got to know information about things 'behind the stage'. Except for seven out of a total of 26 non-native Danish-speaking informants, the remaining

19, who were employed within my intensive fieldwork period, had started before me (Appendix 9), but through subjective, retro- and prospective narratives I gained insight into their beginnings and their hopes and wishes for the future at that time. As such, the information I obtained about the international employees' experiences of socialisation into a Danish governmental workplace extends beyond the time-frame of my fieldwork.

3.3. Ways to discover central issues

Previously, I mentioned how the combination of observations and interviews inform each other as it enables a more nuanced and detailed perspective on what was done or said respectively and modifies immediate perceptions of one or another. This also counts when observations and interviews do not fit nicely in the first place. Often, the discrepancies between what I saw during observations and what I heard during interviews and conversations helped to awaken my 'inner detective', my curiosity, and sharpen my focus.

An example concerns the discrepancy between learning and using the Danish language in learning contexts and in work contexts, which I explained at the beginning of this chapter. Most of my primary informants communicated exclusively in Danish on their Danish course, during Sproghjælp and during interviews and conversations with me. I perceived many of them to be very talkative, energetic and with a lot on their minds, but in contrast, most were so quiet in the professional meetings that they were invisible when the meetings took place online. This led me to study challenges of speaking Danish in work contexts.

Another discrepancy that I will now address in some detail concerns the organisation's language policy and practices. As previously mentioned, I was informed early on that everything in the department and in the organisation took place in "Danish, Danish, Danish", unless partners from the cooperation countries, who for obvious reasons did not know Danish, were present. However, this expectation was shattered by my observations of some smaller country team meetings, which were held exclusively in English despite having only internal participants. In October 2020, a few weeks after I started, I interviewed Delphine at a cafe. I told her that I had observed a meeting earlier in the day for which she was the country team leader, and that, apart from some initial small talk, they had only spoken in English. She laughed a little and said: "*Der er rum for at gradbøje lidt*" [It's possible to rule bend a little]. Afterwards, I asked her as my mentor if she knew about the language choice in other national teams, as I was trying to find out which teams I should

follow. She thought about it and said that she was not quite sure, but that the department meetings were in Danish for sure, and then she said:

Delphine: Og for eksempel jeg ved, at i UK-teamet snakker de på dansk, men nogle gange er deres energirådgiver med i mødet, og hun er amerikaner, og hun sidder i UK, så de snakker på engelsk. Og for eksempel Jorge og Alice [begge landeteamledere] øh igen i princippet skal de lede deres møder på dansk, hvis der kun er danskere med, men jeg tror ikke, de gør det. Jeg tror, de taler engelsk.

[And for example, I know that in the UK team they speak in Danish, but sometimes their energy advisor is in the meeting, and she is American, and she is in the UK, so they speak in English. And for example, Jorge and Alice [both country team leaders] uh, again in principle they must lead their meetings in Danish if there are only Danes involved, but I don't think they do. I think they speak in English.]

Charlotte: *Er det ok?*

[Is that ok?]

Delphine: Det er ok, fordi der ikke nogen, der ved det.

[It's ok because no one knows.]

(Delphine, in Danish, October 2020)

The combination of my observations and interviews made me understand that the statement about "Danish, Danish, Danish" should not be taken literally, as some of the employees had found their own way of getting through the working day by using English. However, as Delphine also expressed, the employees had to hide it since it was in principle an illegitimate practice. Whether Delphine used the word "think" because she really was not sure about the language choice for Jorge and Alice's country team meetings, or whether it was to maintain discretion is a little unclear. I did not ask because I did not want to risk pressuring her to reveal her colleagues' practices. Furthermore, I did not realise in October 2020 that 'a little rule bending' was part of a general practice in the department, and that it would have such a big impact on my study. Some months later, I followed Jorge and Alice's country team meetings and could see that they held their meetings in English. Around the time I evolved to the language consultant role, I interviewed an experienced employee, Jorge, who certainly

'knew the game'. We spoke briefly about the fact that I had spoken to some of the Directors. As we were about to end the interview he said:

Jorge: Vi kan klare det lidt uofficielt på engelsk halv halv, men hvis vi kommer til at have en rigtig diskussion [med Direktørerne], så bliver det dansk

[We can manage it somewhat unofficially in half English, but if we are going to have a real discussion [with the Directors], it will be Danish]

Charlotte: *Ja, nu må vi se*

[Yes, let's see]

Jorge: Så den her balance, hvor du har frihed i forhold til teammøder og dansk på ja centerniveaumøder eller større. Det er ok. Det er en ok kompromis. For der er alligevel ikke noget vigtigt som sker under morgenmøder [griner stort]

[So, this balance, where you have freedom in relation to team meetings and Danish yes department level meetings or larger. It is OK. It's an okay compromise. Because nothing important happens during morning meetings anyway [laughs heartily]].

(Jorge, in Danish, February 2021).

I interpreted Jorge's statement as a gentle warning between the lines for me to avoid drawing too much attention to the organisation's language policy, as an open discussion about it with the Directors would make the local language policy of speaking English more difficult. The message was that the current practice was working fine as the alternative would be worse. I took his warning to heart, but decided to give sharing a cautious try. It was difficult for me to see how the requirements for Danish could be tightened further, and I had a certain feeling that my boss also wanted changes. Returning to the discrepancy between what the employees said they did and what I observed them doing, led me to what I will thematise as the organisation's Danish language policy and a local English language policy, which I link to sub-themes such as dilemmas, civil disobedience, and silence.

In continuation of the local language policy, it became clear to me that English was a necessity for several non-native Danish-speaking employees to be able to perform their jobs and take part in the workplace, and that several connected the organisation's Danish

language policy with frustration, injustice, fatigue, exclusion, and anger, which were words that recurred in my interviews and conversations. In short, the organisation's language policy was a big problem for many of the employees, and they were frustrated at having to resort to the local English language policy secretly.

Thus, the combination of classic methods such as observations and interviews allowed me to detect issues and potential conflicts. In addition, my other roles, such as language consultant, added several perspectives and gave me further insight into the many dimensions of the situation as it also became clear to me that the organisation's language policy was not only a problem for several non-native Danish-speaking employees, but also created uncertainty for many native Danish-speaking colleagues and for the native Danish-speaking department management, "the middlemen", who had to follow the organisation's language policy, but at the same time felt uncomfortable doing so due to ethical and practical dilemmas and potentially conflict-ridden situations. I had observed that the typical reaction of the department management was to bow their heads and remain silent in cases where themes for the organisation's language policy were brought up, but in my language consulting work which included the department management, the silence became particularly visible to me.

3.3.1. Mutual dependencies and implicit agendas

Previously, I have described how my former students allowed access to my field due to our established rapport in terms of knowing and trusting each other and that this was expanded throughout my fieldwork. However, there is also a strong element of what Marcus (1997) has conceptualised as *complicity*. Whereas rapport is about knowing and trusting to be allowed access to a certain field, complicity is a mutual interest based on common concerns. Marcus uses an example from Geertz (1973) who describes how he and his wife deliberately avoided disclosing an illegal cockfight in Bali to the police and as a consequence, the locals went from ignoring them to including them. Their relationship is therefore based on a form of mutuality, shared concerns, or complicity. This also characterises my way of entering the field as it was not only me who had an interest in the success of my fieldwork, but also my former students. As Delphine writes to me in the summer of 2020: "*Det giver mening, at du fortsætter med os, da du kender os rigtig godt. Vi alle har meget stor tillid til dig, og vi ved, at du gerne vil hjælpe os med dit projekt (...)*" ["It makes sense to continue with us, as you know us very well. We all have a lot of trust in you, and we know you want to help us with

your project (...)"] (c.f. Appendix 4). Thus, we had a shared interest in making the project possible. Nonetheless, I was later to find out that the kind of complicity between me as a researcher and the members of the organisation involved more parties and levels of the organisation than I had initially imagined.

In April 2021, I interviewed my boss, Eva. The interview revolved around an episode that I had heard about several times during my fieldwork, and which people referred to as a "legendary story". The episode took place on the annual *kontordag* [office day] four months before my start in June 2020. The agenda was cultural diversity, not with a focus on the internal cultural diversity in the department, but with the department's cooperation countries. Even though there were several new employees who had no Danish skills, the Diversity day was held in Danish in accordance with the organisation's language policy. In the interview, Eva said that on the day she could sense a dissatisfaction with the Danish language choice:

Eva: (...) *jeg kan huske, at jeg mødte nogle ude på toilettet, og som blev ved med at nævne det [det danske sprogvalg]*

[(...) I remember meeting someone in the bathroom who kept mentioning it [the Danish language choice]/]

Charlotte: *for dig eller?*

[for you or?]

Eva: *Ja måske. Der var nogen, der gik og snakkede om det, tror jeg, og jeg hørte det sådan bob bob forskellige steder, og jeg husker især Delphine/altså Laurent plejer også at sige det [bilateralt], men jeg kan ikke huske, om han specifikt sagde det den dag, og der var sådan lidt øh altså der var et par stykker, som sagde det måske, da vi ligesom var i plenum, da vi var de der 60 mand, hvor der var sådan lidt snak om det.*

[Yes, maybe. Someone was talking about it, I think, and I kind of heard it in various places, and I especially remember Delphine/so Laurent usually says it too [bilaterally], but I can't remember if he specifically said it that day, and there was a bit, uh, there were a few who said that maybe, when we were like in a plenum, when we were the 60 people, there was a bit of talk about it.]

The "talk" culminated after a presentation on cultural diversity, given by two external consultants, in that:

Eva: (...) *der var nogen, der rakte hånden op, tror jeg, mens alle hørte det og sagde, skulle vi ikke tage at holde det her på engelsk i stedet for? For der er nogen kolleger, der ikke ellers kan øh helt kan følge med. Jeg tror, at vi [afdelingsledelsen] svarede, at øh altså vores linje er, at centerseminarer, kontorseminarer, fællesmøder er på dansk.*

[(...) someone raised their hand, I think, while everyone heard it, and said, shouldn't we do this in English instead? Because there are some colleagues who can't otherwise uh can quite follow. I think we [the department management] answered that, uh, our line is that department seminars, office seminars, joint meetings are in Danish.]

Eva told me that someone had become dissatisfied with this answer, and in this regard, she mentioned that employees such as Delphine and Laurent could understand everything, but that they were dissatisfied on behalf of their colleagues. "*Det synes de simpelthen er dårlig stil, at vi holder det på dansk.*" ["They think it's simply distasteful that we keep it in Danish."] According to Eva, the proposal to hold the day in English caused: "*(...) sådan lidt forvirring omkring det der, og Johannes, Henrik og jeg [afdelingsledelsen] vi var ikke forberedt på det og havde ikke snakket om det på forhånd og var nok også lidt i tvivl om, hvad vi egentligt så skulle gøre ved det.*" [(...) bit of confusion about that, and Johannes, Henrik [the department management] and I were not prepared for it and had not talked about it in advance and were probably also a little unsure of what we could do about it]. Eva and the department management were in a dilemma because they had some employees who demonstrated their dissatisfaction in front of everyone and thus exposed the department management with the "lille oprør" [small rebellion], as she called it. How was the department management supposed to resolve the situation in front of everyone when they did not have the authority to change language choice? The interview with Eva took a turn when she revealed to me that she nevertheless came up with a solution during the Diversity day:

Eva: *Og så havde vi faktisk, jeg tror, at du lige havde haft fat i Delphine [i juni 2020]/*

[And then we actually had, I think you just had contacted Delphine [in June 2020]/

Charlotte: *ja?*

[yes?]

Eva: *Jeg kan huske, at jeg var på vej ud til et møde med August [Direktør Generalen] ude ved den indonesiske ambassadør, hvor Delphine lige havde spurgt på dine vegne [om jeg kunne lave feltarbejde], tror jeg, hvor jeg så lige havde en anledning til at spørge August, så jeg vidste, at August syntes, at det var en god ide, og Henrik og Johannes og jeg havde lige aftalt, at det ville vi gerne gøre [give mig adgang til at lave feltarbejde], og det (...) kunne vi så fortælle deroppe på scenen, at det [sprogvalg] er da en vigtig overvejelse, og øh det er noget, vi skal blive klogere på og snakke mere om, og at nu har vi besluttet, at vi skal have en ph.d.-studerende ind til os, så at det er noget, vi kan blive klogere på, hvordan vi tager hensyn til det. Og det tror jeg egentligt, jeg syntes var ret god timing [griner stort] (...) når der nu var sådan et lille oprør eller sådan nogle, der var utilfredse, så var det rart at kunne sige, at det skal vi se på.*

[I remember that I was on my way to a meeting with August [the Director General] at the Indonesian embassy, where Delphine had just asked on your behalf [about doing fieldwork], I think, where I just had an opportunity to ask August, so I knew that August thought it was a good idea, and Henrik and Johannes and I had just agreed that we would like to do that [provide me access to do fieldwork], and (...) we could mention there on the stage that it [language choice] is an important consideration, and uh it is something we need to learn more about and talk about more, and that now we have decided that we will have a PhD student joining us, so that it is something we can learn about, how we take that into account. And I actually think that I thought it was a pretty good timing [laughs heartedly] (...) when there was a small rebellion like this or some people who were dissatisfied, it was nice to be able to say that we're going to look into that.

(Eva, in Danish, April 2021).

Despite Eva's light tone around the day in the interview, the question or suggestion about English on the Diversity day had come up a few times in my conversations with the department management prior to my interview with Eva, where in addition to "a small rebellion" it was also referred to as an *opstand* [an uprising]. It was clearly the first time that the department management had experienced something like this, and it undoubtedly evoked ambivalent feelings. When they talked about English or Danish, it was not about linguistic structures or the like, but about inclusion and being equal. In general, my conversations and interviews with the department management (and the Directors) and not least observations of them and their conversations about language policy in private, primarily prompted by my role

as a language consultant, thus gave me access to see the implications of the two language policies from different perspectives in the organisational layers. It increased my knowledge of the organisation, and it allowed me to understand some of the motivations and feelings behind the bowed heads and the silence. In addition, it provided me access to understanding my own roles; why my access as a researcher to the organisation had gone so smoothly, why I was invited into the 'control room' and asked for advice, and why I was able to do interviews with an extremely busy department management on topics that they normally did their best to avoid. In other words, I was not simply allowed to enter the field through rapport or even a simple form of complicity between me and the organisation, but through a network of complicities involving my interests in entering the field, the international employees' interest in being seen and heard, and the management's interest in dealing with the real challenges of the organisation's language policy without being disloyal to the Directors. Thus, the complicity necessary to enter and work in the field of the present study has not been a single 'contract' or common agenda silently shared by the researcher and those studied, but a network of plural complicities.

3.4. Empirical material

My empirical material, which forms the starting point for my analyses, consists of transcriptions of recordings of interviews and meetings, notes, and the collection of information on, for example, the organisation's intranet. In addition to 18 field notebooks, sketches, photographs and recordings, my material also consists of numerous email correspondences, reports, in-house statements, job postings etc. During my intensive fieldwork period, i.e. from the 1st of October 2020 to the 10th of September 2021, I observed 288 meetings, equivalent to 377 hours. The meetings are represented through recordings (48 recordings, 53 hours in total), manual mapping, i.e. a detailed overview and review of the entire meeting, transcripts, field notes, sketches, and photographs. I have 64 semi-structured interviews from the period, amounting to 72 hours. My tally only applies to observations of activities that are organised in the workplace. Private parties, walks, beer and games in parks etc. are not included. I interviewed 35 participants, 19 of whom are non-native Danish-speakers (53 hours) and 16 who are native Danish-speakers (18 hours). I have three different types of interviews: 1) single person (54 interviews). 2) Two-person (3 interviews). 3) Focus group from 4 to 8 participants, all non-native Danish-speakers (3 interviews). With one exception, all the interviews are recorded and mapped, i.e. a detailed overview of the topics

covered in each interview and time codes for when we talk about what. I have alternated between transcribing (orthographically) and paraphrasing parts of the interview that address recurring themes such as language choice and additionally what I have found relevant. Some interviews are fully transcribed. This is especially true of the interviews I did early in the process, where I was looking for basic information about the organisation, the field and the people in it in and outside of lockdown. To me each interview was a new piece of that puzzle and potentially relevant and I was afraid of missing important details. Besides, I had just started Sproghjælp and had not yet begun collaborating with the department management and simply had more time to do it. Thus, the interviews are mapped and partially or fully transcribed and they are all represented in field notes.

I consider all my empirical material to be an important foundation for this thesis. As a whole, it constitutes knowledge and informs iteration and has enabled my choice of analytical focus. This also means that some parts of the material are more in focus than other parts, which serve as background material. My collection of empirical material (dataset) for this thesis consists of: 61 observations in situ, 46 interviews, four of which were made between February 2022 and November 2023 and thus outside my intensive fieldwork period. Furthermore, the material consists of 12 conversations as well as field notes of observations, interviews, and conversations, and about 36 emails and 4 job postings.

In regard to transcription practices, Karrebæk points out that there are many choices associated with working with transcriptions, i.e. representations of recordings: "(...) it is one thing to listen and see your primary data and quite another to make it analysable and recipient-oriented, while the representation must be systematic, reflexive, transparent and accessible (...)" (Karrebæk 2012: 46. My translation from Danish). I start from a verbatim form of transcription, including gambits such as "uh", which I combine with a registration of overlap, interruptions, pauses, giggles, and laughter marked in sharp brackets (see transcription conventions in Appendix 10). In a single place in the first analytical chapter, I include letters from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) and note main stresses, as I believe this benefits the ethnography. I have chosen this relatively simple form of transcription, as I want to make my empirical evidence as accessible as possible and because I do not see major analytical losses in the lack of detail. Had my primary focus been on the acquisition of, for example, diphthongs, an extensive and highly time-consuming form of phonetic transcription would probably have been preferable. In the translation from Danish to English, I make no attempt to translate what in a language test would be considered errors,

such as the use of the present tense when an informant wants to talk about an event that took place in the past. The employees' use of language can therefore appear more fluent and polished in the English translations. I consistently present quotes from my field in the original language, and an English translation of it if the original language is Danish. To include both the original language and the English translation of it is character heavy and I have therefore been granted a dispensation for extra pages in this thesis (Appendix 11). I find it important to include the original language in terms of transparency, as I see the original language as a less modified representation of my material than the translations. In short, the quotes in the original language constitute my empirical material. Not least, it represents my primary informants' second language socialisation and the fruit of their investment in learning Danish. It is important to give space to their Danish voices and the personality that lies within them.

3.4.1. Ethnographic analysis of empirical material

As described in the previous sections, this thesis is based on empirical material that I have collected using the ethnographic method. This method is also used to analyse my material in the form of continuous observation points (language choice, language shifts, language choice confusion, language use, switching between linguistic registers, speakers, speaking time, and speech turns, silence) during particular meetings. This also applies to points of attention during interviews (mood, statements about language choice, language shift, linguistic beliefs, social categorisation of self and others, workplace culture) and during Sproghjælp (mood, questions to me, including need for linguistic focus, fluency). I have prioritised these thematic categories in my choice of transcripts and field notes (Emerson et al. 2011). Basically, I have had a document for each category with a list of observations, interviews and conversations where the category in question has been in play, where I have continuously added new observations etc. An example of this is: "Language shift: North switches to English without explanation. No one comments on it. See transcription from the department meeting on the 7th of May 2021".

More categories were added and some deleted as my empirical material grew and I started to see some patterns. For example, I started by creating a collection of "misunderstandings" and "repair" because my hypothesis was that the non-native Danish-speaking employees often spoke in meetings and that this could lead to clarifying questions

from the other participants. This organisation of the empirical material has enabled: 1) an overview of frequent and rare occurrences, but where the ethnographic method - that I was present - enabled me to assess whether the rarity was significant or not. 2) An overview of occurrences such as language shifts in online and onsite observations, i.e. whether there were significant differences. 3) A direct comparison of each category with material from different methods as described in section 3.9. During my PhD period, I have given 14 presentations in a research context in addition to five presentations in Global Cooperation. Three of the 14 research presentations and all of the Global Cooperation presentations have taken place during my intensive fieldwork period. Each presentation has given me the opportunity to go deeper into the individual categories, search for potential other categories in my empirical material, and bring them together in a more precise, coherent and detailed analysis.

3.4.2. Organisation of empirical material and analytical structure

I have carefully noted each primary informant's start of employment and, if relevant, the time of the end of employment. This makes it easy to track how far along they were in their employment during specific interviews and meetings. However, often the interviews did not only address the present but also events prior to their employment period and thus it has been easy to map the events and periods that the interviews were about into the timeline of their employment. This has been crucial for my diachronic approach to my analysis of pervasive collective patterns and identification of different stages based on individual cases. To put it simply, parts of my empirical material are observations in situ and parts of it are constructed 'backwards' through interviews. I have done individual interviews with 14 out of the 21 non-native Danish-speaking employees who started before my intensive fieldwork period, as well as three focus group interviews, where another one out of the 21 participated and contributed knowledge about her starting period. In total I have interviewed 15 out of the 21 whose start I have not directly observed. In addition, 3 out of the 21 regularly participated in Sproghjælp, where we talked about their start, among other things. Thus, there is only 1 of the total of 21 non-native Danish-speaking employees that I have not interviewed or had in-depth conversations with, but only observed. I followed six out of the seven non-native Danish-speaking employees who started around my start or after, very closely through in situ observations of their 'inclusion' and work activities, and I interviewed three of them. With the exception of one, who only participated twice, the other six regularly attended Sproghjælp.

Out of the total of 26 employees whom I met during my intensive fieldwork period, and whom I consider to be my primary informant group, I have thus been in close contact with 24. There are large contrasts, though, in the amount of material on each individual employee. For example, I have the equivalent of 9 hours of interview with Leo and 110 hours of observation (Appendix 12), while I have 4,5 hours of interview and 25,5 hours of observation with Emilio. In contrast, I have the equivalent of 11 hours of Sproghjælp with Emilio, while I have 5 hours of Sproghjælp with Leo. Most likely, such differences are related to accessibility due to the time-period of my fieldwork and their employment periods, but also other factors such as overlapping meetings, experience at the workplace, Danish language skills, and the perceived need for language training.

Interviews and conversations enabled me to include a time-frame for each informant that extended my intensive fieldwork period and thus also allowed me to detect patterns, including temporal patterns, in how my primary informants experienced being international employees in a Danish-speaking workplace to an extent that can be characterised as a *mætningspunkt* [a saturation point] (Brinkmann & Tanggaard 2015: 37). During my intensive fieldwork and in the following years from 2021-2023, I saw a pattern of development in the vast majority of non-native Danish-speaking employees' sense of satisfaction with being in the organisation and their investment in learning Danish, using Danish and their attitude towards Danish, which roughly corresponded to their year of employment. As the employees' time in the organisation was constantly moving forward, this meant that my in situ observations tracked them over time. For example, my observations of the employee Pietro consist of both his first and second year, as he moved from the first to the second year of his employment. This pattern of development, or stages as I have chosen to call it, became perhaps most evident to me in my studies of employees who started during my intensive fieldwork and whom I could follow closely during their first year. There was a striking contrast between their first year and the second year, which I had access to observe by continuing to have Sproghjælp and conducting interviews. Nonetheless, also my interviews with others revealed a similar pattern in retrospect.

My analyses are built up around the series of stages that all employees go through in a certain order and therefore follow a time structure that approximately corresponds to the employees' years of employment. This structure includes three temporalities: 1) my primary informants' time in the organisation in a specific period. 2) My time of access to the informants during my intensive fieldwork. 3) The temporality of the

analytical chapters where I gather my primary informants' individual experiences into a collective narrative of three stages. Each analytical chapter includes primary informants that I have observed in situ in the workplace (online and onsite), i.e. observations that correspond to the employees' years of employment. These observations are accompanied by retrospective perspectives from interviews, which provide information about their process of second language socialisation into the organisation before my fieldwork. In addition, some of these interviews provide an insight into the organisation before October 2020 and thus contribute with information about the difference constituted by the Danish language policy. I will now provide a brief overview of the use of primary informants in each analytical chapter.

First analytical chapter (first year)

Observations in situ of: Sofia, Emilio and Luca

Retrospective perspectives: Alexandra, Leo, Delphine and Valentina

Second analytical chapter (after one year)

Observations in situ of: Alice, Pietro, Oscar and Maria

Retrospective perspectives: Alexandra, Laurent, Leo, Jorge, Delphine, Carl, Valentina and Luca

Third analytical chapter (after two years)

Observations in situ of: Jorge, Carl and Valentina

Retrospective perspectives: Leo, Laurent

I have chosen the flexible dates "first year", "after one year" and "after two years" to emphasise that my primary interest concerns the different stages, a certain *order* of navigating and experiencing one's own process of second language socialisation within the organisation, and not the exact length of employment measured in time. To determine at

which stage an informant has been observed in situ or addressed in retrospect through interviews, I have used the following guidelines: During interviews the informants typically situate the particular experiences they address in relation to the time of their arrival in the organisation ("in the beginning", "after a year" etc.) and I have used the informants' own statements to categorise their experiences in relation to the three stages and asked them if in doubt. As for in situ observations, I have somehow arbitrarily, yet with a pragmatic purpose, chosen to separate the different stages in a less strict way as it did not make much sense to treat an observation after 11 months of employment as belonging to one stage and an interview two months later with the same informant as necessarily belonging to an essentially different stage. As already stated, the overall temporal order (and not the exact timing) of certain ways of navigating and experiencing the Danish language policy by the international employees is paramount to understand second language socialisation into speaking Danish at a workplace as a process. My intensive fieldwork extended one year. Some informants started or went into their second year during the beginning of my fieldwork, others were more than half a year ahead of me or began later. In these cases, I have chosen to assign my series of in situ observations of a given informant to the stage in which I observed him or her the most. For example, if I had observed an informant in 8 months in her first year and 4 months in her second year, my in-situ observations of her were categorised as belonging to her first year experiences. In cases of exceptions, for example if one informant observed is socialising into Danish much faster than most others, I will specifically note that this is the case. Furthermore, I also distinguished between informants employed before (only two) and after (24) the introduction of the Danish language policy. As will be clear from my findings, those beginning before the Danish language policy, the two very first internationals to be employed in the department, are not aware of the essential importance of Danish to carry out their work as they are allowed to get by in English. In this sense, their year zero for second language socialisation into Danish at their workplace is counted from 2018, where the Danish language policy came into effect. One of these two employees, also functions as an important informant regarding organisational changes prior to my fieldwork. Not least, this informant is an example of how the language policy had an intended effect, and how this management tool more specifically influenced and changed his way of being an employee.

3.5. Social navigation as an analytical method

In the previous sections, I have described my way into the field, the use of ethnographic methods and the development, character, and extent of the empirical material on which my analyses and their structure are based. Before I move on to the analyses, I will introduce a methodological subcategory which I find very useful in my analyses, namely Vigh's concept of *social navigation* (Vigh 2009, 2010), and how I believe it can be usefully combined with theories of second language socialisation.

As described in the previous chapter, the concept of second language socialisation generally refers to the linguistic and cultural process by which newcomers seek to become a member of the social community(s). The process is accomplished "through the use of language and the socialisation to use the language", as presented by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986). The concept is of huge importance for my study theoretically, methodologically as well as analytically. Focusing on non-native Danish-speaking employees, I examine the importance of the Danish language in being able to take part in professional and social activities, including the employees' investment in learning Danish and performing themselves in Danish. To get closer to what drives this process, I also draw on the theoretical concept *social navigation* as defined by Vigh.¹⁶ The concept focuses on movement, agency, and reciprocity between agents and the context, and it implies a dynamic concept of power, which I find suitable to illuminate my empirical material. I embed the concept as a layer, or a central component in the employees' second language socialisation. I do this by exploring three central aspects of social navigation considered in the previous chapter, which are investment in language learning, language use and performance of identities. Common to investment in language learning, use, and identity in my study is that they are strongly guided by the organisation's language policy. Consequently, I identify these three actions as central aspects of employees' second language socialisation in my empirical material. In the following sections, I will present the concept of social navigation and my use of it in the analyses.

Vigh explores the concept of *social navigation* with the aim of clarifying and theorising the frequently used metaphor, *to navigate*, and anchoring it in a social context:

¹⁶ As with second language socialisation, social navigation cannot be considered an analytical method in the traditional sense, but a theoretical framework for understanding how individuals and groups strategically navigate challenging situations in complex social environments. I do, however, use the concept as an analytical method that is theoretically informed.

"The concept springs to mind when looking at how people move in uncertain circumstances and is referred to in academic debates when focusing on the way agents act in difficult situations, move under the influence of multiple forces or seek to escape confining structures. However, though increasingly mentioned, the concept is rarely defined or theorized." (Vigh 2009: 419).

Vigh's theorising is based on the movement embedded in the word:

"I want to start by stating the obvious, namely that 'navigation' literally means 'to sail'. The term is etymologically related to Latin *navigare*, meaning 'to sail', sail over and go by sea', and thus defines a special form of movement: that is, the way we move in a moving environment." (Vigh 2009: 420).

Based on the etymology of the word, Vigh emphasises that sailing is a special form of movement as it takes place in a moving environment, i.e. the sea. The ship, steered by people, moves, but the sea is also set in motion in time with the movement of the ship and vice versa. In this sense, they move together, with and against each other. Vigh builds the concept on extensive empirical material from his eight years of fieldwork among young, urban men in Bissau in West Africa and West African migrants in Lisbon, Portugal, which had experienced the civil war in the late 1990s as part of the same military group. Vigh's approach to the concept of social navigation goes through the question of how the young men manage to survive and realise a social being when stuck in a space of restrictions. He finds that the expression, *dubriagem* (an expression in Bissau with etymological roots in Creole), is essential to informants' way of navigating the environment. *Dubriagem* covers the dynamic movement of moving in a moving environment. In addition to the dynamic movement, *dubriagem* includes the form *dubria*, which means "to see it" or "to look for your life" (Vigh 2010: 151). *Dubriagem* contains a double movement consisting of dual temporality. On the one hand, it covers movement in relation to the social immediate present, the act of surviving here and now, and on the other hand, it covers a socially imagined future, the act of seeing and thus plotting one's life due to the circumstances. In this way, *dubriagem* is to deal with

social dangers and at the same time to "(...) direct one's life through a shifting and uncertain social environment towards better possible futures and improved life chances". (Vigh 2010: 151). Vigh compares *dubriagem* with the Danish expressions *at møffe* and *at sno sig* and the English expression *muddling through*, which describes the process of making one's way and the act of managing an uncertain situation. Accordingly, the concept of social navigation offers the opportunity to see the interactivity between the way agents move within social formations and the way social formations move and change over time.

Obviously, there are major empirical differences between Vigh's and the present study that relate to major differences in our informants' most basic living conditions. Despite these differences between informants, the concept of social navigation outlines elements and dynamics which provides a very useful approach to my study of second language socialisation among young international engineers as they share the common challenge of being employed and finding their way into Global Cooperation in The Danish Energy Agency. I see the concept as capturing structural features in how people find their ways in unusual situations whatever their particular conditions, and how agents and surroundings move in step with and in relation to each other. The Danish Energy Agency is not a dangerous, volatile environment in terms of life and death, but on the contrary an organisation located in a relatively wealthy and stable welfare society. Still, many of the employees experience the environment as extremely unpredictable, impassable, and loaded with "unexpected expectations". These constraints are mainly related to the organisation's language policy and organisational culture.

In contrast to Bourdieu's structuralist approach to power and practice as a static system, the concept offers a more dynamic and multidimensional perspective on power relations between agents and environment (Vigh 2010). Analytically, I am interested in how employees concretely navigate the organisation's language policy through investment in language learning, language use, and performance of professional identities, and how their navigation interacts with the organisation. In particular, I am interested in exploring how their navigation changes over time as they learn, increase their language use, gain more knowledge, experience, etc. and what this implies in relation to their 'horizon line', i.e. how they imagine their career opportunities and desired life in the organisation. Furthermore, this concept of navigation has also provided me with an image that guides my approach to the field. Thus, I see the international employees as navigators on a ship, and the sea as the organisation with waves and currents, and the organisation's language policy as buoys,

icebergs, or offshore wind farms that direct navigation. Thus, I find the concept of social navigation very useful to outline and analyse the employees second language socialisation as a dynamic process that includes navigation of the organisations language policy through investment in language learning, language use and performance of identities at work.

In summary

In this chapter, I have presented the methodological approach to my study, my empirical material and my choice of analytical methods to organise and analyse the field, but also how the study has developed over time due to insights during my fieldwork and a gradual deepening of complicity involved. Nonetheless, my methods and ways of registering my material have been consistent throughout. The linguistic ethnographic method is the basis of my study that includes various forms of participant observation, interviews and conversations, which, due to their different modes, have enabled different types of insights and knowledge and not least a comparison of these. In addition to the classic ethnographic focus on people's experience of their life world, which is reflected in my prime focus on the international employee's process of socialisation into Danish-speaking employees, my study involves other informants (native Danish-speaking colleagues, management etc.) that provides multiple experiential perspectives and have shown themselves to be important in order to understand language choice as involving a series of dilemmas that all the members of the organisation have to navigate. Thus, the concept of social navigation in combination with a focus on second language socialisation of international employees into a workplace with a Danish language policy has been my guiding principle throughout the study. My daily work in Global Cooperation for almost a year, first online and later onsite, and the use of different methods has enabled a rich and nuanced insight into international employees' processes and experiences of becoming professional employees in Danish. At the same time, the research techniques have also enabled insights into how other groups and layers in the organisation socially navigate in relation to the employees. I have described the differences between the workplace as online and onsite, but my focus on language choice, investment in language learning, language use and implied professional identity and position has allowed me to identify consistent features across the online/onsite conditions. My entry into the field due to previous contacts and my development of different roles and functions has had a significant importance for the creation of trust and complicity. My extensive access to different people in

various contexts has been crucial in gathering a nuanced picture of the social environment and dynamics in the department. Furthermore, the roles and functions and being complicit with sometimes conflicting groups caused increased demands on my attention and sense of what I could convey to whom and how. This was not least because some of the roles and functions implied a high degree of dialogue, transparency and collaboration based on my work, and this laid a foundation for my ethical approach to my informants and the organisation. I chose to align with the individual employee and group through dialogue and transparency before putting them in dialogue with others with myself as the messenger. I have taken parts of this practice into my writing phase by sending all interview quotes to my informants, discussing findings and having some read parts of my thesis.

Chapter 4. Language policy and adaptation: arrival



A quiet moment in Global Cooperation around lunchtime in June 2021. The open-plan office makes the presence and availability of employees and department managers visible and is inviting for spontaneous small talk and professional sparring. Small meetings, online meetings, and Danish courses are held in the flex rooms to the right, where you can see people talking but not hear them. Employees are organised according to professional disciplines in small office islands separated only by thin partitions.

Optimism

I call Leo Monti on a Sunday in the autumn of 2023 to talk to him about his arrival in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency almost seven years ago in 2017. I call him because he is the only one of my 26 non-native Danish-speaking informants with a history in the organisation that both goes back as far as 2017 and has continued up to this point. This means he has first-hand knowledge of the organisation's development of a language policy and has moved through an extensive language socialisation process. I tell him on the phone that this makes him one of my key informants. We have talked about his start several times over the past four years, but I am still missing some details to describe it in his words. Today, Leo speaks Danish to describe a time where he could not.

In the early autumn of 2016, 29-year-old Leo from Italy is in front of his laptop in his living room. He sends a job application to the Danish Energy Agency's small department of Global Cooperation. The department is looking for a specialist in renewable energy to join one of their teams working with Kenya. Leo does not know much about the Danish Energy Agency or Global Cooperation, but he has long coveted working with green energy on the African continent. Leo moved from Italy to Denmark to study renewable energy planning at a Danish university. Upon completing his engineering studies, he worked for nearly five years in an English-speaking energy department of a private company a little outside of Copenhagen. In this work, he has not crossed paths with the governmental authorities in the energy sector. Due to company cutbacks, his department has been closed and since then, he has been living on unemployment benefits and strongly considering opening his own business, focussing on the African countries that have his heart. When he sees the job posting and has machine translated it from Danish to English, he tells me on the phone that he instantly thinks: "*Ok, det lyder virkelig godt! Det lyder som en drømmejob! Det er lige mig! Hvorfor skal jeg åbne min egen virksomhed, når jeg kan arbejde direkte med Kenya, government to government?*" [Ok, that sounds really good! That sounds like a dream job! That's me! Why should I open my own company when I can work directly with Kenya, government to government?]. Although the job posting is in Danish, he takes a chance and writes his application in English because he has no Danish skills. A few weeks later, he is invited for an interview. Prior to the interview, he is sent a case to prepare in connection with the job interview. He solves the case in English and the entire interview is conducted in English. The interviewers describe the department, which consists of around 20 people, and its core work, but they do not talk about the working language, and Leo does not even consider asking about it. The interview goes well, and Leo is thrilled. He is convinced that he is the right person for the job. A few days later, he receives a rejection. The job has gone to another candidate, who later turns out to be Alexandra, the first official, internal international employee in the department. A month later, he sees a new job posting from the department. This time, they are looking for a specialist to join their Mexico team. Leo considers the fact that it is not an African country, but concludes that the work in the department and the organisational framework for it is so unique, that it does not really matter where exactly in the world it is carried out. He sends off another job application in English and goes through the same procedure again. On the phone in 2023, Leo tells me that when the department manager, Johannes, calls with another rejection, Leo is "*helt desperat! Det var min drømmejob, og jeg var så, så sikker, at jeg var den rigtige*". [so desperate! It was my dream job, and I was so, so sure I was the right person]. Leo makes a quick decision and offers to do an unpaid internship so they can try him out for three months. Johannes seems positively surprised by the proposal and agrees to it. In the winter of 2017, Leo puts on a freshly ironed shirt and walks through the doors of his new workplace, where he shakes the department's now 23 employees by the hand: "*Jeg var så stolt. Det var helt vildt, at jeg kunne*

arbejde med vedvarende energi ikke bare i Danmark, men i verden uden at skulle tænke på penge hele tiden. Det er verdens vigtigste job. Og jeg var så stolt at være så tæt på beslutningerne og på de mennesker, der kan gøre en forskel til verden, klimaet og menneskerne på en rigtigt højt niveau. Jeg tænkte, at jeg kan være med til at ændre verden, selvom jeg ikke er dansker og ikke taler dansk." [I was so proud. It was amazing that I could work with renewable energy not just in Denmark, but in the world without having to think about money all the time. It is the most important job in the world. And I was so proud to be so close to the decisions and to the people who can make a difference to the world, the climate, and the people on a really high level. I thought I can help change the world even though I was not Danish and did not speak Danish]. What Leo does not know when he walks through the doors and during his first year, is that he has arrived in a place where Danish is paramount and that he too is going to change, not only professionally and socially, but also linguistically in his work to change the world. During his first week, he quickly realises that everyone in the department apart from him and Alexandra are "Danes", who speak Danish together, but he does not give it much thought as they mostly speak English when he is around. After the three-month internship, Leo is offered a permanent contract with salary, and almost two years pass before it becomes clear to him that the organisation has changed with the result that he has to adapt to the organisation's language and start Danish lessons. On the phone, Leo reminds me of his long and hard process of learning Danish. He describes himself by saying "*Jeg var en lille mus, som voksede og voksede*" [I was a little mouse who grew and grew] and in the end I succeeded.

(Leo, in Danish, November 2023).

Leo's retrospective description of his entry into the organisation in the vignette above gives an insight into his expectations for an exciting job in a place where his professional skills in renewable energy and his personal values can come into play. He is excited about being a frontrunner in the global, green transition. He describes his desire to change the world and his pride in working directly with people who can make the important decisions. He also says that he is proud that it is him, "*en lille udlænding fra Italien*" [a little foreigner from Italy], his usual way of referring to himself, accompanied by a big smile, who gets this opportunity. During our many conversations in the years 2019-2023, Leo told me several times that it was incredible for him that he managed not only to get a new job in the Danish labour market, but in the Danish state itself, which was extremely difficult in 2017. His job search took longer than he expected. He had begun to fear that the talk in his social circle in Denmark was true: that it is harder for internationals to get jobs in general and impossible to get one in the Danish state, because the Danish state wants people who speak Danish. In addition, Danes

have an established network and can vouch for each other for reasons of trust and friendship. For a foreigner like Leo, getting a job in the state administration was like getting an official welcome into Danish society and being recognised as a trustworthy citizen. Although the department did not choose him and he had to start as an unpaid intern, he felt very proud and privileged in his own words and was determined to prove them wrong. This feeling stays with Leo for a long time, also during his long struggle to acquire a voice in Danish.

A noteworthy element in Leo's description of his employment is his imagined professional identity. Although it is unpaid, he perceives his new job as a gateway into a future working as a frontrunner in green energy transition and in psychological terms, his motivation for investing in the job and his positive feelings about it are very pronounced. However, at this point Leo has not considered that the opportunity to do something meaningful requires socialisation into the Danish language and culture. Nor has the organisation addressed it. Leo's imagined identity does not include the second language learning element central to the concept of imagined identities (Norton & Toohey 2011).

In this first analytical chapter, I explore international employees' first encounters with the Danish Energy Agency. Based on second language socialisation theory, I explore their ways to socially navigate the organisation's Danish language policy in the first year of their employment period through their investment in language learning, language use and performance of a professional identity. I focus on patterns of linguistic and social adaptation practices that characterise most of my primary informants' initial encounters with Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency. The international employees have to adapt to the organisation, but the organisation also has to adapt to a growing number of international employees. In this way, there is a reciprocity between the organisation as a structuring practice and the ways the international newcomers navigate within the organisation and change it from within.

4.1. A self-evident demand

Virtually all the international employees I have worked with express a clear understanding of the organisation's language policy. 32-year-old Delphine from France says: "*Sproget i Global Rådgivning er dansk, fordi Energistyrelsen er en dansk offentlig myndighed. Det vil være utænkeligt med en fransk offentlig myndighed, som taler ikke fransk.*" [The language in

Global Cooperation is Danish because the Danish Energy Agency is a Danish public authority. It would be unthinkable with a French public authority that doesn't speak French]. (Delphine, in Danish, October 2020). 29-year-old Valentina from Italy asks: "Kunne du forestille dig engelsk som sproget i italienske statsorganisationer?" [Could you imagine that the language was English in the Italian state organisations?] (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020), and likewise 25-year-old Emilio from Spain says: "I know the conditions and I think it's the same in Spain and everywhere else. It's totally my responsibility [to learn the Danish language]" (Emilio, in English, December 2020).

Intuitively, the language policy makes sense for Delphine, Valentina, and Emilio as they can easily relate it to practices in France, Italy, Spain etc. In this way they share the organisation's language beliefs (cf. Spolsky 2009). In a language-ideological perspective, the organisation's language policy can be linked to the romantic synthesis between nation and language, "one nation, one language" (Lønsmann 2014: 92). Within this mindset, Danish appears the obvious language, a matter of course and not a deliberate choice, as the state itself is the main representative of the nation. In addition, the employees express personal responsibility for fitting into this logic by learning the language. Whereas some international employees start at a point in time where the organisation's language policy and their own responsibility for learning Danish are clear from the very first day at work, others start before the language policy is officially in place. For those employees, the linguistic requirements slowly creep in.

4.2. Linguistic pathways into Global Cooperation

In this section, I will outline the employees' different experiences and common patterns regarding their start in the organisation, which takes place at different times in respectively 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, and 2021. During these years, the organisation develops an official language policy in response to growth and changes in employee composition (an increasing number of international employees), which includes requirements for non-native Danish-speaking employees to learn Danish. Based on how the employees experience the start of their employment, I will analyse how the organisation's explanation of the language policy affects the employees' view on and approach to the Danish language.

4.2.1. Priorities, language, and career prospects (2017-2018)

For Leo, it takes a long time before he decides to invest time and energy in learning Danish in comparison to his later colleagues. When he begins his new position in the winter of 2017, the organisation does not explicitly require Danish competencies of their new employees and does not inform him of the Danish language policy or about requirements for him to start learning Danish. It is not an issue at the job interview. In the first year, he socially navigates the working day by focusing on one of his country teams, where the meetings are primarily held in English. He studies the country's energy policy, familiarises himself with the organisation's plans and perspectives of cooperation, and creates good relations between the country team and the partners: "*Det er vigtigt, du viser, faglig kompetent, og det er vigtigt, at de [landeteams og partnerne] kender dig.*" [You need to show that you are *faglig* [professionally] competent and it's important that they [the country team partners] know you.] (Leo, in Danish, December 2020). From his team mates and boss, I hear that he slowly becomes the go-to person, i.e. the person everyone in the partner country knows and trusts, the one who has the overview and knows all the technical details. He tells me that he communicates with his native Danish-speaking colleagues in English and rarely encounters reluctance: "*Jeg husker ikke, det var en stor problem for nogen. Undtagen de store møder i centret, jeg tror, vi bare talte på engelsk.*" [I don't remember it being a problem for anyone. Apart from the big meetings in the department, I think we just spoke in English.] (Leo, in Danish, December 2020). At meetings and events in Danish, he quickly gets used to being present without participating, but appearing to be involved. It is clear to him that a lot of work takes place in Danish, but he does not experience any special rules associated with it. Thus, there is language practice, but it is not yet made explicit as a language policy. He receives no admonitions from the department manager and at that time there is no mentor program (it first begins in 2019). Overall, Leo does not experience that the widespread use of Danish is a hindrance to perform professionally and socially at work. As one of the first internationals employed in the organisation, he goes about his job and mainly socialises and builds up his professional identity through the use of English. The workplace as a Danish wordplace (cf. Heller 2010 on "wordforce") has not yet manifested itself in the timeline of the organisation.

4.2.2. Clarifications of language requirements (2018-2019)

During my conversations with the Director General, August, in January 2021, he explains how the Directors found it necessary to stipulate the official language policy from around 2018, as the department started recruiting more non-native Danish-speakers and English was becoming more prevalent. The Directors did not make a document that established the language policy as an official language policy by circulating it or putting it on the intranet or the like. Nor did they visit all the departments to publicise and discuss it, as they otherwise did in connection with other initiatives such as the launch of the organisation's core values. Instead, the disclosure took place through a percolation in the organisation, where the Directors informed the department managers, who informed their employees. The native Danish-speaking employee, Nord, who has been in the department since 2015, gives me an insight into the process during an interview:

Jeg mener, Direktionen meldte ud på et morgenmøde, at der skulle tales mere dansk for nogle år siden og så igen i 2020 efter første lockdown. Jeg kan ikke huske, hvem der præcist sagde det øhm, men der var en af mine udenlandske kolleger, som spurgte mig, hvad det betød, eller om det var et signal om, at han ikke længere var ønsket i organisationen.

[I think that the Directors announced that more Danish should be spoken at a morning meeting a few years ago and again in 2020, when we came back from the first lockdown. I don't remember exactly who said it umm, but there was one of my foreign colleagues who asked me what it meant or if it was a signal that the organisation no longer wanted him.]

(Nord, in Danish, February 2021).

From this point there was a burgeoning awareness of the use of Danish and English on the part of the Directors, which was reflected in the fact that they were beginning to formulate a language policy regarding which contexts either Danish or English would be employed. Thus, the organisation reacted to the changes in its work force by making Danish the official language, yet without communicating it directly to everyone in the organisation, but through an indirect flow of information. As is clear from the quote above, this also caused a certain amount of insecurity among international employees as to whether they were to become secondary in the organisation in comparison to Danish-speaking colleagues. In the next section, I will look into how this is experienced by new employees.

4.2.3. Implications of the renewed language policy (2018-2019)

Like Leo, neither Delphine nor Valentina, two women in their late twenties, are informed that they are in a Danish-speaking organisation for their job interviews in the summer 2018 and spring 2019, respectively. Neither of them speaks Danish. Delphine was born in France and has just arrived in Denmark after a few years in an energy company in Southeast Asia. The job posting is in Danish, but it says nothing about requirement for Danish skills, only for English skills. She takes the chance and sends an application in English. Valentina has been in Denmark for almost four years and knows some of the employees back from her student days in Italy, where she was born, and from her time as a PhD student at a university in Denmark. Based on their experiences she knows that an application in English will not be ruled out. Delphine and Valentina both write their job applications in English, they solve a case in English prior to their job interview, and the interviews takes place in English. The organisation's Danish language policy and requirements for Danish language skills are not mentioned, and they both have the expectation that English will be the primary language in their future workplace, which they believe is a small, independent, international office with some kind of connection to the Danish Energy Agency. Beginning in 2018, however, the organisation begins to specify and makes the language policy official for everyone in the organisation. This means that the rules for when work must be done in Danish and English respectively are tightened, and everyone in the organisation is expected to comply with the rules.

Delphine and Valentina's descriptions of the workplace upon their arrival reflect the recent changes in the language practice in the workplace. In contrast to Leo, from day one Delphine and Valentina experience that they have been employed in a department with a language policy determining when to speak Danish and English respectively. They also discover that the language policy is not up for discussion, and that the organisation expects them to learn Danish. About half a year into Delphine's employment, she talks to her boss about career paths in the state administration and learns that the organisation's language policy correlates directly with the entire governmental system. All Danish agencies, ministries, councils etc. work in Danish in internal contexts. Even the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the words of Delphine, building a career in the system requires "perfect Danish".

Leo is already working in Global Cooperation when Delphine and Valentina start and throughout the organisation's accelerating development. He sees how the department

grows from month to month as the department expands the range of new partner countries, and he is delighted by the arrival of new international colleagues. He most clearly sees the effect of the language requirements through the increase in meetings held in Danish and through a change in *Direktionsbetjeningen* [the Director services] on mission trips. The Director Services on mission trips mostly consists of making presentations and notes to the Directors, coordinating their work, and briefing them on everything from the political agenda of a given meeting to whom they are placed with for dinner in the evening. During his first year, Leo has provided the services in English, but now it has to be in Danish despite the fact that the Directors speak in English on the trips. The department manager begins to imply to international employees that they need to learn the Danish language, among those Alexandra. In response, Alexandra takes the initiative to ensure that all international employees can receive free Danish lessons at work during working hours with pay, as these are considered employee development courses. She talks to the department management and to Human Resources, and they discuss it with the Directors who approve the agreement. In this way, the organisation is placing new demands on international employees to invest in Danish as a professional skill, but the investment is mutual. Alexandra's request can be seen as an expression of a negotiation: if she is to invest in learning Danish, then the organisation must also invest in her and her colleagues' opportunities learning it.

As described in the previous section, new employees encounter a number of work activities in Danish from the very first day regardless of when they were employed. For employees who have no foundation in Danish at all, such as Emilio, Valentina, and Delphine, this is a constraint, which implies an exclusion from important parts of the work. I will briefly exemplify how Delphine and Valentina experience being excluded from participating in two work activities as new employees as a consequence of the organisation's Danish language policy. The examples illustrate how it becomes clear to Delphine and Valentina in 2018 and 2019 that language skills are a tangible currency from the start and that investing in Danish language learning is an investment in being able to work.

At a café in the autumn of 2020, Delphine tells me about her new workplace, which she will be joining in a couple of weeks as she leaves the Danish Energy Agency after three years. She says that she is excited and a little nervous about the new place, because she will have to work exclusively in Danish, but due to her years in the organisation, she feels ready for it. At this point, she speaks fluent Danish at work and with me. As her former Danish teacher in the Danish Energy Agency, I know that she has worked systematically to

learn it, but the interview context allows us to talk more directly about learning Danish in connection with the language policy. During the interview, she says that: "*Vores kolleger i styrelsen er super søde og tålmodige.*", ["Our colleagues in the agency are super nice and patient."], but that she does not understand that the organisation employs people who cannot speak Danish: "*Hvad er meningen, at vi er en del af et team, hvis vi ikke forstår, hvad der foregår i teamet?*", [What's the point of being part of a team if we don't understand what's going on in the team?]. She describes herself in meeting situations with her teams at the start: "Så sad jeg der som en ... en baby doll!", [Then I sat there like a ... a baby doll!]. She gives me an example of how the Danish language policy has deprived her of the opportunity to write a report after a mission trip at the beginning of her employment period:

Der var engang hvor, ja den første mission jeg var med, det var til øh Etiopien med en dansk kollega, og når vi kommer tilbage fra en mission, skal vi altid skrive en indberetning på den mission, og hvordan det foregår, og hvad var formål og bla bla bla. Og i princippet igen skal vi skrive den indberetning øh bliver skrevet på dansk, og så min kollega Stig sagde, ok jeg vil skrive indberetningen på dansk, men du kan give mig dine kommentarer, før jeg sender det til Johannes. Jeg sagde, men kan vi ikke skrive det på engelsk, fordi jeg kan ikke give mine kommentarer, for jeg har været i Danmark i tre måneder, så jeg kan ikke give nogen kommentarer, og jeg vil bruge Google Translate, men det giver ikke mening. Og han sagde nej, vi kan ikke skrive en indberetning på på engelsk, så jeg kunne ikke give mine kommentarer, og det var frustrerende. Jeg følte det som om, at jeg ikke var vigtig. Det var ikke vigtigt, at vi tager hensyn til min mening. Hvis hun ikke kan dansk, så skal hun ikke give sin mening. Det var ligesom, jeg ikke var en del af missionen.

[There was a time when, yes, the first mission I was on, it was to Ethiopia with a Danish colleague, and when we come back from a mission, we always have to write a report on that mission; how it goes, and what was the purpose and blah blah blah. And in principle again we have to write that report in Danish, and so my colleague, Stig, said, ok I will write the report in Danish, but you can give me your comments before I send it to Johannes. I said, but can't we write it in English because I can't give my comments because I've been in Denmark for three months so I can't give any comments and I would have to use Google Translate, but it won't make any sense. And he said no, we can't write a report in English, so I couldn't give my comments and it was frustrating. I felt like I wasn't important. It was not important to consider my opinion. If she doesn't know Danish, she shouldn't give her opinion. It was as if I was not part of the mission.]

(Delphine, in Danish, October 2020).

For Delphine, the situation made clear the consequences of the Danish language policy in not only social, but also professional terms. The difference between her and her colleagues' language skills thus determined a difference in their position, where Delphine found that her opinion did not count because she could not express it in Danish and furthermore her contribution would not be visible to management.

About a month after the interview with Delphine, all the cafes are closed in Denmark, and I bike through the city to Valentina's house. We settle into her open kitchen and start talking about her Danish lessons in the organisation. She asks me, her former Danish teacher, if she has improved since last time. I have noticed that she often asks that question, and it makes me think that it can be hard to sense whether there is any progression or not when you are at a high level. Nonetheless, she finds that she is far better keeping up than when she started in Global Cooperation in 2019 and could not speak Danish at all. She tells me about an experience in 2019 during one of her first missions that illustrates the contrast between then and now. As part of the program, the country team met with people from The Danish Embassy in a restaurant one evening to catch up and discuss strategies for the meeting the next day in a comfortable setting. It was clear to Valentina that they were having fun, connecting and making plans, but she did not understand the gist of it because it all took place in Danish: "*Jeg var ligesom en statue, og jeg synes, at det var super trist, for det var tydeligt at mine forståelse og forslag ikke var så vigtige*", [I was like a statue and I think it was super sad because it was clear that my understanding and suggestions were not that important]. (Valentina, in Danish, November 2020).

Thus, very early in the employment period Delphine and Valentina experience a lack of voice and integrity and felt excluded from being "part of the team" due to the organisation's language policy. Their professional resources are overruled by their lack of language skills and their lack of visibility to management is obviously not advancing their career prospects. In short, for those employed in the organisation after the language policy in 2018, language skills make a difference from the very beginning.

These changes also became visible to Leo during 2019, where he finally signed up for one of the courses. It was now clear that all the internal work, i.e. all the work that did not include people from the partner countries who could not speak Danish, had to be in

Danish. He also noticed that his new international colleagues began to speak Danish, and it made him think about his future opportunities in the department. In the winter of 2020, Leo reflects on these changes:

Leo: Jeg skal finde en særlig rum for mig i Global Rådgivning i fremtiden, fordi jeg har en stor problem med sprog, fordi ja, jeg snakker ikke, eller jeg taler ikke dansk

[I have to find a special space for me in Global Cooperation in the future, because I have a big problem with language because well I don't speak or I don't talk in Danish.]

Charlotte: *[Griner lidt] sidder du og siger på dansk!*

[[Laughing a little] You're saying this in Danish!]

Leo: Ja ja, men jeg tror, jeg har en problem, fordi jeg kan ikke være så faglig, som jeg var i går [på et møde], hvis jeg havde den konversation på dansk. Jeg er fuldstændig sikker på det. Det er en stor problem, fordi der sker ikke mange ting på engelsk på højniveau. Så selvfølgelig er en stor problem for mig, og jeg skal gøre noget for at være bedre, men problemet er, jeg har ikke prioriteret dansk over andre ting, fordi jeg havde den dumme tro, at jeg kunne være/gøre noget for GR [Global Rådgivning], selvom jeg snakker engelsk, og hvad jeg kan gøre for GR er mere, hvis jeg gør det faktisk på engelsk.

[Yes yes, but I think I have a problem, because I cannot be as professional as I was yesterday [at a meeting] if I had had that conversation in Danish. I am absolutely sure of it. It's a big problem, because there aren't many high-level things in English. So of course, it's a big problem for me and I have to do something to get better, but the problem is, that I have not prioritised Danish over other things, because I had the stupid belief that I could be/do something for GC [Global Cooperation], despite the fact that I spoke in English, and that I could do more, if I actually did it in English.]

(Leo, in Danish, December 2020).

High-level activities include meetings in the ministries, large events with decision makers such as ministers and their permanent secretaries, ambassadors, Directors etc. If Leo is to be recognised by the Directors, get a promotion, achieve an influence that extends beyond his partner country and develop professionally, he now acknowledges that he will need to master an advanced level of Danish, a priority that parallels Norton's concept of investment involving both language learning and imagined professional identity. This is clearly in

contrast to his first year, where his priority is to become good at what he perceives as the job itself. When he started in 2017, he wanted to show the organisation that he was worth his employment. He wanted to "do something for GC", he wanted to "give", and he believed that he could simply "do more, if I actually did it in English". Around 2018, however, he realised that the distinction was a mistake, that the absence of explicit rules and requirements for the Danish language at the start of his employment had made him blind to the fact that the language is an integral part of the work itself. Thus, the change in language policy constitutes a fundamental new condition for how to navigate as an international employee in the organisation as it now explicitly requires a double socialisation into both workplace and Danish language. This significantly increases the requirements for their investment in learning Danish to become employees with the same opportunities to influence work processes and become visible to management on the same level as their Danish-speaking colleagues.

4.2.4. Promises of Danish language learning (2020)

In 2020, a new climate law required Denmark to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 70% in 2030 compared to 1990 levels. It stated that: "Section 1. The purpose of this Act is that Denmark must reduce greenhouse gas emissions in 2030 by 70% compared to the level in 1990, and that Denmark achieves a climate-neutral society by 2050 at the latest, with the Paris Agreement's goal of limiting the global temperature increase to 1.5 degrees Celsius in mind." (The Climate Act, Act no. 965 from 26/6-2020. My translation from in Danish). As the green transition escalated, more and more international employees were being recruited in Global Cooperation due to a shortage of Danish-speaking candidates in an increasingly competitive job market. Related to this, it was now made explicit in job interviews that Global Cooperation was a Danish workplace, testing whether people could answer in Danish and were willing to learn Danish. This was the case for other international employees, which I will now describe below.

The changes mean that the situation is markedly different for Sofia and Emilio when they arrive in summer 2020 and in late autumn 2020. The organisation's practice of making language policy explicit has become more systematic, and in addition, the organisation is amid navigating a global health crisis. Sofia joins the department about a month before the second lockdown, when everyone in the organisation is ordered to work

from home. In contrast to Emilio who starts in the middle of the second lockdown, she gets to meet her colleagues in person, and she notices an extensive use of Danish at meetings, in the corridors, in the canteen and at the coffee machine in the kitchen. Both Sofia and Emilio had travelled from Spain to Denmark to start as graduate students at the same university as Valentina, and like her, they also know several of the employees in Global Cooperation. Like their predecessors, they answer a job posting written in Danish, where only the need for English skills is explicitly expressed: "[About you:] you have good communication skills both in writing and speaking, including good English skills." (Job posting from November 2020, in Danish). Like Valentina, Emilio is aware of the implicit reference to the Danish language in "good communication skills":

I don't have anything related to Danish on my CV, so even though the job position was posted in Danish I knew that some other colleagues from the university got into the Danish Energy Agency without being fluent in Danish. So, I talked to them, and they were like yes sure, apply, you don't lose anything.

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

My interview with Emilio takes place online in February 2021, when he has been in the department for about two months. Emilio had lived in a suburb of Copenhagen in one of the university's halls of residence. He describes the social environment as an "English [speaking] international community" (Emilio, in Danish, February 2021). As I also hear from several other of my informants, the university provides Danish courses, but due to time pressure and a lack of professional and social usefulness, Emilio had prioritised developing his English language skills to be able to keep up with his studies. In addition, he also considers the progression of his English language a more secure investment for the future than Danish:

I know there are Danish classes, but I have to say that I didn't have time because if you work and study, there is no time to study Danish and you always have this uncertainty of am I going to stay or not? Because I don't want to spend a lot of time if I'm going to run away.

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

With Heller and Duchêne's Bourdieu-inspired capital metaphor, which takes up the relationship between language and power by emphasising socio-economic aspects of language - *language as a commodity* - Emilio's choice is an expression of an awareness that Danish is an important capital in Denmark, but not in a global perspective (Heller 2010, Heller & Duchêne 2016).

Emilio and Sofia both send their job applications immediately after completing their engineering studies at the university in Denmark. They are young compared to the others in Global Cooperation, in their mid-twenties, but through their studies and student jobs as research and teaching assistants, they come with specialised knowledge about Denmark's development of renewable energy sources. Sofia has prioritised differently to Emilio as she has learned a little Danish during her time in Denmark as she finds the energy to follow some of the Danish courses sporadically during her education to be: "[...] better safe than sorry." (Sofia, in English, December 2020), and she displays this at the job interview:

Sofia: So, they were starting the interview in Danish, and I answered in Danish. After that, they switched to English and told me that a lot of things are in Danish in the department and they wanted to know if I was afraid of that, if I was going to be able to be in that environment and also able to keep up, I mean speed up my training in order to be able to speak it with the others.

(Sofia, in English, November 2020).

At his job interview, Emilio only knows the word *tak* [thank you] in Danish and no more than that. His job interview takes place in the organisation's head office in an empty building. He remembers that three chairs are placed in the meeting room at a distance. The chairs are meant for him, one of the three department managers at the time, Henrik, and a specialist in Emilio's field.

Charlotte: Did you talk about language during the interview?

Emilio: "Oh yes, yes, yes. That was my/the first five minutes or ten I would say. Henrik was a kind of the bad police, not the bad police, but the first thing when I came into the interview, he offered me water, tea or coffee in Danish and I started to laugh, because I knew what he was doing, and he knew that I knew. So, we started to laugh [laughs heartedly], and I answered in English. I said water please,

and he was laughing and told me Emilio, do you understand any Danish? No, do you speak any Danish? And I said no. And then he told me, ok this is a big problem and I said yeah I know and then he told me are you like/he made a joke, I will always remember, that the princess, she's Australian I think or something like that, and he was looking to [name of the specialist] and said: how long did this princess [at that time Crown Princess Mary of Denmark], how long did it take her to speak Danish? And she said it was four or five months and then they were all laughing and then he told me: ok, we are going to give you six months [big laugh].

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

As can be seen from Sofia and Emilio's descriptions of their job interviews, the organisation's language policy and requirements to learn Danish have become a fixed part of the organisation's selection process in 2020. In line with the Government's presentation (c.f. chapter 1), Emilio is informed about the organisation's offer of free Danish courses and a clear expectation that he must learn Danish from the start. Following Pájaro & Steien (2021), the job interview can be seen as gatekeeping not only in terms of professional skills but also how to fit into the organisation. With the new language policy in Global Cooperation this now includes screening applicants not for the Danish language competences, but for their willingness to invest in them after which a negotiation about investment begins. The expectations for Sofia and Emilio's investment consist of time perspective, attitude, ability, and effort in learning Danish. The organisation's mutual investment in Sofia and Emilio consists of Danish courses and patience. According to Sofia's rendition of the job interview, she meets the interviewers' expectations in an enumerative manner, reminiscent of taking an oath: "I'm not afraid of that, I understand the situation and I'm doing my best to like to speed up my Danish." (Sofia, in English, November 2020). I hear a similar line from Emilio as Henrik asks: "The question I have for you is are you willing to commit to learn Danish? And then I said yeah, I'm gonna do it and will put a lot of effort in it." (Emilio, in English, February 2021). However, Sofia tells me during the interview in November 2020 that she is "a bit afraid" that she cannot fulfil her promises.

According to Emilio, they all laugh a lot during his job interview, and the fast learning curve by the Crown Princess referred to is treated like a joke. However, a week after the job interview, he receives his employment contract, which tells him that it was not a joke. The contract is a temporary one-year contract at the very lowest salary level. If he learns Danish in a year, they will offer him a permanent contract. In addition, they tell him that he

will only be able to learn Danish so quickly if he also speaks Danish with his friends, as the Danish courses are not enough for him to reach the goal.

Despite the tough demands, Emilio wants the job and is firm in his belief that he can meet the requirements, a belief which is strengthened by the organisation's way of addressing Danish language learning as a natural thing that has been achieved by others: "six months is [laughs], but I guess they've tried it before and I'll do my best." (Emilio, in English, February 2021).

A perspective or a story I often came across during my fieldwork goes like this with slight variations: "*Mange af dem [internationale kolleger] bliver rigtigt gode, ligesom Leo for eksempel, som lige pludselig er blevet rigtigt god til dansk.*" [Many of them [non-native Danish-speaking colleagues] become really good, like for example Leo, who has become very good at Danish all of a sudden.] The quote is from an interview with the country team manager Simon. I ask him whether he finds that the Danish language policy is a challenge for non-native Danish-speaking employees, and he replies:

Tjah det er hårdt. Jeg tror, dem som kommer nu fra Sydeuropa, som skal sidde med til lange møder på dansk, falder i søvn, men ofte kan de Google Translate nogle af Power Points'ne og på den måde kan de følge lidt med. De får også et dansk crash course, og så går tingene pludselig meget, meget hurtigt for dem. På seks måneder taler de dansk, så for de fleste går det faktisk overraskende stærkt.

[Well, it's hard. I think that those who come from Southern Europe now, who have to sit in long meetings in Danish, they fall asleep, but they can often Google Translate some of the Power Points and in that way they can keep up a bit. Also, they get a Danish crash course, and then things go very, very fast for them. In six months, they speak Danish, so for most it actually goes surprisingly fast.]

(Simon, in Danish, January 2021).

For many international employees, this type of positive narrative works in combination with a certain pressure in terms of employment and the employees' social position. The positive narrative helps to create a perception of the non-native Danish-speaking employees as quick-witted and sharp. At the same time, it normalises a widespread perception of a learning process taking about six months, and Emilio and Sofia want to be among the "normal", i.e.

among the majority for whom it goes surprisingly fast: "I just want to you know like wake up one day and then understand people talking around without any problems." (Sofia, in English, November 2020). The positive narrative thus functions as duration with an expected endpoint (six months) and result ("sudden", "surprising" Danish language skills) as two central parameters, which can also be found in Sofia's wish. Despite good intentions, the narrative thus creates a distinction between those who got over the line in time and those who did not. Emilio and Sofia are therefore under a lot of pressure, which they cautiously express, but the excitement of having got the job and the many hopes for the future as fluent or even perfect Danish-speakers, exceeds it. Emilio starts almost four years after Leo, and in those four years, the workplace has changed significantly. In line with the increasing number of non-native Danish-speakers since 2017, the organisation gradually realises a need to make explicit a Danish language policy, which is implemented during 2018. This change of the organisation's affects how and when the employees realise that the Danish language is a necessary commodity, an instrument, through which the work takes place. This has an impact on their investment in language socialisation and how they navigate in the organisation. In short, Leo and Emilio belong to two different cohorts, which start under two different conditions, and this means that Emilio immediately invests in learning Danish, while Leo waits more than a year to start a Danish course.

Nonetheless, a common feature among the informants is that they all arrive at the department with idealistic enthusiasm and a strong belief in being part of engineering a green future. Whether they realise the importance of the Danish language some way into the employment process or already at the job interview, they react in the same way: with a great desire and conviction to master Danish in a very short time.

4.3. The first meeting

Emilio maintains this optimism well into his employment, despite that the Danish language requirements in practice present him with major challenges from the very first day he arrives at the department in the winter of 2020. In this section, I will analyse the welcome meeting in some detail.

In line with the organisation's standard practice for new employees, his first meeting consists of an introduction to his new colleagues in the department. The headline for the meeting is: *Velkommen til nye medarbejdere* [Welcome to new employees]. This event is

also Emilio's first meeting with Danish meeting culture in Danish. Due to the lockdown, the meeting is a mix of online and onsite and I observe it online. Emilio participates from a meeting room in the office along with four other new employees, the department manager, Johannes, and two mentors. Everyone else participates online. In the centre of the meeting room there is a large screen and a camera. The camera captures a row of tables set up in a horseshoe with the two mentors, Alice and Mia, sitting close together at the table on the right, whispering and laughing. The microphone is switched off. Emilio, who sits next to Johannes, looks fit in his blue shirt and a dark blazer. He fidgets with a white coffee cup and looks around. All this is visible for online attendees. Alice turns on the microphone and Johannes opens the meeting.

Johannes says in Danish:

"Ja, så tror jeg vi er klar! Alice kan du se, hvor mange der er på online? Ok. Jeg mener, at Henrik vil prøve at komme på. Det sagde han."

[Well, I think we're ready! Alice can you see how many people are online? Ok. I think Henrik will try to make it. That's what he said.]

Then the view of the meeting room disappears as Henrik, who is online, now appears on the screen:

"Jeg er her skam [stort smil]. Vi har lige haft møde med Sydafrika ... og jeg skulle lige have mit slips af."

[I am here [big smile]. We just had a meeting with South Africa ... and I just had to take off my tie.]

He holds a shiny, grey tie up in front of the camera, smiles and switches off his microphone whereby the picture switches back to the meeting room. Johannes smiles a little and continues in Danish as he explains that the agency continues to grow, which is the reason for the welcoming of five new employees today. He gives the floor to the first of them, but the new employee is not in the picture.

"Vi kan ikke se ham!" [We can't see him!], an online participant immediately says. A man in a white shirt appears, laughs a little and makes a waving motion to the camera and introduces himself in Danish. When he finishes, Johannes comments that he is happy to hear that the new employee is up to date on the new technology. His comment prompts a lengthy discussion, all in Danish, about the department's attitude towards advising partner countries on PTX [Power-to-X] topics. One of the online participants corrects Johannes and more people join the discussion. After about four minutes, he gives the floor to the next new employee, who introduces himself in Danish, and after that Johannes gives the floor to Emilio, also in Danish:

"Og så har vi Emilio. Vi har fået ham ind i modelleringsteamet, hvor han skal arbejde med Tyskland og øhm Indien. Han er lige blevet færdig med sin kandidatgrad på universitetet."

[And then we have Emilio. We've got him into the modelling team, where he'll be working with Germany and, um, India. He just finished his master's degree at university].

Johannes stops. Emilio looks around, stands up, smiles and says in English: "Hi, I'm Emilio [...]".

(Introductory meeting, in Danish and English, December 2020).

In this way, Emilio is thrown directly into the department's Danish-language meeting culture without knowing a word of Danish other than *tak*. At the start of the meeting, Henrik, one of the department managers, takes off his tie, signalling that he has come 'home' (from his meeting with South Africa). Accordingly, the meeting is characterised by a relaxed atmosphere with only certain formal moments, such as giving the floor, but is also loosely structured around spontaneous ideas, funny remarks, and discussions where everyone seems to contribute regardless of formal status. At least if they understand and speak Danish.

About two months later, I talk to Emilio about his first meeting in the department, which gives me an insight into his experience at the meeting:

It was really funny for me, because even the first meeting I had in the Global Cooperation was in Danish! I write to the office, they put me in a room with another eight people and I had to talk Danish and I didn't know who was any on [who was who at] that moment. And then a lot of people joined online because it was half online half live and they were also introducing me in Danish [laughing], so I was like okay this is me for the next half an hour. I didn't understand a thing. All I know is at some point Johannes looked at me and said something, so I understood that I should introduce myself and I introduced myself in English. That was it.

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

Emilio obviously does not know what is going on and feels excluded from the workplace community he is supposed to be introduced to on his very first day. The informal nature of the exchange only enhances this as it is only in the short moment when Johannes uses a formalised way of introducing Emilio by his name, that he understands what is expected of him. His description of the meeting is characterised by short, ascertaining descriptions of the

event with major substantive omissions connected to his lack of comprehension and experience of an alienating detachment. Johannes, the chair, knows with certainty about Emilio's lack of Danish skills, but despite this, it is clear from Emilio's description that he has not been informed in advance of the setting and procedures of the meeting. In short, the other meeting participants treat him as someone who is just like the others, i.e. someone who knows the meeting culture and the Danish language. From this perspective, Emilio is welcomed into a community as if he is already an equal member. This approach to Emilio is not restricted to his first day in the department but is the first meeting in a series of other meetings, emails, calls, invitations, reports, news, and information in Danish. From Emilio's perspective, however, ignoring the fact that he does not speak Danish or that he is unfamiliar with an informal Danish meeting culture, treating him as an equal is to exclude him from the community.

4.4. Specific focus on Danish language learning

Since 2019, the organisation has contracted with a language school, which has been responsible for teaching programmes for the international employees taught by teachers with a master's degree in Danish as a second language. Except during lockdown, the teachers come to the workplace every Tuesday for a fixed time interval of one and a half hours and the lessons are based on established textbook materials from Danish language schools. The teaching is divided into levels across three classes. The in-house teaching can be seen as the organisation's way of supporting employees' efforts to learn Danish and is organised so that employees more easily can combine work and language learning. As described in the methodological chapter, I was a Danish teacher in the department from spring 2019 to summer 2020. I draw from this role in my fieldwork from October 2020 to September 2021, where I do not teach, but instead observe the employees during Danish classes. In addition, I offer a fixed, weekly Sproghjælp, which is a day-long open offer. This is a supplement to the Danish language teaching without pre-defined content, but based on the individual needs of the attendees, which are typically related to specific work tasks. For the employees, the weekly Sproghjælp is therefore an opportunity to solve specific language challenges related to their work situation, which are usually not covered by the Danish teaching. Furthermore, it is an opportunity to reflect on their language learning process and in particular, their process of stepping over the threshold to speak Danish outside the classroom at work. Thus, language

courses and Sproghjælp are two places where the majority of employees, the native Danish-speaking employees, never go. In work contexts, the focus is twofold on both the work activities and the language skills that are a necessity to perform them. Danish skills thus serve more as an instrument to carry out the activity through language, rather than as an object. In the Danish courses and Sproghjælp, it is rather the other way around. The Danish courses and Sproghjælp are spaces where employees can work with the Danish language, ask questions, and discuss linguistic issues on a meta-level. For the purposes of studying second language learning in the field, I find the two spaces to be highly useful as it functions as a kind of 'meta' or transparency around the employee's process of learning Danish. In addition to observations of the employees who work with language learning in situ through tasks, the Danish courses and Sproghjælp also allow me access to their language skills, strategies, challenges, and other issues related to language. In short, I find a higher degree of transparency in relation to the learning process, which makes it easier to study. In contrast, I rarely observe employees at meetings in the department saying that they have difficulty expressing, understanding, or asking for help, and one of my key findings is that many do not try to speak Danish at all in the meetings in the first year of their employment. It is significant that their learning process is hidden to Danish-speaking employees as it is something they pursue in class, while they navigate through everyday working situations by other means than Danish. This also explains why their sudden beginning to speak Danish is experienced by others as an almost magic and inexplicable turn, because it is actually a result of a long and work-intensive off-stage process. In the following sections I will focus on the language learning process of two of my informants.

Upon starting in the department, Emilio signs up for an intensive, fast track Danish Education 3 course. It is an education reserved for people with a minimum of 12 years of schooling. He knows that it will show that he is a good employee who, in the long term, can exchange his temporary employment for permanent employment. He reads the language school's course catalogue, where the levels are indicated in CEFR, and tells me that his goal is to go from an A1 to a B1 or B2 in the first year, which means from a beginner level to an intermediate or high intermediate level (Council of Europe 2001).

One day in February 2021, about two months after his start in the department, Emilio describes his lessons to me in an online interview in English. The interview gives me an impression of the demand of attending the online Danish course while working full time and what he is learning. Twice a week, he logs in on the beginner language course from

home. He tells me that the teacher is usually already there, and he says *hej* [hi] to Emilio and *hvordan går det?* [how are you?]. Emilio reproduces the teacher's input in Danish. Emilio answers *tak, det går godt* [thanks, I'm good]. He knows the phrase from the last lesson and tries to remember the silent letters, the placement of the main stresses, and the vowel sounds: *tak, de gå got/tAk, det går gOdt/tak, de gD:ʔ gΛd.*¹⁷ He thinks it is a bit silly with the many silent letters, and he does not quite believe that the meaning of an entire sentence can be changed by the placement of the main stresses. To him it seems unbelievable that it can make the sentence unintelligible, but he has no one to share such thoughts with and no one to laugh with. A lesson lasts approximately 2.5 hours, but the program is tight and due to the online format, he does not find space to talk about such things. For example, there is no opportunity to talk around the coffee machine with some of the others from the class during the break. There are no small places where everyone cannot listen in, apart from the breakout rooms on the online platform, but they are reserved for the learning activities. He does not know the students or his teacher very well and none of the learning material addresses workplace subjects such as renewable energy, which he otherwise thinks would benefit him at work. Despite this, he tells me that he can quickly feel that the course is effective in relation to his learning process, and he goes to all the classes. In addition to the five hours a week in class, he spends approximately seven hours doing homework. Homework mostly consists of variations on what he has been introduced to in class. It helps him to integrate the many new inputs to which he is constantly introduced, and which he rarely manages to grasp during the lesson. After just a few weeks, he can introduce himself in Danish: his name, nationality, linguistic repertoire, age, place of residence, time, and reason for being in Denmark. He can also ask both open-ended, closed-ended (yes/no interrogatives) and rhetorical questions ending with *ikke?* [right?]. The questions reflect the content and contain many of the same words from the presentation and thus constitute a base, a type of main script, where the syntax changes for example from a subject – finite verb – adverb structure (*Jeg kommer selvfølgelig fra Spanien* [I come of course from Spain]) to finite verb – subject (*Hvor kommer du fra?* [Where come you from?]). In addition, pronouns are varied in relation to the semantic meaning. He quickly runs out of words, but the phrases allow him to ping pong a bit very early in the process.

¹⁷ The characters used for the vowel sounds are from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

I follow Emilio's learning process closely. We meet at Sproghjælp online every Thursday for an hour or more. My role is to support him in whatever questions and needs in relation to the Danish language he has. Based on this, I have usually given him a small task the week before which is directly related to his work in Global Cooperation. One day, for example, he has found a number of technical terms and expressions within his special field. He writes the words to me in the chat and reads them out loud with clear main stresses:

<i>Energistyrelsen</i>	[The Danish Energy Agency]
<i>At Arbejde med/som</i>	[To work with/as]
<i>Fuldmægtig</i>	[Authorised officer]
<i>IngenIØr i bæredYgtig Energiplanlægning</i>	[Engineer in sustainable energy planning]
<i>Energimodellering</i>	[Energy modelling]
<i>Fossile brÆndstoffer</i>	[Fossil fuels]
<i>Vindmølle</i>	[Windmill]
<i>Elnetværket</i>	[The power grid]

I write down the words and we correct the stresses and pronunciation afterwards:

Energistyrelsen, bæredygtig, fossile brændstoffer etc. We discuss the words, and I ask him to incorporate them into small sentences. But even Danish teachers can fall short of the right term in a specialised work context. The next Thursday, we both learn something. One of his colleagues has made it clear to him that he should not use the word *vindmølle*, but *vindturbine* [wind turbine]. A *vindturbine* makes electricity, a *vindmølle* grinds grain!

Once I ask him to write the beginning of an email as a response to one of the many emails he receives daily in Danish, but he tells me that he prefers to focus on the oral skills, which enable more direct contact with others. It is apparent that Emilio actively decides on how to navigate his investment in Danish language learning to cope with professional demands. We spend most of the time working on topics from the program in the

Danish course he is attending, which he finds difficult. The challenges are often pronunciation. He finds the aspirated klusil K exhausting to pronounce, and the G quickly turns into soft, Spanish V's and B's. We practice word order, identify sentence constructions and word classes, and later we conjugate verbs, which he thinks is the only easy thing in Danish, as he only has to concentrate on the tense and not the pronoun. I explain and instruct him exclusively in English, as a Danish metalanguage will be an insurmountable task for him at this point.

From a second language teaching perspective, Emilio's Danish course is centred on developing what Hymes defines as communicative competence. Originally, he developed the theoretical concept based on children's acquisition of social pragmatic skills in knowing:"(...) when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner." (Hymes 1972: 60). Hymes' pragmatic focus on the speaker and language as a social, context and usage-based phenomenon has gained traction in large parts of second language research and in second language teaching (Saville-Troike & Barto 2017). Emilio's learning process in the Danish course is focused on basic grammar and pronunciation, but to which he is introduced through communicative input. The vocabulary, in the shape of questions and answers, lexical chunks, i.e. fixed multi-word phrases, which can be varied in different ways by replacing words or changing tenses, input and output, is the focal point. Thus, the first and primary aim and method of the Danish course is not to give a comprehensive overview of Danish grammar, for example all the Danish nouns and their conjugations, but to provide the students with continuous insight and language competence through 'useful phrases'. Emilio's many questions at Sproghjælp indicate that he has automatized and used the phrases without necessarily understanding the grammar, but he can see that they have an effect. The phrases enable Emilio to hold short conversations in generic, and thus predictable, situations at a very early stage, such as ordering a cup of coffee, where the purpose and role distribution between customer and clerk are clear, and where the dialogue follows a certain script (Jensen 2016). In short, Emilio quickly experiences that he can do things with words (Austin 1962). He can give and receive information, get a coffee, make contact, and enjoy people's surprised faces when he starts talking. Not least, he can signal that he is on his way to becoming a Danish speaker, that he is proficient and works hard. Thus, Emilio can quickly see the benefits of the time and diligence he puts into learning Danish. One might say that he realises that his investment is paying off and paying off quickly. For him, all words and expressions are new and, in principle, exciting and useful. He

passes his first language test, receives very positive feedback from his teacher and tells me that he will try to keep up the rapid progression and reach B2 by the end of the year. Emilio's experience of rapid language learning is typical for most of my informants in the early stages of their learning process as is the fact that it mostly takes place in class but does not translate at work to the same extent.

I meet Sofia for the first time at Sproghjælp in October 2020. She has seen my joint invitation and has subscribed to the list. From then on, she shows up online every Thursday with only a few exceptions and, similar to Emilio, I follow her learning process closely. When Sofia comes to Sproghjælp we speak in Danish as she has already studied Danish at a basic level as a student at the university. She has questions about an email she is trying to write and how to get rid of her inversion errors. She knows the rules of inversion, but still, she makes the mistakes. Sometimes she just wants to speak Danish, 'freestyle', which is the most difficult discipline according to her as it is not scripted to the same extent. She only speaks Danish to me at Sproghjælp, but during our interviews, she prefers English to be able to express herself more accurately. For her, many words and expressions related to her work are completely new, but at the same time, she has a lexical and grammatical foundation to build on. Unlike Emilio, she does not have to learn the rules of inversion, because she already knows them from previous Danish courses. Rather, she must 'unlearn'. Furthermore, she is familiar with learning Danish, and for her it is a highly social process. She tells me that she and her colleagues on the course help each other circulate emails from the teacher with video links and homework, of which there are many due to the online format. They also share helpful summaries of phrases and other things they come across. Sofia laughs with her colleagues, exchanges experience, and compares her level of Danish with theirs. In addition to the Danish courses and Sproghjælp, she has created her own study group with some of her international friends. They meet physically once a week. The group is Sofia's 'lockdown bubble', i.e. the group she limits the risk of infecting. 'Bubbles' are part of everyday life in Denmark at this point, but not everyone in Global Cooperation has one like Sofia.

In the autumn of 2020, I am doing an online interview with Sofia about the early stages of her learning Danish, and we are talking about her Danish group:

Charlotte: Tell me about your Danish group!

Sofia: I'm very motivated to learn and we started in the beginning of lockdown because of course all the gathers were shut down and then we were like okay we will make a big effort here and I don't know when they are going to give us the opportunity to go again to class.

(Sofia, in English, November 2020).

In contrast to Emilio, Sofia's learning process with Danish is intimately linked to her social life and lockdown further reinforces this connection. When the group meets, they have organised beforehand what they are going to work on, and they have prepared for it individually. Sofia gives me an example of a collaborative activity such as taking turns to find a text where they remove some of the words and find alternatives:

So, we go through the text like we will read one sentence each out loud and then we try to decide okay here in this space it should be an adverb, a verb or something like that and then at the end we discuss okay should we use this option or the other option and we write it and then we correct it. And with the writing, I think it is actually super nice to write about something interesting or some news.

(Sofia, in English, November 2020).

As the quote indicates, Sofia has acquired a level of Danish, which enables a certain degree of what Nunan and others would describe as *learner autonomy* and *agency* in managing her own learning process (Nunan 1997; Toohey & Norton 2003). Together with her friends, she can design learning tasks herself. The task mentioned at the beginning of the quote sounds similar to the "fill in the blanks" assignments from her Danish courses. In this case, however, she chooses the form and content, and she and her friends assess and evaluate the options themselves. In her own words, it is "super nice" for her and the group to write about something they choose and find interesting. It stimulates the learning process: "So we actually feel that we have learned a lot, because we actually decide what we want to do from week to week and like to go a bit deeper." (Sofia, in English, November 2020). It requires several linguistic skills such as a solid knowledge of the components and structure of the Danish language as well as experience with learning methods in order to design tasks like these. She has the foundation and the tools to access, open, and work with what she finds difficult. In several cases, she can make an educated guess about the meaning of something

that at first seems incomprehensible, because she has a basis for comparison. The example of inversion tells us that she is not a beginner as she has automatised them and, furthermore, is able to identify her own types of mistakes. If we look at her communicative competences, she has learned to participate in the generic, 'everyday situations', i.e. frequently occurring situations such as shopping, introducing herself, asking others how they are doing. She can also talk about whether she likes something or not. She can describe situations and make a summary of texts both orally and in writing. In addition, she has strong receptive skills. She can read books in Danish with a low LIX, watch Danish films with Danish subtitles and she can understand much of what is said at the meetings. Not least, our Sproghjælp meetings show that she has learned to learn Danish in Danish. She knows the register, the vocabulary, and instruction and evaluation phrases in Danish. She knows how to ask and what to ask about in Danish.

In summary, Sofia sets a course for her language learning process. She sees the opportunities of making a 'bubble' during lockdown that connects the learning process with her social life and enhances her autonomy as she intentionally uses work activities as language learning activities. Her descriptions of the Danish course and the study group as well as my observations of her both at Sproghjælp and of her Danish course certificates indicate that she is able to perform in several contexts. In comparison to Emilio, she apparently has stronger acquired linguistic skills for carrying out parts of her work in Danish, such as making small talk at meetings, asking questions, and commenting. However, she rarely does so. As we shall see in the next section, Sofia's way of navigating her workspace and context is driven by a desire to fit in as an employee, not as a language learner. To fit in requires an ongoing assessment of whether her use of Danish is an advantage or a disadvantage in the situation.

In short, Emilio and Sofia navigate their investment in Danish language learning processes very differently with Emilio working alone whereas Sofia's way is social, and peer supported. As we shall soon see, they also navigate their language use at work in different ways.

4.5. Different ways to fit in

When the employees begin to learn Danish, a main reason given by my informants is because they want to adapt to the organisation's language policy. Their Danish language learning

process is thus a demanding investment, but is considered central to their ability to navigate within the organisation. This process, however, is mostly invisible to others, i.e. Danish-speaking colleagues. This leaves open the question how they, while they are in the process of learning Danish, deal with and navigate through frequent work activities such as meetings and emails.

In an interview in the winter of 2021, Emilio tells me: "I try to give as less problems as I can and then just help with a little, so only be a plus. If it's a small plus it's always good. Well, that's my approach" (Emilio, in English, February 2021). Emilio's approach to being "only a plus", not to cause too much trouble, is to limit his needs for help from his colleagues to the primarily professional topics that deal with his role in the partner countries. He tells me that he mainly keeps to himself problems concerning organisational issues, including questions about when it is appropriate to ask questions, and language issues. After clicking into his Outlook and video platforms in the morning, he opens Google Translate and then he is ready to work. The translation programme is an indispensable part of the work, though it is not enough for everything. According to Emilio, most of his work consists of meetings and emails in Danish. He attends his meetings and tries to find meaning in the speech flows, just as he tries to keep up with the continuous flow of information from the intranet and shared emails. When a meeting is over, he can begin to find out what was said by translating the minutes. He reads the translation, wonders if it is correct, whether the abbreviations are some of the countless acronyms in the organisation's language or standardised abbreviations in the Danish language and what they cover. He checks again in a Spanish version and switches back to English. It all takes up a lot of his time, and sometimes he must work on one meeting while he is in another. Occasionally, it all becomes too much for him, and then he entrenches himself by reading reports in English, while a series of meetings in Danish run at a low volume in the background. He quickly learns to prioritise, to distinguish between essential and unessential, and to accept the fact that he might be wrong.

When I observe him at the big meetings, which take place in Danish, he usually smiles a lot, laughs at other people's comments, even if his microphone is off. Although he rarely says anything when the meetings are in Danish, he manages to convey energy and enthusiasm through the screen. On the Danish course, Emilio is constantly progressing, and it goes so fast that the other students in his class, his teacher and even I find it difficult to keep up with his progress. From my observations of him at the meetings, however, it is clear that he is a beginner, at least in a place like The Danish Energy Agency where fast paced and

highly advanced native Danish-speakers struggle to get the floor. It is also clear what he has learned so far in class does not always apply at work. Especially during lockdown, he seldom has to introduce himself and while the canteen is closed there is no opportunity to show and practice his language skills by ordering at the counter. However, I observe that he is quick to grasp any opportunity to use what he has learned. For example, he insists on introducing himself in Danish at an introductory meeting about economics about a month after his start. It is a small introductory meeting between the department's employees only and with approximately eleven participants each introducing themselves. When it is Emilio's turn to present himself, he says in Danish: "Så jeg kan ikke tale dansk nu, jeg kun har lært dansk for en kort tid, men jeg kan prøve det.", [So, I can't speak Danish yet, I've only learned Danish for a short time, but I can try]. The chair, who is also the assistant manager in the department, Christian, clears his throat and offers him to do it in English, but Emilio repeats that he wants to try and starts introducing himself in Danish. By being observant and exuberant, he makes the most of what he has learned. After a short time, no one in the department, including the department management, doubts what he can do and that he takes the requirement for Danish skills very seriously. For Emilio, second language learning thus enables him both agency to include himself in the Danish-speaking community and a demonstration of him doing what he has been told to do. It is a tangible visibility of the progression of what I refer to as an adaptive approach to second language socialisation.

4.5.1. To fit in by remaining silent

Like Emilio, Sofia's way of navigating the Danish language policy is to put in double the work for the cause and try to fit in. In addition to her Danish course, she does a lot of homework, participates in meetings with her language learning group and attends Sproghjælp. At work, she systematically takes notes for the meetings and goes through the minutes of the meetings. Sometimes she also records meetings, which she listens to at home, as she takes notes on new words and expressions along with the results of the meetings. I get an insight into her procedure of turning work activities into learning activities at Sproghjælp, where she sometimes reads her notes to me. On the one hand, the purpose of the notes is to understand and remember what was said, on the other hand it is to learn new words and expressions that she herself can make use of at some point. She tells me that it is hard work both to get to know the intricate work activities and to learn Danish at the same time and that

she does not have time for anything else. She has heard that one of the advantages of working in the public sector in Denmark is that people have time to do other things in life than work. She would like to play the piano more, but that will have to wait until she has finished learning Danish. When she talks about things at work that are difficult, she often adds "but that's my problem", "that's the way it is" and "I won't complain":

It's frustrating in a way that you want to understand everything, and you can't and also, I will not complain because I know that it has to be in Danish right, so it's like you accept that condition before.

(Sofia, in English, November 2020).

Being able "to understand everything" is a recurring point during our conversations. In contrast to Emilio, Sofia tells me that she can follow much of what is said at the meetings, but she does not often seize the opportunity to speak Danish. During an online interview, we map what Sofia sees as typical communicative genres for meetings in the Colombia team in which she has a major role. She tells me that the meetings start with small talk in Danish in which she does not participate:

Charlotte: What is the small talk about?

Sofia: Like how they are doing and how is like their room, what they did yesterday, small talk regarding like their routines and that kind of stuff and oh have you seen this news and something like that.

(Sofia, in English, December 2020).

From Sofia's description, the typical topics of small talk at the meetings do not seem to differ significantly from topics that she and I talk about, or from what I have observed she talks about with her non-native Danish-speaking colleagues on a few occasions at Sproghjælp, but she does not participate in the small talk at the meetings. I do not perceive her reluctance to speak Danish as an expression of a lack of incentive or as, for example, a reluctance to speak Danish to strengthen group affiliation with other non-native speakers as has otherwise been reported in studies such as the Portuguese-speaking line workers in Canada in Goldstein's

study (Goldstein 1997). Rather, there is so much at stake for her at work that she considers her performance in Danish to have such an importance that it prevents her from speaking. She has plenty of opportunities to train, use and show what she can do at work, at least in principle, but she tells me: "At work, it's not the best situation to try there." (Sofia, in English, December 2020). She tells me about a situation at a department meeting where she would like to contribute to a discussion, but refrains from doing so:

But I wasn't sure if it was exactly what they talked about first of all. I was like, ok maybe you know when you're not really sure that you got this correctly, but I mean who am I to say something because maybe it's not what they said. You are not one hundred percent like sure about it and I didn't want to like risk to say it in front of like fifty people.

(Sofia, in English, December 2020).

Sofia's description of the situation is telling for her view of herself as a Danish speaker. It incidentally mirrors Delphine's imagined voicing of the organisation's view of her (c.f. "If she [Delphine] doesn't know Danish, she shouldn't give her opinion.") as presented in section 4.2.3., but reversed. Delphine reacts to what she sees as others' ascriptions of her position, whereas Sofia ascribes to herself a position as one who is simply not entitled to a voice because she does not understand everything; "who am I to say something". She prefers to remain silent rather than risk joining the discussion on the wrong basis, especially when there are many present, but she is also concerned about taking a speech turn from others. The scarcity of time and the competition to get the floor are constant factors in the workplace for everyone. For Sofia, time presents a particular barrier because she sometimes needs more time. One day in January 2021 at Sproghjælp, she tells me that she had a meeting with the Director General, August, together with her country team the day before. Due to her position as the only non-native Danish speaker in the team, she told her colleagues before the meeting that she would refrain from speaking, because she did not want to be responsible for slowing down the pace in such an important matter where time is short. She was a little sad about it. She knew she was missing a great opportunity to finally talk to August and to present her own work, but the meeting was so important that she did not want to waste time searching for words, repeating sentences due to poor pronunciation, blacking out from nervousness or other "*virkelig dårlig scenarier*", [really bad scenarios] as she calls them. According to Sofia, the

team immediately understood and accepted her decision without further explanation. One of the colleagues told her afterwards that she thought Sofia would be able to present her results herself the next time, and Sofia hopes that it is true.

Many second language learners experience a large discrepancy between their language skills in class and outside of class. Eskildsen and Wagner write that many learners need help to take the step to use Danish in everyday life (Eskildsen & Wagner 2015), i.e. that it can be difficult to cross the border between a safe classroom and "in the wild", which they call naturally occurring linguistic interactions in everyday life using a term from Hutchins (Hutchins 1995). In a previous study, I have focused on the connection between second language learning and pedagogy in the classroom and learners' everyday lives outside. Like Eskildsen and Wagner, I identify resources or affordances, i.e. opportunities for learning and use "in the wild" (Jensen 2016, 2018). However, constraints in relation to learning and using the target language are less unfolded in these previous studies. I suggest that Sofia's reluctance to use Danish at work and her reasons for doing so emphasises the range of linguistic and social factors associated with the challenges of stepping over the threshold. First and foremost, the linguistic hierarchy and asymmetry between employees caused by the organisation's language policy does not really encourage international employees to socialise themselves through language use as to avoid exposing themselves as lacking in language skills while keeping up an appearance of a professional identity. During her job interview, she had already accepted her place as a not-yet-full member, but as someone who is in the process of becoming one by accepting the need for her to learn Danish as defined by the organisation. To Sofia, this position "*betwixt and between*"¹⁸ implies that she constantly evaluates herself as a Danish-speaker in relation to both her Danish and non-Danish-speaking colleagues. As described, she often chooses to remain silent as part of a navigational course towards fitting in, as we hear about in the team meeting with the Director General. Sofia simply assesses that she can "give" more to the team by not speaking Danish. The situation illustrates another obvious factor, namely that the focus and goals in work situations are far from Danish language learning and in addition the stakes are higher in a work situation than they are in the classroom or in scripted everyday situations outside work. The combination of scarcity of time, struggles to get the floor, a fast-speaking pace and a majority who speak

¹⁸ The metaphor is part of the title of Victor Turner's essay (1964) on rites de passage among the Ndembu people of Zambia, focusing on what he terms the liminal period. Despite common features in relation to social positions - being in between - across society, age, gender and rites, I do not mention his studies further in this thesis.

"perfect Danish" creates difficult conditions for 'entering the Danish-speaking market'. Despite that Sofia is learning Danish in order to be able to work in Danish, the workplace is not, in Sofia's words, "the best situation to try".

Sofia's way of navigating socially differs from Emilio's, which both relate to their levels of Danish proficiency and their personalities. Even though his skills are limited to mainly small talk and an introduction of himself, Emilio does not refrain from performing his language skills whenever he has the opportunity. Thereby, he does not "take" much time from his colleagues (his introduction is limited to about a minute and a half) when he speaks Danish. Furthermore, small talk and self-introductions are two linguistic genres that typically occur when time to socialise is scheduled. The risk of burdening his colleagues and putting his professional skills at risk is therefore not as high as if he had presented professional results and participated in discussions. Simply put, Emilio's speech turn can be considered a 'free ride' in comparison to Sofia's.

4.5.2. To fit in by speaking

So far, I have highlighted situations where Sofia has chosen to remain silent when faced with the choice between silence or speaking Danish due to insecurity and consideration for her colleagues. This is her way to fit in, which dominates her overall social navigation pattern at work at the start of her employment. During her first year in the department, however, I also observe a few situations where she chooses to speak Danish.

One day in June 2021, I remind Sofia that she has told me that she does not speak Danish at work, but that over the past nine months I have heard her speak Danish a few times. It happens at a department meeting and at a social event in a park, where the department celebrates a burgeoning *genåbning* [reopening], i.e. easing of restrictions due to a drop in corona infection. According to Sofia, there are situations right from the start where she chooses to speak Danish instead of remaining silent. She also refers to another situation at the office day, the previously mentioned Diversity day, which takes place shortly after her start in August 2020. One of the department managers, Henrik, told her in advance that the whole day would be in Danish and Sofia replied: "Yes and I will try to understand and that's it." On the day, Sofia had a hard time keeping up with the external presenters: "The first group spoke super fast, so it was really difficult to follow what was happening." After the

presentation, one of the presenters asked Sofia a question in Danish "about something" in the plenary session and she chose to answer in Danish:

Sofia: What should I do? Everyone was talking in Danish, and we had to give an answer

Charlotte: Was it the first time you said something in Danish in front of everyone?

Sofia: Yes, I would say yes, it was the first time that I was really speaking up loud in a big event where everyone speaks this perfect Danish and I'm not. But it would have been more awkward to say it in English than in Danish.

(Sofia, in English and Danish, June 2021).

Sofia's description indicates that she felt a pressure to choose Danish to the extent that she did not feel that she had a choice: "What should I do?". More precisely, she faced a dilemma where neither Danish nor English language choice felt right, but she found it more awkward to switch to English, when everyone else spoke in Danish. Thus, Sofia's choice was based on her assessment of and wish to avoid what was most awkward, most wrong.

Sofia's ways of "muddling through" to adapt to the norm are reminiscent of Emilio's "only be a plus"-approach consisting in him steering clear of potentially awkward situations by smiling, nodding and remaining silent. For Sofia in particular, the choice to adapt to the workplace community is tantamount to a write-off of her Danish voice. Sofia and Emilio's practices are reminiscent of Sanden and Lønsmann's analyses of *avoidance practices* (Sanden & Lønsmann 2018). The term functions as a super category for various practices that correspond to Sofia's and Emilio's attempt to avoid speaking Danish without causing a stir. A special condition applies in part of my fieldwork as the online format increases the opportunities for avoidance because the meeting participants are simply easier to overlook. Sanden and Lønsmann's analyses also highlight a deliberateness, an agentic intentionality to the avoidance practice. Likewise, Emilio's and Sofia's silence and pretending are not something they are simply forced to do, but deliberate actions shaped and unfolded as ways of navigating within the guidelines of the organisational language policy; it is their choice within the constraints laid out by the official language policy. In short, the interpreted position as an inanimate "baby doll" or a "statue", a *non-person* in Goffman's view (Goffman 1959: 96), and the experienced invisibility that follows can be said to be carried out both by

the pressure from the organisational structures to speak Danish and otherwise fit in and by the ways that the new employees chose to navigate these conditions to fit in the best.

4.5.3. To fit in by rejecting English

The Danish language choice for the Diversity day follows the organisation's language policy. According to Sofia, the language choice is usually not up for negotiation: "At the big meetings in DEA [the Danish Energy Agency] I was not even asked if I wanted it in English or Danish. They will just go forward with Danish." However, Sofia also mentions a few exceptions to this practice: "So at some of the meetings in the very beginning they were asking me like is it ok that we are doing it in English, or we do it in Danish and I can't say yeah English because I feel bad" (Sofia, in English, June 2021). She recalls one of the many introductory meetings during her onboarding, which was a small meeting about the department's matrix structure for new employees in Global Cooperation:

Charlotte: Ok, you were around six people/

Sofia: yes

Charlotte: and they asked/

Sofia: and I was the only non-Danish speaker

Charlotte: Ok, and they asked you would you like to do it in English or Danish/

Sofia: I said no no it's in Danish, it's ok, because I felt bad if they should change it just because of me. So I took it on me, let's say, and go for Danish all the time [to all the meetings]. I think once one of my colleagues asked me again should we do it in English instead of in Danish, but of course they were asking that in Danish, so it was obviously not for them. It was for me.

(Sofia, in English and in Danish, June 2021).

Similar to the example from the Diversity day, she observes what the majority is doing and tries to fit in by speaking Danish and thus she turns down an opportunity to participate in the meeting in a way where she would feel more confident and safe.

Typically, Sofia is offered an English language choice at meetings with only a few participants as was also the case when Emilio was offered to introduce himself in English. This aligns with my observations of meeting interactions with both many and few participants, where I see that meetings with few participants set the stage for dialogue by virtue of the chair's facilitation. The chair's opportunities to see and sense everyone are better and the expectations for employee participation, i.e. asking questions, discussing, small talk etc., are higher than for large meetings. The low number of participants makes it more difficult for Sofia and others to "muddling through", avoid interaction and blend in although the meetings take place online. Conversely, it is also more difficult for the chair and the other meeting participants to avoid noticing that there is a colleague among them who is silent and even harder not to perceive that it is a non-native Danish-speaking colleague when she or he is required to speak up. Sofia describes the 'breaking point', where she feels compelled to speak and the other participants discover that she is a non-native Danish-speaker:

And then they were oh ok, is it ok? Are you following or not? And I was like, I'm trying to, but I'm not saying that much because of that. Then sometimes they were like, well ok let's do it in English. I mean it was always like in that way. They were not like refusing to do it. It was ok. It was more the transition to get there.

(Sofia, in English, June 2021).

Sofia does not elaborate on what "the transition to get there" includes, but from our conversations it is clear that the negotiation makes her feel embarrassed about being singled out and made the centre of a decision-making about whether to change the language. The negotiation exposes that she does not fit in as an individual because she lacks language skills. At the same time, if she accepts the offer of English language choice, she causes all the meeting participants to be disobedient to the organisation as they act against the Director's language policy.

4.6. Civil disobedience through creativity

Emilio has rarely been directly involved in language choice negotiations because others, for example his boss Eva, make the choice for him. He tells me that he is both happy and feels a little bad, when it happens that his colleagues switch to English:

Emilio: My manager Eva she is super aware that I don't speak Danish, so I have been in situations where I have entered the open door, which means that I don't know if you know this thing, but it's a room where we just go if we want to talk and sometimes I enter and there is five people speaking Danish, and from the very first moment I enter, Eva says, ok let's switch to English because Emilio is here and he speaks in English. So, in that sense I'm really happy for it, but I feel a little bad sometimes, especially when it's a social event, if it's not work related and it is to have wine and get relaxed ehm, I feel bad.

Charlotte: Why?

Emilio: I don't know. Because I am the only one that don't understand Danish. Then it's like ok if I'm the only person that makes them change their language to English ... I'm glad they do it, you know, I'm just internally ok sorry guys, I'm sorry for you.

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

In slightly different ways, Emilio and Sofia both navigate language choices by trying not to be a burden, a minus or a social disturbance to their Danish-speaking colleagues. On the other hand, the management can also actively co-opt to easing out potential embarrassments for Emilio. Eva does not drag Emilio into a negotiation but makes the choice for him and the rest of the participants. She justifies the choice with: "he speaks in English" rather than focusing on what he does not speak.

Eva's regularly scheduled open door meetings online, which Emilio describes above, are reserved for her own employees, direct reports. By virtue of her authority as both chair at meetings and department manager, she sets the direction and thus takes responsibility for the choice of English at a meeting which, in principle, must be held in Danish. Eva's choice implies what Eva herself describes to me as "civil disobedience" in relation to the Directors' language policy during one of our one-to-one meetings in March 2021. This means that she, as a department manager and as an extension of the Directors, cannot switch to

English for all types of meetings, even if someone with limited Danish skills attends. For example, I observe that she does not switch to English when Directors or people from HR participate. At meetings where other department managers are present, she tries out alternative paths. During lockdown, for example, she utilises the high frequency of power points for online meetings by writing hers in plain English and presenting them in Danish. We talk about these alternatives during an online interview in April 2021 and she tells me, that she knows that several of the employees have a hard time keeping up when the meetings are in Danish, and that she tries to make it a little easier for them that way. Furthermore, it does not contradict the Directors' language policy as their guidelines are that people must speak Danish at the meetings: "[Grinende] *Jeg synes faktisk selv, det er ret kreativt.*", "[Laughing] I actually think it's quite creative." (Eva, in Danish, April 2021). The creativity lies in Eva's choice to take literally the Directors' statement that people should speak Danish, leaving a blank space for the writing, which she utilises by using English in her slides, sending meeting agendas in English, etc. In short, Eva sees an opportunity to create a space in between and to exercise a different language policy.

Eva is not the only one in the department with a leadership role who is "civilly disobedient" and "creative". One day in January 2021, I talk to Leo, Emilio, and Sofia's Germany team leader, Simon online. I ask him what the language is in his team meetings: "Uh, it's very different. It all depends on who you're talking to. So, August [name of the Director General] has said that we must have all internal meetings in Danish." He pauses for a second and adds: "It's a little difficult when there are no Danes, so there is no one who knows enough Danish to/or it's a little difficult to maintain it. Now we have the excuse that we have Monica [name of the team's "boots on the ground" from Germany] in our team meetings who is an English-speaking person who we sneak in [giggles]." (Simon, in Danish, January 2021). Simon knows that as a designated, responsible team leader, he should have his team meetings in Danish. With the composition of employees in this team, it is both difficult to produce and understand Danish language, and since the work primarily consists of language, communication around strategies, coordination, etc., it is, in short, difficult to get the work done. As a leader, Simon navigates within conflicting areas of responsibility. He must choose whether he wants to maintain the organisation's language policy, i.e. practice the organisation's identity as a Danish state administration, or to include all his team members and create results.

Sofia tells me one day in December 2020 that she is happy that some activities which should be in Danish are actually carried out in English. She actively tries to maintain that "pattern" as she calls it. When she receives emails in English, she usually replies in English, although she can answer some of them in Danish because: "I'll not be the one starting the Danish. I don't want to destroy that [pattern], I'm very happy about that pattern actually." She adds that it happens that she tries to answer Danish emails in Danish: "Sometimes it's nice to do that and good training for me." She mentions the Germany team in connection with work activities where English is a pattern: "Simon for example that's my team leader in Germany, he's Norwegian and he speaks perfect Danish, but he's always sending us everything in English." (Sofia, in English, December 2020). In contrast to the introductory meetings, where she feels uncomfortable when the choice of language is negotiated in situ with her as an involuntary catalyst, there is no negotiation in the Germany team, because English is a fixed pattern, a common practice.

As can be seen from my conversations with Eva and Simon, challenges with participating in Danish are not just an individual problem for international employees, but also a challenge from a leadership perspective. The work in the department and in the entire organisation is based on teamwork and "*holdånd*", ["team spirit"], c.f. one of the organisation's core values. The structure is tightly woven professionally and socially. As country team leader, Simon also finds a discrepancy between the performance of the work activities and the Danish language policy, and he can be said to choose the work by choosing English, a pragmatic position, which aims for getting the job done rather than maintaining linguistic codes of national representation. In line with Sofia, this requires an ability on his part to "smuggle through" civil disobedience and creative inventions of which the English-speaking advisor in Germany is an example. Similar to Eva's ways of navigating the organisation's language policy, Simon turns down a position as a Danish language gatekeeper and instead practices a local language policy through creative loopholes much to Sofia's gratification.

4.7. Being close

So far, I have discussed how non-native Danish-speaking employees in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency try to navigate the organisation's Danish language policy during the first year of their employment, as do their managers. My overall argument is that

the vast majority of the international employees are excited about the new job and have an adaptive approach to becoming members of the workplace community. This includes going to Danish courses, performing work activities in Danish and making an effort not to differ from the group. Many experience dilemmas linked to the organisation's language policy, which relate to challenges in keeping up and being excluded from carrying out a number of tasks, but the language policy is generally accepted. The acceptance is driven by compatible language beliefs that the start is hard, but an investment in the long run, and that Danish is the key to desired communities in the workplace, to solve challenging tasks and naturally also an investment in career opportunities within the organisation. Positive and collective narratives about learning Danish fast as well as subjective experiences with a speedy learning progression help to stimulate and maintain enthusiasm. Furthermore, the many exceptions to the official Danish language policy by means of local and situation-dependent language choices means that many of the employees can express themselves professionally and socially at work on several but context-dependent occasions. My discussion of the local, English language choice (and thus a policy according to Spolsky 2019), described in the previous section, is based on the relationship between employees and managers. In this section, I will look at the relationship between employees with a particular focus on how employees navigate by mutually helping each other to get through the working day, also known as *peer language socialization* (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2012).

When I started my fieldwork in the department and observed the high frequency of work activities in Danish, I became highly involved in how employees such as Sofia and Leo manage to get through the workday at all. As already shown, Danish courses, translation programmes, linguistic awareness, and immersion in work activities in Danish (e.g. recording meetings, listening through them, taking notes, and looking up words) in combination with a local English language policy are key components. In addition, I often came across the word *tæt* [close] among employees, which refers to the social relationships between non-native Danish-speakers and how they help each other. Based on the employees' use of the word, I will describe the connection between collegial relationships and social navigation of the Danish language. I will start with a quote from Valentina from an online interview in the fall 2020, about two years after her start in the department:

Charlotte: *Hvad gjorde du i starten? Altså hvordan kom du igennem dagen?*

[What did you do in the beginning? How did you manage to get through the day?]

Valentina: *Jeg synes, at der er forskellige grupper i Energistyrelsen, og de største er danskere og udlændinge. Så de udlændinge hjælper hinanden med at informere sig med informationer, og det er normalt, at de bliver tættere. They get closer. Hvis jeg ikke forstå noget på mødet, så vil jeg sige Laurent kan du forklare mig, hvad vi har sagt, for jeg har hørt, at det var meget vigtigt, men jeg kunne ikke forstå, hvis jeg skal lære det, eller jeg behøver ikke at lære det, og ja, de internationale kolleger er en forskel.*

[I think there are different groups in the Danish Energy Agency, and the largest are Danes and foreigners. The foreigners help each other with information and it's normal that they become closer. They get closer. If I don't understand something in the meeting, I'll just say Laurent can you explain to me what was said, because I heard it was very important, but I don't understand if I should deal with it or if I don't have to deal with it, and yes, the international colleagues make a difference.]

(Valentina, in Danish, October 2020).¹⁹

Valentina tells me that she does not know what she would have done as a new employee in the department with no Danish skills and no colleagues like Laurent to help her. To begin with, she needs help with "*øhm ... så alt*", ["um... well everything"], she says, but later in her employment as she learns Danish, she is more able to specify what she needs. The example above with Laurent can help illustrate this. In this case, it is not everything, but "something in the meeting" she does not understand, and she understands that it is something "very important". Thus, she can understand what she does not understand, but she needs Laurent's linguistic and, I would add, his cultural explanation or translation. A pure linguistic translation of what specifically is being said in the meeting will not necessarily help her assess whether she "should deal with it or if [I] don't have to deal with it". To sort out what is "very important" from what she does not need to deal with, she needs Laurent's knowledge and work experience. Selecting what is important means she is taking care of herself, her time, and her energy. I see her request for Laurent's help and the outcome of it, whatever it turns out to be, as an example of socially navigating the Danish language and work culture. In

¹⁹ The use of the terms *foreigners* and *internationals* are both widespread in the department. In a Danish context, the legal term, *foreigners*, functions as a super category for people who are not Danish citizens, while *internationals* often connote a group of highly educated, English-speaking individuals in a job that matches the level of education. In the encounters with Danish authorities such as The Ministry of Immigration and Integration (directly translated: *The Ministry of Foreigners and Integration*) and the municipality, Valentina, Leo and Emilio are introduced to themselves as foreigners.

short, Valentina gets help to find her way through her social contacts, i.e. those she is "close" to.

For one of my online workshops for international employees in Global Cooperation in April 2021, Leo and Emilio have the opportunity to exchange knowledge and experiences of being newcomers in the department. In this connection, Leo passes on information to Emilio in relation to his own start in the department:

Of course you make a sort of little mafia in the sense that of course when you have breakfast meeting you always try to get closer to the non-Danish people because of course it's a help.

(Leo, in English, April 2021).

According to Valentina and Leo, to get or become "closer" stems from helping each other with the Danish language and being "non-Danish people", as the quote by Leo suggests. They both use the comparative form of the Danish adjective *tæt* [close], *tættere* [closer] in the interviews, which draws a distinction between "foreigners" or "non-Danish people" and implicitly Danes. Leo also uses *tæt* in the context of categorical distinctions between employees in the workplace. The following vignette shows a conversation between Leo and his new colleague, Luca.

One day in the office in June 2021, Luca comes to Leo's desk with a piece of paper in his hand and looks searchingly at Leo. Leo looks up and they make eye contact. My desk is right next to Leo's, and I hear Luca, who has just started Danish on a beginner's course, ask Leo in English: "Do you have a moment?". Leo immediately takes off his headphones and stands up. Luca speaks Italian like Leo, but they converse softly in English. Luca has troubles understanding something. He points to the paper and Leo reads it, reflects for a moment as he utters "um um" in his slightly nasal voice and then takes his time to explain to Luca what he thinks it is about. Afterwards they laugh out loud together. Luca leaves, chuckling, and I ask Leo why they were laughing. He replies in Danish that Luca has been to a meeting, which took place in Danish. One of Luca's "Danish colleagues" told him before the meeting: "*du behøver ikke forstå det hele*" [you don't need to understand everything]. It was meant as a help, a guideline, but for Luca it did not make sense, as he does not understand anything at all. I respond that I agree it requires Danish skills to be able to understand what you don't need to understand. Leo shakes his head and says to me: "*Det vil de aldrig kunne se.*" [They'll never be able to see that].

(A day at the office, June 2021).

The interaction between Leo and Luca illustrates how employees seek and provide help with the Danish language in the office, thus functioning as language mentors for each other (c.f. Duff), while also showing that Leo and Luca share a common understanding. When I hear Leo says: "They will never be able to see that" it typically happens in situations as the one above where native Danish-speaking colleagues want to help by lightening the linguistic workload, but cannot comprehend what it is like to not understand Danish at all. Leo's statement expresses a sense of hopelessness or resignation to the many blind spots, where even the help is not a help. He understands and appreciates the good intentions in "you don't need to understand everything" and the phrase: "*Du kan bare sige til!*" ["Just speak up!/Please, let me know!"], implied "if there is something you don't understand"], which he often hears, but it does not bring him "closer" to an understanding of whatever is said in Danish, which he can "just speak up" about. On the contrary, it reassures him of the distance between him and the Danish colleagues despite their best intentions. For Leo, "being closer" thus seems to include a degree of a common way of "seeing, i.e. a shared understanding of the challenges and what it takes to help solve them.

The way Leo uses "try to get closer to" with fixed preposition and in the context of finding a seat in meeting situations also suggests an embedded physical dimension as important to whether you can reach out to others for help. The open plan office enables Luca to effortlessly walk the 15 metres from his desk to Leo's to see if Leo is at work and check if he is available. This was very different for Emilio, who started in the department during the second lockdown, where he had to contend with both language and work activities through a screen. He was not on mission trips with anyone as all the trips are set indefinitely and he did not meet colleagues by chance in the kitchen. The closest was Open Door, but this online format only enabled conversations in plenary, i.e. in front of everyone, and without eye contact. He cannot lower his voice and address the colleague next to him while the others are talking, because he is only present to the others as an image on the screen placed next to the others, while he is sitting alone in his room. Also, he cannot ask Laurent for help with the Danish language for a meeting Emilio explains to me that he often needs help, but he rarely asks for it, because it requires him to send an email or an invitation to a meeting where the minimum meeting time is 30 minutes according to the standards of the online platform, and

he thinks that is too much. Alternatively, he has to call his colleagues, but since the work has flexible hours, he does not know when people are at work or not. His mentor keeps telling him he can just call, but the role of being the proactive one only makes him more insecure:

Emilio: So today, it's Friday, calling him [the mentor] at three on a Friday maybe he's like fuck you [laughing]. So, I don't know, I would love to call him at three to ask him about the week wrap up a little but that's the thing I feel that Fridays in Denmark are like ... come on don't don't bother me right now, I'm on weekend and see you on Monday.

Charlotte: You can always write a text message you know asking him so would it be ok if I call you now or/

Emilio: yeah but I think normally he is always going to say yes you know. Yeah of course, call me like that. I know that maybe he's not that keen.

(Emilio, in English, February 2021).

The uncertainty around language issues and a number of other procedures, such as whether and when it is ok to ask for help, features heavily in my conversations with Emilio.

Lockdown can be said to amplify an experience of uncertainty around several cultural practices such as language choice, when to ask for help and working times. The online format constraints limits immediate access to social networks that can help steer the ship through the Danish language and subtle, social signals from colleagues who will always say "yeah of course" although they may not be "that keen". Unlike a translation program, receiving help with language issues from a colleague also includes a fine-grained cultural translation based on bodily experience, i.e. perceptions of reactions and sensations that, in interaction with memory, can recognise and predict patterns. Not least, giving and receiving help is a significant social action, an investment one could say, which involves time, trust and sharing knowledge as well as potential responsibility.

4.8. Building a professional identity

Emilio lights up every time we talk about his work with his partner countries, which takes place in English. He enjoys the freedom to shape his own work roles and the high level of

trust from the team members, team leaders, and the organisation. He has been entrusted with a lot of responsibility from the start in his work with partner countries. This is very different from his experience in Spain, where many recent graduates are treated as what he describes as interns for several years who are not allowed to ask questions and whose professional judgements do not count.

In the long term, he would like to move up to a management level in the Danish Energy Agency: "but that requires a very high level of Danish. The higher up you are, the more you need to talk to the higher governmental authorities." (Emilio, in English, February 2021). On the one hand, there is so much Emilio wants to achieve. On the other hand, his achievements are complicated by limitations in his Danish language skills. The contrast between high, professional ambitions and lack of Danish skills is a daily challenge for him at work, as he cannot perform professionally in Danish. Instead, he blends in, i.e. to be silent, appear participating, and look up words. At the English-speaking Germany team meetings, I observe a very different Emilio, one who is quick to take the floor and enjoys a good discussion. The adjective "confident" recurs in my notes. His own word for himself as an English-speaker is "shameless". I hear him use the word for the first time in connection with a presentation to the entire department just a week and a half after his start, where he for special reasons was allowed to dispense with the language policy and hold it in English. Emilio uses the opportunity to position his professionalism, his hard work, and that he is not afraid of critical questions.

Emilio's case illustrates a deep connection between language policy, power relations and social identity. The language choice determines Emilio's opportunities to be a 'legitimate' voice (Bourdieu 1977), to keep up, to be part of the team and to have a say in what the team should work on in the future, and thus what he should work on. It determines whether he is seen, heard, and recognised as an equal colleague, which is essential in terms of career opportunities. Thus, Emilio can go from being invisible in one working context to taking the lead in another. The strong contrast between the Danish and English-speaking Emilio is not least due to his professional investment strategy of performing extra hard and to compensate for his silence when he is allowed to.

Sofia's case has many similarities, but with the modification that she expresses a much greater concern for her performance in Danish-speaking contexts than Emilio. Much suggests that her concern and self-criticism is connected to her higher receptive and

productive Danish skills. She simply has better opportunities than Emilio to follow her colleagues' discussions and potentially participate, and her frustrations and expectations for herself are correspondingly higher. She can understand when her colleagues discuss topics where she knows her input is important, but her fear of not having understood all the details is one of the reasons she holds back. Professionally, it is important for Sofia to contribute to the team and to be a serious voice who knows what she is talking about.

One day in November 2020, Sofia and I are once again talking about her lack of participation at meetings that are conducted in Danish, which leads to a small conversation about the possibilities of mixing Danish and English:

Charlotte: Do you participate in small talk or discussions in Danish?

Sofia: No, I don't think so. I don't feel really comfortable. If it was in English, I know that I would participate, but in Danish it's like uh, will I really understand it in participating in Danish?

Charlotte: And do you think it would be ok to answer in English and they speak in Danish?

Sofia: For me it would be ok, but I'm not so sure that for them it would be ok.

Charlotte: Have you ever tried it or seen anyone else mixing Danish and English?

Sofia: No, I think all of them are all speaking in Danish.

Charlotte: Well perhaps you could try?

Sofia: I know, I know definitely. I know, but like I don't think that. I don't know if they would like it or not, but even though they don't, I don't think that they would tell me like why are you speaking in English?

(Sofia, in English, November 2020).

As the example shows, Sofia does not consider mixing Danish and English as an option to increase her participation. English is the lingua franca in other work contexts, but according to Sofia, it is not common practice to mix the two languages despite that her perception that everyone in the department has good English skills. My observations are consistent with Sofia's on this point. Apart from single words such as "*faglig*" (professional, disciplinary), "*personaleophæng*" (when an employee is dislocated from the responsible boss, e.g. working in other teams) and concepts that have a proprietary function such as "*Tilskudspulje*"

(Subsidy pool) I rarely hear anyone mix the languages. This applies both within single speech turns and interactive alternations between Danish and English, depending on the speaker's preferences, i.e. using *parallel language* within the same meeting (Holmen 2020). Often there is some degree of consensus and control around the use of the single words making their use predictable and the codeswitch unnoticeable or 'invisible'. Characteristic of the "foreign words" is that the organisation and its employees have difficulty translating them into either Danish or English without the word or concept losing nuance, acquiring the wrong connotations, or seeming too homegrown.

During my fieldwork period, I observe several times when words and translations are discussed at meetings to build consensus on the continued use of either the Danish or the English word in either English or Danish-speaking contexts or in relation to translating it. At an online department meeting in May 2021, the department manager and chair, Eva, addresses a translation of the word "*Hjemtagning*", which is a concept whereby Global Cooperation not only passes on Danish experiences with renewable energy to other countries, but also collects experiences from those countries. The employee, Jon, is in charge of the project:

Eva: *Et godt engelsk ord til Hjemtagning. Jon hvad er det, vi har talt om der sharing of knowledge eller ... hvad kalder vi det?*

[A good English word for Hjemtagning. Jon, what have we been talking about, sharing of knowledge or... what do we call it?]

Jon: *Ja, noget i den stil. Vi har sådan lidt beskrevet det som Hjemtagning eller sådan lidt i løsere vendinger på engelsk, fordi der simpelthen ikke er en god oversættelse for det på engelsk. Altså Melanie [en rådgiver fra Storbritannien] bliver ved med at kalde det Home taking, men lyder det ikke bare som en værre gang Denglish? Så det har jeg altså ikke turdet bruge.*

[Yes, something like that. We've kind of described it as Home taking or in slightly softer terms in English, because there simply isn't a good translation for it in English. So Melanie [an advisor from the UK] keeps calling it Home taking, but doesn't that sound like Denglish? So I haven't dared to use it.]

Eva: *Men hvis Melanie siger det? Hun er jo virkelig brite. Så er det måske >*

[But what if Melanie says that? She really is British. Then maybe it's >]

Jon: <Øhm

[<Emm]

Svend: <det

[<it]

Eva: >godt nok

[>good enough]

Svend: >Det går simpelthen ikke, det holder ikke, det holder overhovedet ikke. Det gør det bare ikke

[> It simply doesn't work, it doesn't work, it doesn't work at all. It just doesn't]

Eva: [griner]

[laughs]

Svend: Jeg kaster mig officielt i havet, hvis det er det ord, vi bruger

[I'm officially throwing myself into the sea, if that's the word we're going to use]

Eva: [griner] ok point taken. Jeg synes også lidt, det lyder som sådan nogle lande, der skal tage deres kvoter tilbage. Det er misvisende.

[[laughs] ok point taken. I also think it sounds a bit like countries that have to take back their quotas. It's misleading].

Kristine: Jeg synes, at vi skal prøve at finde sådan et rigtigt godt ord, vi kan lide at bruge, for det begynder at slå rod det der Home taking eller Hjemtagning, så jeg tænker bare, at vi må gøre noget.

[I think we should try to find a really good word that we like to use, because the home taking or Hjemtagning thing is starting to take root, so I just think we need to do something].

Eva: Ja men jeg synes faktisk som Helle skriver [i fælles chatten], at sharing eller exchange eller sådan noget ... det er det der med, at det er mutual, så det går begge veje. Det behøver ikke at have så meget fokus på, at det er hjem til Danmark, men at vi kan sige, at det er/det går begge veje.

[Yes, but I actually think, as Helle writes [in the joint chat], that sharing or exchange or something like that ... it's that it's mutual, so it goes both ways. It doesn't have to focus so much on the fact that it's home to Denmark, but that we can say that it's/it goes both ways].

(Department meeting, in Danish, May 2021).

This interaction is a discussion around the use of a single word and the aim is to find one word or phrase that everyone can agree on. The discussion consists of clarification of reason ("because there simply isn't a good translation for it in English") and clarification of current usage ("what do we call it?", "But if Melanie says it. She's really British"). There are also various suggested translations and associations in play ("sharing of knowledge", "home taking", "exchange") and rejections based on unprofessional one-to-one translations and misleading connotations ("but doesn't that sound like Denglish?", "It just doesn't work", "It's misleading."). The discussion points to an awareness of language use in the department and that the employees have attitudes to language use, which can be expressed in quite an emotional way ("So I haven't dared to use it.").

Despite the fact that at least a quarter of the employees in the department speak more languages than just English and to some extent Danish, I do not hear mixing of other languages, or what Møller and Jørgensen refer to as other *linguistic features* in the meetings (Møller & Jørgensen 2009). Mixing languages, which Jørgensen and Møller theorise as *linguaging* and *polylinguaging* (Madsen et. al 2010) out of necessity to achieve communicative purposes in the best possible way is not common. Exceptionally, the Spanish-speaking employee, Jorge, sometimes teases the department manager, Henrik, by calling him "El Señor", thereby playing with language, ethnicity, and the organisational hierarchy. Related to Møller, Jørgensen and Quist's analyses of linguistic identity constructions, this is a performance that is reserved for situations with an 'audience' and not in private. It is carried out by an employee who is clearly close to the department management and who speaks fluent Danish. In common with several of the Danish adolescents from Quist and Møller's studies, Jorge's performance is based on what I will describe as linguistic excess. Mixing languages out of sheer necessity will probably not be received as fun or smart, a positive differentiation, among the employees in the organisation, but rather as confusing or an imperfection. Thus, I will describe the common use of multiple languages in the department as a practice of code-switching of carefully selected single 'consensus-words'. In this way, the linguistic practice in the department is characterised by 'a consistent language choice', which means that if the language choice for example is Danish, the entire speech turn usually is carried out in Danish except for single words. A significant consequence of this is for both the international employees and the organisation that they do not get enough out of the high level of professional knowledge otherwise available.

4.9. "What do we call it? "

The discussion at the meeting of what to call *Hjemtagning* in English also provides a deeper insight into why Sofia refrains from switching to English. It shows profound connections between language practices and professional work culture and thus what she is up against. I will reflect on these connections from the perspective of the culture of collaboration as expressed in the example.

The apparent purpose of discussing *Hjemtagning* is for everyone to participate in decision-making. Everyone are allowed to speak relatively freely and to be critical, but the implicit agenda is to enhance consensus on standardisation and shared practices and this is reflected linguistically through a high frequency of the use of a "shared We" ("what have we been talking about", "We've kind of described it", "if that's the word we're going to use", "we should try", "we like to use", "we need to do something", "we can say"). When Svend follows up on Jon's concern about Denglish, in a tragicomic fashion though, he opts out of the shared We while still speaking within it, as if the sea is the only way out of the We ("I'm officially throwing myself into the sea, if that's the word we're going to use"). Eva immediately starts laughing and she is quick to dismiss her initial thought that the native English-speaking advisor's translation might be useful. Instead, she accommodates Svend by sharing her own concern ("It's misleading") and thus drawing him into a We again. Kristine shows the same consensus-agenda when she rises above potential disagreements and addresses the intent of the discussion: "I think we should try to find a really good word that we like to use". The discussion is an example of how collaboration in relation to producing and reproducing a strong shared We around language use as well as other practices are a well-known practice in the department. I would describe this We-practice as a basic cultural value that applies not only to the department, but also to the entire organisation's way of creating knowledge, coherence between employees, departments, and organisational layers, and mitigating potential conflicts.

Gullestad's analyses of the meaning of *equality* in Scandinavia and Northern Europe can help to nuance the We-practice in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency (Gullestad 1992). According to Gullestad, equality is a pervasive cultural value that does not primarily refer to egalitarian welfare societies and the minimisation of social hierarchies, but to a tacit practice of engaging in social relationships with people that are perceived to be "the same". From this analysis, Gullestad develops the analytical term

equality as sameness, which means that the principle of equality is based on sameness. In this perspective of sameness, we can see the collaboration in the example of *Hjemtagning* as a search for sameness and We-ness constituted by an 'activity of equality' (a discussion where 'everyone' has the opportunity to participate) and in this circumstantial interactional work, everyone contributes to fitting in potential 'unlike' colleagues. Expanding the We by changing one's point of view and agreeing with the 'unlike', like Eva does, is also a way of creating a notion of sameness. Gilliam also theorises sameness in her analyses of identity formation among children of different ethnic backgrounds and religions at a school in Denmark. She finds that children perceive a resonance among other children who are similar to themselves: "We are the same, therefore we are friends. That's why we do the same things. That's why we are the same. That's why we're friends." (Gilliam 2009: 194. My translation from Danish). According to Gilliam, sameness establishes common social positions that support children's mutual identification, minimise potential conflict relations and strengthen the group in relation to other groups. Despite the differences between Gilliam's studies of children in school and the adult employees of the Danish Energy Agency, I find her analyses relevant in describing the strong emphasis on team spirit, collaboration, coherence, and equality in the organisation. In contrast to Gilliam's empirical material, however, the employees in the organisation rarely make explicit use of the word sameness. In the organisation, the shared We is practiced in working methods, team building, and the organisation of work which requires common ground, standardised procedures, dialogue-based knowledge sharing, and consensus in decision-making. Sameness is also practiced linguistically in the shape of a shared We both internally and externally. For example, the Director General uses "os" [we] when he speaks to a Danish newspaper about a disputed case ("*Det er os, der har sagt stop for havvindsprojekter*"). ["We are the ones who have put a stop to offshore wind projects"]. Boersen 7/2.23).

What particularly interests me is how this We-ness culture positions employees such as Leo, Delphine, Valentina, Sofia, and Emilio. According to my previous analyses of international employees' lack of opportunities to participate in discussions in Danish, I believe that the collaboration around *Hjemtagning* is also a blatant example of not everyone being "the same" and part of the shared We as it requires a minimum of sameness in language skills. In her study of the refugee, Daniel's, settlement in a Danish village, Larsen concludes that the sameness within the small community contributes to increasing him/them-difference between Daniel and the other inhabitants (Larsen 2011. See also Mik-Meyer 2017 in relation

to implications of sameness). In practice, a We-ness culture of sameness may not include everyone because it also tends to ignore – or not address – the differences between employees. The organisation's language policy's clear boundaries between Danish and English creates a difference between employees, i.e. those who can perform We-ness in both languages and those who are limited to one. My observations show that Sofia and Emilio experience being different because they cannot perform a professional self in Danish while they refrain from speaking, yet through smiles and nods signal that they are part of it all. Thereby Sofia and Emilio socially perform We-ness to avoid any risk of being positioned as different, and potentially exposing themselves and the department to a disruption of roles that, according to Goffman's theory of social performance, would result in embarrassment (Goffman 1956). It is difficult to maintain a notion of We-ness if, for example, Emilio chose to throw himself into a discussion in Danish without being able to complete it. Conversely, making visible a lack of understanding or a lack of participation due to a lack of understanding would also challenge sameness. Being silent while smiling and declining friendly offers of English language choice therefore seems the least disturbing or threatening way to take part in We-ness, and it is also a position or role that Sofia and Emilio can expect to play without facing challenges. It is easy for them to maintain this course, as they are rarely approached with questions or asked for their opinion. In short, one can say that everyone helps to maintain social performance without anyone losing face. In a learning and language socialisation perspective, the employees' social navigation strategies point to a rapid learning curve, which not only applies to language skills, but also mastery of social and cultural practices, which include language skills. Based on my observations, I find that the performance usually runs smoothly due to what I consider to be acquisition of shared knowledge of roles and practices.

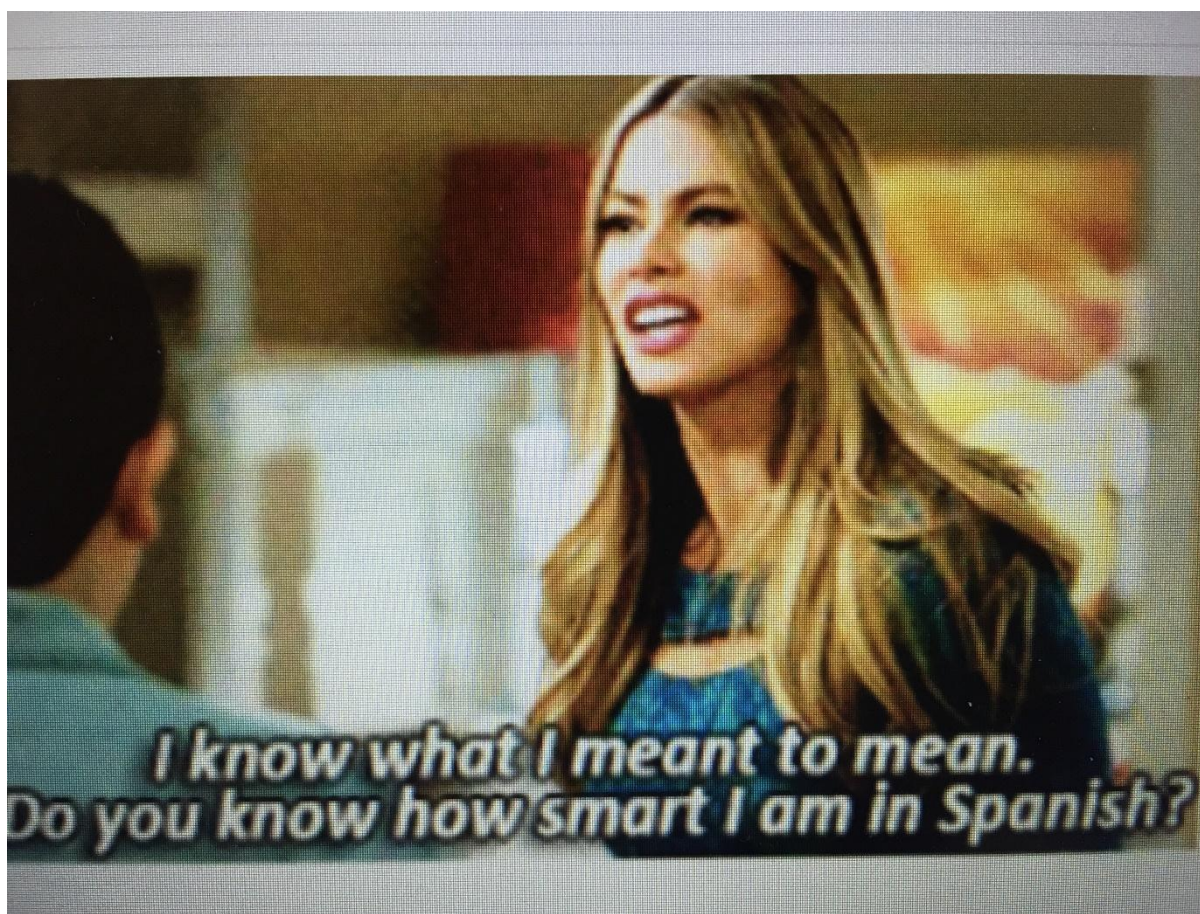
In summary

This chapter has studied international employees during their first year in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency, but has also outlined the organisation's changes in the period 2017-2021 during which international employees are increasingly recruited. In response, the organisation determines a language policy that seeks to maintain Danish as an internal working language in accordance with legislation, whereas English and other languages can be used in meetings and correspondences with international cooperation partners. For several of

the employees, it is clear from the job interview and the very first day at work that their lack of Danish language skills leads to a pervasive lack of opportunity to participate in the workplace and perform a professional identity that would align with their desire to change the world through working with green energy. Their willingness to invest massively in a double socialisation that not only involves the workplace, but also language learning at Danish courses and Sproghjælp facilitated by professional language mentors, is stimulated by this imagined professional identity. In addition, it is fuelled by the organisation's offer of favourable Danish courses and positive narratives about the ease and speed of learning Danish. Within the first year, the employees' social navigation is characterised as a wish to adapt to the organisation's language policy and practices. A characteristic of employees who have to learn Danish from scratch is that they experience a speedy progression in class and, to a limited extent, the opportunity to ping pong with their colleagues at work. To the Danish colleagues, these newly acquired language skills appear as a sudden shift and helps to confirm the positive narrative and reinforce the notion of a short prospect of becoming an empowered employee in the service of the green cause. However, scripted small talk in Danish is one thing and presentations and more elaborate Danish language use is another. Typically, the international employees avoid active participation in Danish language meetings. Instead, they show that they are part of the meeting by using phatic communication and by smiling, nodding etc. to signal that they understand and follow what is being said. In interviews, many explain that they do not want to be a hindrance and that they are unsure whether they understand all the things said, that is, the shortcomings of their receptive skills. Thus, the learning process that builds their Danish language skills further than basic sentences are hidden from their Danish-speaking colleagues as it mostly takes place in class and when preparing for class, whereas they do not practice Danish as a full working language. Instead, I have identified three other ways the employees use to perform as (legitimate) professional employees through their social navigation of language use under the theme of fitting in: 1) Keeping silent but signalling to understanding through gestures, facial expressions, and laughter whether they understand or not 2) Rejecting isolated offers of English language choice among a majority of native Danish-speakers in order not to be a burden. 3) Speaking Danish in situations where they are directly encouraged to do so (which seldom happens). In short, the employees do their best to fit in by avoiding that their Danish language shortcomings have consequences for their opportunities to keep up and take part in the discussions. They fit in by downplaying a voice of their own because the risk of showing

their Danish language shortcomings is too high. I have shown that the development of a silently agreed upon local language policy in the department with English as a supplementary internal working language is crucial for employees to be able to contribute their skills and do their jobs, a practice supported by team leaders and department managers. In this way, management and employees, Danish as internationals, navigate around the Danish language policy to attempt to complete work in a way which includes as many employees as possible. Another important collaboration involves building close relationships with other international colleagues, peers, who share the same experiences of double work and socialisation. This is crucial for new employees as it may help them to know what is important and what is not in a situation where they, due to lack of receptive Danish skills and workplace culture, cannot make that distinction on their own. Furthermore, the dominant monolingual practices, a strong consensus culture, and the notion of a shared We are challenging factors for the employees' ability and courage to try to develop linguistic, social, and professional skills in Danish by using it at work, as they risk failing professionally and socially and thus disrupt the collective illusion of an equal workforce.

Chapter 5. Language policy and resistance: after one year



One of the employees sends me this screenshot of the character Gloria Delgado-Pritchett from the sitcom Modern Family during an online interview in February 2021. We talk about his experiences with speaking Danish at work. "Have you seen this episode?" he asks in Danish, laughing. "That's how I feel. I know many feel that way!"

Disillusionment

On the first winter day in 2022, I am with Delphine at a café. It is four years since she started work in the department and two years since she quit. She recalls an office day in the late summer of 2020 between the first and the second lockdown, when she had been employed for a little more than two years: "*Det var om kulturel diversitet*" ["It was about cultural diversity"]. "*Jeg vidste, at dagen ville foregå på dansk, fordi det var et krav fra Energistyrelsen. Det var en fuld dag på dansk. Vi havde nye medarbejdere, som lige var startet, som ikke kunne dansk.*" ["I knew the day would take place in Danish because it was a requirement from the Danish Energy Agency. It was a full day in Danish. We

had new employees who had just started, who didn't know Danish"]. She explains that the purpose of the subject was to become better at managing cultural diversity in relation to the department's cooperation countries, but the department management did not consider the subject as relevant in relation to the internal diversity in the department: "*dem der er udlændinge i centret og de danskere, der arbejder i centret. Det var tydeligt, der var nogen diversitet her, som man også skal tage hensyn til.*" ["those who are foreigners in the department and the Danes who work in the department. It was clear that there was diversity that also had to be taken into account"]. On the day, Delphine listens to the presentation on cultural diversity given by an external consultant and at some point: "*gik det bare op for mig midt i det foredrag, at det var fuldstændig latterligt, at vi havde et foredrag om kulturel diversitet, som også var nyttigt for os, som arbejder i Danmark, og som foregik på dansk, hvor der var nogen af vores kolleger, der ikke kunne følge med og ikke kunne forstå det og ikke kunne være med inde i det, der blev sagt.*" [It just occurred to me in the middle of the presentation that it was completely ridiculous that we had a presentation on cultural diversity that was also useful for us, who work in Denmark, but because it was in Danish some of our colleagues couldn't keep up and couldn't understand it and couldn't participate in what was being said.]. After an hour, the presentation ends, and the presenter asks for everyone's feedback in plenary. The department manager, Johannes, starts by saying that it was informative. Others say the same. Delphine describes how she is getting more and more stressed as it is soon her turn: "*Jeg tænkte, skal jeg sige det? Skal jeg ikke sige det? Men jeg var så, så frustreret og så vred. Jeg syntes, det var så latterligt, så ok jeg skal nok sige det. Hvis jeg ikke siger det, så er der ikke nogen, der siger det.*" ["I was like, should I say it? Should I not say it? But I was so, so frustrated and so angry. I thought it was so ridiculous, so ok I'll say it. If I don't say it, then no one does."].

Delphine gets the floor. She gives her feedback in Danish, which she describes to me in the following way:

Delphine: *Jeg sagde bare, at jeg syntes det var latterligt [griner], nej ikke latterligt, jeg tror jeg sagde noget med, at det var interessant foredrag, men det vil være bedre næste gang, det vil foregå på engelsk, så alle ville kunne følge med, specielt når det handler om kulturel diversitet.*

[I just said I thought it was ridiculous [laughs], no not ridiculous, I think I said something like that it was an interesting presentation, but that it would be better if it was in English next time so everyone would be able to keep up, especially because it is about cultural diversity.]

Charlotte: *Ja, og hvad sagde Johannes og Eva og Henrik? [tre afdelingsledere]*

[Yes, and what did Johannes and Eva and Henrik say? [three department managers]]

Delphine: *De sagde ikke noget. Og [heller ikke] Christian [en fjerde afdelingsleder]. [Griner].*

[They said nothing. And [also not] Christian [a fourth department manager]. [Laughs].

Charlotte: *Nåh ja og Christian selvfølgelig. Han var der også der. De sagde ikke noget?*

[Oh yes and Christian of course. He was also there at that time. They didn't say anything?]

Delphine: *De sagde ikke noget.*

[They said nothing.]

Charlotte: *Nej?*

[No?]

Delphine: *Nej, de sagde ikke noget.*

[No, they said nothing.]

Charlotte: *Ok, så må der have været helt stille. Eller hvad?*

[Ok, so it must have been completely quiet then. Or what?]

Delphine: *Ja, det var der [fniser].*

[Yes, there was [giggles]].

(Delphine, in Danish, December 2022).

The example above illustrates two important points. Firstly, Delphine can be seen as a representative of a changing pattern in the way international employees perceive and navigate language policy during their second year of employment, moving from adapting as best as possible to a more disillusioned experience and a sense of frustration. Secondly, Delphine's feedback at the Diversity day is from an employee who not only masters the organisation's linguistic registers, e.g. speaking between the lines, but also navigates it delicately by using it against the organisation. This indicates that language socialisation is more than adapting to a language culture through acquisition.

In this chapter, I explore patterns in international employees' second language socialisation around their second year of employment in Global Cooperation in the Danish Energy Agency. Characteristic of this stage is that many employees experience disappointment and disillusionment associated with a lack of progress in their social navigation of investment in Danish language learning, language use and performance of professional identity. While the positive narrative in the department of a sudden and rapid Danish learning process helped stimulate employees' optimism and investment in Danish

learning, they now realise that Danish language learning and use is far more extensive than assumed and that it affects their career prospects. I explore various factors that contribute to employees' challenges in achieving linguistic, social, and professional progression, while also providing a contrasting example of the employee, Delphine, who is rapidly growing linguistically and professionally. Central to my study is what it requires linguistically to participate in common work activities in Danish, i.e. 'speaking the Danish Energy Agency', and how these language skills are closely linked to social-pragmatic competences. Another focus is how employees are supported by the organisation and their native Danish-speaking colleagues in their process of becoming full members. As a possible consequence of the employees' disappointment, some begin to resist the organisation's language policy by initiating a wider spread of English language use through a contrasting English language ideology that embeds a social categorisation of employees in the department.

5.1. Speaking between the lines and its pragmatics

Delphine's account of the Diversity day in the department is an example of a change in attitude to the organisation's language policy during the second year of employment. In order to understand how she uses not only the Danish language, but particular Danish language norms widely used within Global Cooperation, I will shortly address what is implied by the term speaking between the lines.

I regard speaking between the lines in Global Cooperation as a particular, yet commonly used *linguistic register* (Agha 2007) with particular social-pragmatic functions. I most often hear native Danish-speaking employees use the register in situations where external people are present as is the case during Delphine's feedback. The register shares many similarities with what Oglesby defines as *diplomatic language*. With inspiration from Stanko, Oglesby describes the diplomatic language as:

"One instrument developed over centuries to overcome the natural dissonance arising from different semantic assumptions and frames of reference expressed in the vernacular languages of varying states is a constructed diplomatic style. Marked by restraint, subdued tone, moderated vocabulary, and 'refined control over nuances in the meaning of words', a

Diplomatic Language is one established norm within the transnational diplomatic corps (Stanko 2001: 44)." (Oglesby 2016: 242).

In a Global Cooperation context, I would add that a certain smoothness and high level of self-control, a seemingly compromising openness and ambiguity are also features of what I characterise as a *diplomatic register*. Socially it contributes to minimise risks of offense and embarrassment because the 'polite packaging' creates room for interpretation. In this way, the use of the register mitigates conflicts as they are not made explicit. It is a way of talking about something potentially conflicting or highly confidential without talking about it directly. The subdued tone and ambiguity give both the sender and receiver of criticism a small escape route, since the sender can always pretend that the intention was not to criticise, and conversely, the receiver can pretend that everything is fine. The high degree of implicitness means that it can be difficult for outsiders to recognise what is at stake. During my observations, I sometimes sense disagreements between employees in the department and their external advisors at meetings and have to ask the employees afterwards if that was really the case. Often it is nothing more than a slightly strained smile, a pause or a somewhat fast pace of speech that reveals dissonance. To be a useful "instrument," as Oglesby terms it, it requires everyone involved to know the diplomatic register.

During my fieldwork, new, inexperienced native Danish-speaking external advisers simply cannot read the criticism between the lines, much to the frustration of the employees in the department. For example, this occurs in a small country team that I follow closely. The team believes that the new advisor in the current country ("the boots on the ground") acts too autonomously with the partners and is sloppy with her feedback to the team. After several weeks in which she has not responded to their 'diplomatic criticism', the team feels compelled to involve one of the department managers. After the meeting with the department manager, I hear the advisor tell the team in a meeting that she had difficulty understanding why they brought up the same subject week after week without making explicit why they did so. She emphasised that she is not used to working in the central administration and unfamiliar with the meaning of the "*små hentydninger*" [small hints] as she calls it. As a diplomatic register, these types of implicit requests and criticism requires highly refined linguistic skills and a deep insight into the social context. It requires a fine

balance between giving just enough (a word, a hint) and holding back. Not least it entails a trained listener who can assemble the small hints into a text between the lines.

According to Delphine, she had no Danish skills when she started in 2018, but on the Diversity day in 2020, she could clearly understand what was being said and she could give her feedback on the presentation not only in Danish, but in the refined style of the diplomatic register. Her feedback was a criticism of the department management's complicity in excluding several of their own employees from participating due to the Danish language choice on the specific day. Her criticism can thus be seen as an implicit criticism of the consequences of the organisation's language policy. Delphine describes to me that the theme contributed to arousing negative emotions, as, according to Delphine, it revealed the complete ridiculousness of the whole situation, i.e. that the department had a presentation on cultural diversity that excluded colleagues, who themselves were a key part of the organisation's diversity, because they could not keep up in Danish. Her frustration and anger grew during the presentation, but when it was her turn to give her feedback, she did not say anything about finding it "completely ridiculous" or "so ridiculous" as she explains to me about two years after the incident. Instead, she started by complimenting the presentation ("it was an interesting presentation") and then made a type of hedge, a suggestion for improvement ("but that it would be better if it was in English next time "). From the outside, her feedback may have seemed quite harmless. According to Delphine's description, no strong words were included in her feedback, it did not cause any loud arguments, and Delphine was not subjected to reprimands or the like. However, Delphine's description of the department management's reactions and the department manager, Eva's, interpretation of the incident as "a small rebellion" and "an uprising" indicate that her feedback was actually perceived as a highly controversial act. Given Delphine's nervousness and weighing of pros and cons ("I was like, should I say it? Should I not say it?"), I suggest that Delphine was fully aware of what she was doing and how it would be perceived. She knew she was articulating a blatant paradox, an elephant in the room, with a few well-chosen words. In pragmatic terms, her use of vocabulary, her discretion and restrained, polite form means that it was hard to hold her responsible or blame her for being a disrespectful employee. It disarmed an open confrontation. Apparently, she was just doing what she was asked to do (to give her feedback). In accordance with the department management's preferences, she made it short, and she did it in fluent Danish, as befitted the occasion. At the same time, her feedback

carried heavy subtitles with a clear message to the department management. In short, Delphine had acquired linguistic skills in *speaking between the lines* in Danish.

It is a central point that Delphine's use of a diplomatic register to criticise a management decision was not only a question of language, but of language within a pragmatic social work context into which she was obviously socialised. Delphine's feedback on the Diversity day shows that she had reached a point where she could navigate the social game linguistically by using the same codes of common practice against the 'norm-setters' themselves. Based on later interviews with Delphine's colleagues about her feedback that day, I see that she positioned herself as a strong voice in the department that day. For example, Valentina refers to Delphine as "*vores alle sammens union*" [the union of all of us] (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020). Conversely, the department management's reaction on the day (to be silent) and Eva and Henrik's mentioning of Delphine's action as "a small rebellion" and "almost an uprising" suggest that her action was also perceived as somehow shocking by the department management.

In the previous chapter, I included Goffman's theory of social performance to analyse the department's collaboration to repair and maintain the notion of symmetry and a shared We. In *The presentation of self in everyday life* from 1956, Goffman lists a number of intentions, which may underlie the individual's presentation of herself. This includes intentions such as: "He may wish to ensure sufficient harmony so that the interaction can be sustained (...)", but also: "[To] confuse, mislead, antagonize, or insult them [the listeners]." (Goffman 1956: 2). Despite Goffman's attention to diverse intentions, the focus of his analysis is primarily on how people help each other back into scripts and roles to avoid embarrassment as also pointed out by Billig (2001).²⁰ As mentioned, there are several indicators that Delphine was fully aware that her action would be perceived as highly controversial. In contrast to the expedient pragmatic function of the diplomatic register, her purpose was not to maintain the usual social performance of equality, i.e. that everyone is able to keep up, but conversely to puncture it. The tense silence indicates that she was succeeding in her project. For once, it was not possible to repair and restore the collective

²⁰ Billig calls this approach to social interaction a "*Nice-guy*" theory in his article on humour and embarrassment: "It is as if social actors are programmed to fit in with social life and to help others do so. This involves, as will be suggested, a view of the social actor as a 'nice guy' and with this comes a somewhat optimistic view of the relations between the individual and the social." (Billig 2001: 26). In this way, Billig's analysis of Goffman's theory identifies an unexplored side of social interaction, which I find relevant in relation to the example of Delphine on the Diversity day.

face, and the department management was silenced. Thus, in the situation she reproduces the diplomatic form, but not for a consensus consolidating purpose.²¹

This way of using the language also indicates the extent of what second language socialisation involves in terms of not only mastering Danish, but also different types of Danish, which need to be fine tuned to the given social-pragmatic context as is the case with the diplomatic register.

5.2. A desire for more

Whereas Delphine's intervention on the Diversity day indicates a wider frustration among internationals about the organisation's language policy, the level of her performance in terms of language use within a particular pragmatic context is far from ordinary. For most international employees in their second year, the refined use of diplomatic registers is something they strive for rather than being part of already acquired language skills as expressed by Pietro as follows:

Så jeg føler selvfølgelig, det er blevet meget bedre og meget lettere lige nu. Jeg kan bare læse emails på dansk og så videre, så jeg ikke behøver at oversætte hver gang. Selvfølgelig jeg nogle gange stadig bruger Google oversættelse og så videre, så jeg er hundrede procent sikker, at jeg godt kan forstå, men på den anden side det er meget let. Det er ikke så undskyld kan du oversætte, undskyld kan du sige det igen eller skifte dette sprog, undskyld kan du sige det og det? Så ja, jeg kan føle, at det er meget bedre nu.

[So, of course, I feel that it has become much better and much easier now. I can easily read emails in Danish and so on, so I don't have to translate it every time. Of course, I still sometimes use Google translation and so on, so my understanding is one hundred per cent sure, but on the other hand it's very easy. It's not like sorry can you translate? Sorry can you say that again or change this language, sorry can you say this and that? So yeah, I can feel that it's much better now.]

(Pietro, in Danish, April 2021).

²¹ An important background for her intervention, though, may be that she knows she is not at risk of losing her job because: "Og jeg var også/jeg vidste jeg skulle skifte job, og jeg var så træt af sprogpolitikken, så ja." [And I was also/I knew I had to switch jobs, and I was so tired of the language policy, so yes.].

The quote is from an online interview in the spring of 2021 half a year into Pietro's second year of employment. I met him for the first time at Sproghjælp in his first year when I had just started my fieldwork, and we meet at Sproghjælp almost every week. In addition, we meet for interviews. When he started in the department in the autumn of 2019, he began to learn Danish from scratch. Like his new colleagues Sofia and Emilio, he experienced a speedy progression, but found it difficult to speak during meetings held in Danish, believing that it would be easier once everyone could return to the office. In the quote from the opening of this section, Pietro's experience of improvement at work mainly concerns his receptive Danish skills. Reading emails and only using translation programs occasionally, he can also understand spoken Danish to a degree where he does not need to apologise for his lack of understanding. This eases his working day and his social position in the sense that he no longer must pretend to follow, because he understands most of what is going on. However, his productive skills, which particularly apply to his skills in speaking Danish, do not follow his reading and listening skills, and that makes him frustrated. The ability to understand what people are saying awakens an awareness of the fact that he has something to say, that he has a suggestion, that someone is wrong and should be corrected, etc. It opens up a desire to participate in the discussions and small talk, but: "*Det er som, at du kan se, at der er en masse fisk i sea, lige der, men du ikke har den der, hvad man kalder det, pind til at fange dem.*", [It's like you can see there's a lot of fish in the sea, right there, but you don't have that, what do you call it, stick to catch them.] (Pietro, in Danish, April 2021). Pietro is missing the essential instrument, i.e. the necessary language skills, to act on his desire.

Pietro is far from the only one who says that his Danish skills have improved significantly, but that it causes a new type of struggle in terms of being able to express himself. During one of the two workshops for all non-native Danish-speakers, which I organise in the spring of 2021, Jorge and Leo have this exchange:

Jorge: I feel I want to say more than I'm saying, and I feel that I want to be kind of more active and more dynamic <

Leo: > Umm

Jorge: < and sometimes it becomes hard to criticise ideas for example ... if you speak in professionally like I know that something someone else said is something I don't agree with but I'm just too stupid to explain why it's a bad idea.

Leo: I totally, I totally agree umm, and I think it's exactly the same and probably all you know that for me it has been a big problem just to try to speak Danish in you know several meetings because I, as Jorge say, I really felt stupid like someone from the kindergarten trying to explain things to adults and I was just like it's gonna be impossible

(Workshop, in English, April 2021).

Like Pietro, Jorge starts by describing an unfulfilled desire to express himself in Danish in a specific way within a particular linguistic genre that matches his own vision of how he wants to appear. As he says, he wants to be more active and dynamic and be able to criticise ideas and argue in a professional manner. Jorge does not elaborate on what he means by "professionally", but my observations of discussions and how employees give criticism in meetings suggest that it relates to the use of a diplomatic register. It is about being able to criticise without offending. Jorge ends his speech turn by concluding that he is too "stupid" in Danish to express his perspective. At this point, several of the employees speak Danish, but they do not speak what they perceive as professional Danish that can take into account various pragmatic situations or, for that matter, the norm-setting 'diplomatic Danish'.

In general, I observe that employees in their second year in the department experience a change in their view of themselves as Danish-speakers. The advancement from non-person "baby doll" and "statue" (c.f. Chapter 4) to "children in kindergarten" and "stupid adults" may be an indicator of this. From finding it impossible to keep up at meetings with many shifts and many kinds of Danish, several employees at this stage can not only see that something funny is happening right in front of them from people's laughter, but also grasp the essence of the amusement expressed in the subtle layers. Many employees express relief at being able to keep up, but at the same time frustration at not being able to take part in conversations. In contrast to new employees with no Danish skills, for whom everything is new and associated with speedy learning, employees at this stage find that they know something, but not everything. From my observations of the Danish courses and Sproghjælp, I can see that many have built up an extensive vocabulary, know the basic grammatical and phonetic structures, and much of the learning in Danish courses consists of expanding and

refining these patterns. In addition, it also consists of unlearning what are considered automated errors. Furthermore, I notice that attendance at Danish courses at the intermediate levels, where most employees are placed during this period, is more irregular. While at her second year, Valentina expresses that things are not going so well on the Danish course. Pietro occasionally participates on the courses, but Oscar participates only very little. Valentina thinks that learning Danish is going too slow: "*Vi har sagt til hende [dansk læreren], at sin struktur passer ikke, så at tale om dansk historie og læse med hende hjælper os ikke, så vi vil fokusere på energi og ja.*" [We have told her [the Danish teacher] that her structure does not fit, so talking about Danish history and reading with her does not help us, so we want to focus on energy and yes.] (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020). I also observe that there are fewer employees at their second year in the department than those who have recently started. From calculating the participation of employees who are in their first and second year of employment, respectively, the average number of hours for Sproghjælp goes from 57.5 to 25.4 hours per person in a year. The reduction in meeting attendance may reflect a decrease in employees' language learning investment due to an increased sense of lack of progress and futility. Conversely, the decrease can also be interpreted as the employees' need for language learning is not perceived as urgent as before.

5.2.1. The professional speaker

When international employees emphasise a desire to be able to perform seriously and professionally in Danish, I am interested in what is more precisely covered, for example, whom Jorge associates with being an ideal professional speaker and what characterises this speaker's language use. I find it important as it gives us an insight into the linguistic level Jorge and others are aiming for and identify with, and what language skills it requires. Previously, I analysed the diplomatic register's function in the department as to perform the social-pragmatic function of downplaying conflicts. I would now like to explore another type of widespread diplomatic language use in the department by highlighting a native Danish-speaker, the diplomat Jonas. I hear his name mentioned a few times in discussions about what an ideal professional speaker is. Jonas works at The Danish Embassy in Ethiopia and is primarily associated with the department's Ethiopia team, where he is an adviser and "boots on the ground". I follow the Ethiopia team closely, and watch it grow from three team members to eleven in a year.

The following example is from the autumn of 2020, where the team consisted of Jonas, Leo, and the team leader Laurent, who spoke fluent Danish at that time after 23 years in Denmark. In the excerpt, it is significant that Leo does not utter a single word and that Jonas appears to have forgotten Leo for a moment. My focus, however, will not be on Leo's lack of participation, but on the exchanges between Jonas and Laurent. The agenda for this online meeting was to plan the activities at an upcoming high-level meeting with partners, to which the team had come through after great efforts and after Jonas has had a pre-meeting with one of the partners. We enter 32 minutes into the meeting, where Jonas and Laurent for four minutes have been 'dancing' around the issue of whether they should facilitate a discussion or deliver a presentation. Jonas has suggested twice that they should give a presentation, and both times, it has resulted in Laurent saying that he thinks it is important for the team to take advantage of the meeting to "have a dialogue" with the partners. After four minutes, Laurent chooses to communicate his opinion in a more direct way:

Laurent: *Ja ja, jeg har ikke så meget lyst til at holde oplæg, Altså <*

[Well well, I don't really feel like giving a presentation, so <]

Jonas: *> nej*

[> no]

Laurent: *jeg vil hellere vi har nogen agenda hvor vi diskuterer, fordi øh jeg vil gerne fortælle, eller nogen vil gerne fortælle om øh jamen de planer, der er i Danmark, og hvad er det for noget, men altså jeg synes bare det bliver lidt for formelt og hurtigt, hvis man har oplæg <*

[I would rather have an agenda where we discuss, because uh I want to tell, or someone wants to tell, about uh well the plans that are in Denmark and what they are, but I just think that it becomes a bit too formal and fast if you give a presentation <]

Jonas: *> ja*

[>yes]

Laurent: *Øh jeg <*

[Well I <]

Jonas: *> ja*

[>yes]

Laurent: *ved det ikke, hvis de synes vi skal have oplæg, så får de oplæg, altså <*

[don't know, if they think we should give a presentation, then they will get a presentation, that is]

Jonas: *> Nej nej nej! Nej nej nej! Det var egentligt mere bare sådan for lige at have en snak mellem os to sådan i første omgang, og/eller mellem os alle sammen her om om altså, hvad skal formatet være hvad/ fordi vi [Jonas and en af partnerne] snakkede jo egentligt ikke så meget om det med partnerne om det altså, vi snakkede lidt om sådan og og have de her sådan faste status updates møderne <*

[No no no! No no no! It was actually just to have a chat between the two of us like this in the first place, and/or between all of us here about what the format should be, because we [Jonas and one of the partners] didn't really talk that much about it with the partners, we talked a bit about such things and have these regular status update meetings <]

Laurent: *> yes*

[> yes]

Jonas: *og det var sådan lidt, tilgangen var lidt, som vi snakkede om altså få lidt mere mulighed for at give dem et lidt bredere opdatering på, hvad der foregår i Etiopien og i Danmark. Og jeg hørte dem også lidt, og jeg ved ikke, måske er det bare en anden sag, men jeg hørte dem også lidt sige sådan, at de godt kunne tænke sig lidt mere sådan den brede indførsel i, hvad der sker i Danmark ikke? Ikke kun sådan lige snævert i forhold til vores program her, men de kunne måske godt tænke sig at vide, nå men hvad er det for nogle tanker, vi gør os i forhold til de overordnede klimaplaner. Sådan nogle ting tænker jeg da også kunne være en del af en dagsorden.*

[and it was a bit like that, the approach was a bit, as we talked about, to get a bit more opportunity to give them a bit more extensive update of what is going on in Ethiopia and in Denmark. And I also heard them a little/and I don't know, maybe it's just another matter, but I also heard them say that they would like a little more of a broad introduction to what is happening in Denmark, right? Not only narrowly in relation to our program here, but they might like to know, well, what kind of thoughts we are having in relation to the overall climate plans. I think such things could also be part of an agenda.]

(Ethiopia team meeting, in Danish, November 2020).

Jonas and Laurent persistently try to convince each other of what is the best strategy, but they avoid articulating it as 'a tug of war', a disagreement, by drawing on and navigating within a diplomatic register. This is constituted by the fact that they do not talk about their disagreement as a disagreement. For example, Laurent does not refer to the presentation as

Jonas' idea, but concedes by "if they want a presentation" with "they" referring to the partners. Likewise, Jonas suggests that the presentation is something "they" wish for even though he is ambiguous "And I also heard them a little/and I don't know, maybe it's just another matter, but I also heard them say that they would like a little more of a broad introduction to what is happening in Denmark, right?" Of importance is also Jonas' subduedness and the smoothness with which he carefully leads Laurent to the understanding that a presentation is the obvious format. His linguistic skills and pragmatic know-how enable him to navigate Laurent's reservations or rejections. The subduedness also relies on Jonas' way of speaking, which we cannot see from my transcription. Jonas' pronunciation is characterised by a fast-speaking pace, but he is also highly articulate, i.e. not mumbling, or staccato 'chopping', and his tone and intonation is very soft and largely without fluctuations such as a sudden high pitch. Except for the string of no's, his voice is calm, gentle, and highly controlled, also emotionally. Throughout Jonas' speech turn, he gently points to his interpretation of the partners approach through a weighty use of modifiers such as "A bit ", "a little", "maybe ", and "perhaps ", which mark a restraint in the sense that what Jonas says should not be understood rigidly, that Jonas could be wrong etc. These modifiers give the impression that nothing is predetermined, but open to other suggestions, indicating that the two of them set the agenda, and that they are somehow equal.

Jonas and Laurent's exchange above illustrates the language use and the skills required to perform this kind of diplomatic register in Danish to convince or persuade without creating conflict or coercion. In this way, it is a subtle way of exercising power without openly admitting doing so in a form which also effectively, e.g. through ambiguous modifiers, disarms the opponent's instinct to address it as a conflict or to claim it as an exercise of power. This requires a solid foundation of not only grammatical and phonetic structures, but also a refined control over semantic differentiations, nuances, and the connotative loadings of individual words. It also requires an extended social-pragmatic sense of when a word, a piece of information, or something else is in danger of making the conflict explicit.

5.2.2. Being smart and fun in Danish

Similar to the diplomatic register, many international employees emphasise different forms of Danish as key to socialising, for example being funny or otherwise appearing smart, but also

as a fundamental part of them bringing other parts of their personality into play when using and expressing themselves in the Danish language.

In an online interview with Jorge in the winter of 2021, he refers to Gloria Delgado-Pritchett, a Latin-American character in the US sitcom *Modern Family*:

Kender du Modern Family? Der er et afsnit, som jeg synes er super god faktisk. Og der var en lille del af den afsnit hvor Sophia Vergara [navn på skuespilleren], og hun snakker/hun diskuterer lidt med Jay [hendes mand], og han griner lidt, for han er lidt forvirret med nogle slang eller nogle expressions [som hun har brugt], og hun siger do you know how smart I am in Spanish? Kan du forstå hvor klog jeg er i mit modersmål? Og hvor svært det er at føle sig øh dum? ". Og hvor svært det er at føle sig som dum? Som en lille barn! Sådan føler jeg. Jeg kender mange, som føler sådan! Det er en sproglig begrænsning at vise eller at blive forstået som en, der er dygtig. For det er svært, når man taler som en fireårig dreng, at andre kan forstå, at man er dygtig.

[Do you know *Modern Family*? There's one episode that I actually think is really good. There's a little part of that episode where Sofía Vergara [name of the actress] is talking/she's arguing a little bit with Jay [her husband], and he's laughing a little bit because he's a little confused about some slang or some expressions [that she have just used], and she says "do you know how smart I am in Spanish?", so can you understand how smart I am in my mother tongue? And how hard it is to feel stupid? Like a little kid! That's how I feel. I know many feel that way! It's a linguistic limitation to show or be understood as someone who is skilful because it's hard for others to get that when you talk like a four-year-old boy.]

(Jorge, in Danish, February 2021).

In the quote, Jorge says directly that his linguistic limitations are a barrier to being understood as skilful. This struggle can be seen as an incongruity between *inhabited*, i.e. self-constructed identity, and *ascribed identity*, i.e. assigned identity by others, in Blommaert's view (Blommaert 2006). Thus, we can piece together a sketch of Jorge's desire for an ascribed Danish-speaking identity as someone who is active, dynamic, professional, and skilful. This gives us an insight into a person who is aware of what he does, how he appears and who demands more from himself, but also a person who can also relate to his frustrating position with a certain sense of humour. At least, I see his identification with the comic

character Gloria Delgado-Pritchett as an expression of a humorous and somehow protective distance.

I often hear about the desire to be able to perform other characteristics, which the employees in question experience are an important part of themselves in their mother tongue or in English, but which are erased and non-existent in Danish. Alexandra tells me: "Some people they think I'm shy or like an introvert, but I'm actually not. When I'm with friends, for example, or at home, I talk almost the most." (Alexandra, in English, October 2020). Conversely, Valentina experiences that: "Sometimes they [other people in the department] think I'm very outgoing, which I'm not, and that I'm very chaotic and flexible with rules. I am not." (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020). Likewise, Alexandra and Valentina express that it is difficult for them to show, perform, and thus live certain aspects of themselves in Danish that they otherwise find essential. In Alexandra and Valentina's cases, it is about being perceived as smart, skilful, social, chatty, structured, and somebody who follows the rules. In addition, being funny is a personal attribute that I often hear non-native Danish-speakers mention. In one of the two workshops I held in the spring of 2021, Oscar describes his process of learning Danish:

Oscar: If you are in a social setting and people are chatting it's like very hard to you know, well it takes more effort to like join someone's conversation like "oh excuse me what are you talking about?" [laughing]. But <

Valentina: > [laughing]

Oscar: Um <

Carl: > [laughing]

Oscar: Yeah it's awkward right? It falls a barrier to socialise with people like in social settings where there's like different groups, but that improves as understanding of Danish gets better after a year or so you know, because then you at least have some idea about what people are talking about [giggles]. But you have the problem of/like you don't know how to do like seriousness or fun in terms of what you are saying. If you try to do something in Danish it's just like, you can't really say something funny and <

Pietro: > yes [laughing]

Oscar: [laughing]

(Workshop, in English, April 2021).

When the workshop takes place, Oscar is in his second year in the department. In his first year, Oscar goes from not being able to socialise in Danish due to a lack of receptive skills to being able to understand what people are talking about. In Oscar's statement of: "it takes more effort to like join someone's conversation" and he experiences a higher degree of agency within a year's time because: "then you at least have some idea about what people are talking about." He has moved from being disconnected from his Danish-speaking social surroundings to being able to tune in. Whether he feels able to participate in the conversations not only as a listener, but also as a speaker is not clear from the example.

Valentina and Carl are laughing as Oscar speaks, and he interrupts his flow with the rhetorical question: "Yeah it's awkward right?", indicating that he sees that his example evokes easy recognition. When Oscar talks about his difficulties in being funny, Pietro agrees with a yes and they laugh together. Oscar, Alexandra, Valentina, Leo, and Jorge's statements all reveal a desire to acquire the language skills necessary to express their personalities such as being skilful, smart, and funny in ways that arouse recognition and acknowledgment from others as exactly skilful, smart, and funny.

Thus, second language socialisation is not only about simultaneously adapting into a language and a social world but also – within the context of a new language and social realities - to socially navigate by expressing oneself in ways that allows the employee to maintain and develop personal identity within a new context.

5.2.3. Shifts

Humour is a regular register during meetings in the organisation, but so are shifts from humour to other registers, which often happen without clear linguistic markers. The following example is from the weekly department meeting one morning in February 2021, where everyone is waiting online for one of the department managers, Johannes, who will be the chair. During the second lockdown, the organisation has a strong focus on employees taking the time to get daily exercise. In addition to encouraging 30-minute walks during working hours, the organisation also encourages everyone to participate in the weekly online classes by the organisation's personal trainer, who goes under the name "Yoga-Hanne", and all

employees have received a resistance band for exercising in their mailbox. Johannes has joked a bit about the band a few months ago, giving people the clear impression that "desværre" [unfortunately], he had not started exercising "endnu", [yet], as he said with a big ironic smile and twinkle in his eye. While people wait at this morning meeting, some of the participants start talking about a sports app where they can track each other's performance in the department. The conversation quickly turns into a series of jokes, and especially the department managers Eva and Henrik and the native Danish-speaking employee Matthias are having much fun when Johannes suddenly appears on the screen a little red and out of breath:

Eva: [*Griner*]

[Laughs]

[Crackling sounds from a microphone]

Johannes: *Hej undskyld! Jeg havde problemer [med teknikken]. Sorryyyy [udtalt med en komisk, fortegnet opadgående tone]*

[Hi, sorry! I had problems [with the technique]. Sorryyyy [pronounced with a comical, oversaturated upward tone]]

Eva: *Det talte vi også om, at du nok havde Johannes*

[We talked about that probably being the case, Johannes]

Matthias: *Vi har tilmeldt dig en løbeklub Johannes*

[We've signed you up for a running club, Johannes]

Eva: [*griner*]

[laughs]

Johannes: *Undskyld, hvad siger du?*

[Excuse me, what are you saying?]

[Pause for two seconds]

Matthias: *Vi har tilmeldt dig en løbeklub, mens du var væk*

[We signed you up for a running club while you were away]

Johannes: [*Bryder ud i latter*]. *Det er godt. Det var fedt, så skulle jeg ikke være med der*

[[Bursts out laughing]. That's a good thing. That was great, I'll not be there]

Henrik: *Det var fordi, du ikke var med i Yoga-Hanne-klubben i går Johannes*

[It's because you didn't join the Yoga-Hanne-club yesterday, Johannes]

Johannes: *[Griner længe]. Godt øhm, det sædvanlige startpunkt, corona og mulige lempelser fra på mandag, og på personalesiden har vi nye ansættelser [...]*

[[Laughs long]. Well, umm, the usual starting point, corona and possible relaxations from Monday and on the staff side we have new recruitments [...]]

(Department meeting, in Danish, February 2021).

In the example, meeting participants shift from small talk to updates. The cheerful mood is immediately interrupted by Johannes' hasty apology for being late. Eva, who has just laughed, immediately switches to a serious and understanding tone of voice without a hint of laughter, reassuring him that it is okay ("We talked about that probably being the case, Johannes"). After this, a joke build-up begins, which belongs to a gentle form of "to take the piss out of someone". Johannes has entered the meeting in medias res and therefore does not know what has preceded his arrival contrary to the majority of the approximately 57 meeting participants. The power or knowledge distribution between Johannes and the rest is thus asymmetrical. The native Danish-speaker Matthias quickly utilises this knowledge gap to revisit the sports theme with the clueless Johannes as the target. "We've signed you up for a running club, Johannes", Matthias says with a poker face as if it were a regular briefing. Johannes does not realise at first that it is a joke and, with an authoritative voice and the polite "excuse me" etiquette asks Matthias to repeat it. Matthias does so after a few seconds' pause, which may be because he needs to switch on his microphone, or perhaps because he hesitates to continue the joke, as Johannes is, after all, the longest-serving boss in the department. However, he repeats it in the same serious tone. Johannes realises it is a joke and bursts out laughing. He tries to keep a straight face and play along by praising Matthias for the initiative. Henrik supports Matthias by extending his joke: "It's because you didn't join the Yoga-Hanne-club yesterday, Johannes" and thus changes the reason for the penalty, which also serves as a mitigating factor because Johannes and most others present know for sure that Henrik has not been to yoga either. Johannes laughs for two or three seconds and then makes a definite switch from the humorous small talk to updates with "Well umm" as the only transition marker.

In this short example of about 42 seconds, there are multiple linguistic registers at play, spanning reassurance, jokes, and updates reminiscent of television newscasters listing compact information points. Thus, it requires extensive register acquisition, the ability to sense sudden shifts and to adapt linguistically in no time to participate as a speaker at such meetings. When Pietro and Oscar talk about their challenges in learning and using Danish at this point in their employment, they have realised that learning Danish is not just learning Danish, but learning several kinds of Danish. It requires different kinds of Danish to be an employee in the department, just as it requires different kinds of Danish to be able to express different dimensions of one's personality. Furthermore, it involves knowing when to use what with respect to context, that is, what is the pragmatic framework of the situation, a framework that changes in step with changes in registers. Attending meetings like the one in the example, requires a refined ability to decode subtle subtexts and calibrate the intervention in relation to social hierarchies. The use of humour in this example can be said to be particularly subtle, as it consists of keeping a straight face, tone of voice and mime registers such as regular briefing or admonition. In other words, it is an act of concealing or disguising the use of humour to avoid revealing that a joke is being made and it can be difficult both to do and to make sense of receptively. In addition to extensive language skills in being able to pull off a joke with the boss, it requires knowledge of whether it is at all appropriate, and if so, whether one is in a legitimate position to do so, and how long it is appropriate to continue. In this respect, performing fun can be considered a special challenge, since this register i.e. is constituted by 'appropriate transgressions' of norms, or to say it in contradictory terms; there are norms for breaking the norms. Finally, it is not only about mastering one register, but many, and about adapting to sudden and unmarked shifts between registers within a short time sequence. Thus, in addition to requiring a linguistic mastery of registers and a developed knowledge of the implied pragmatic contexts, the ability to recognise and adapt to those shifts in a fast-paced manner is central to second language socialisation into the workplace culture.

5.3. Needs for mutuality

I meet Emilio in a cafe in the spring of 2022 about seven months after he resigned due to a new job, which he accepted after nine months in the department. He tells me over a cake that: "I really love the whole idea of Global Cooperation", but that he could see that it would

become too hard with the Danish language in the long run. "I could probably reach a middle level pretty fast, I'm pretty sure about that, but then what?" In his new job, he does not need Danish skills to be able to work, and he has not attended the Danish course since he started there, but he is thinking of starting again because of "the social aspects". I tell him that I hear from others in the department that it is a very attractive company within the field of renewable energy. He laughs and avoids getting into his coveted position by saying: "Yeah, I am very happy about it. It's a good place also because I think I know where I'm going" (Emilio, in English, March 2022). In fact, he just got a big promotion after just half a year. He thinks that the workplace can see his qualities and wants to keep him onboard. In contrast, several non-native Danish-speaking employees in Global Cooperation experience that the department does not provide a direction for them. This applies to how the department management assesses their competences, the extent to which Danish language skills are needed and how they are to advance career-wise in the organisation, which are all implicit and up to the employee to figure out. In the following three subsections, I will elaborate on my informants' needs which exceed language learning support around their second year in the department in the form of their need to optimise their navigation within the organisation.

5.3.1. Need for clarity

One day at Sproghjælp in the spring of 2021, I talk to Pietro about how he thinks things are going at work, and he asks for the Danish term for "to tread water" (*at træde vande*). He tells me that he can feel that he is now well versed in work procedures and that it is "*rigtigt godt*" (really good), because he is no longer so stressed about understanding the work with the country teams and about learning the Danish language. Thus, his investment in Danish language learning has apparently paid off. At the same time, his workload has increased accordingly. He takes on more and more responsibility in his country teams as more and more people leave, and he is responsible for onboarding many new employees. From this, it is clear to him that he is no longer new and that this is being responded to by the workplace by giving him increased responsibility, but he also struggles to see where it will take him. This is partly due to his experience that his work of onboarding others, coordinating projects, stepping in when sudden needs arise, and being one of the partner countries' primary contacts due to the large turnover of participants in the teams, is invisible to many in the department management and to the Directors. His country team leaders, the colleagues in the different

teams, the partners in Vietnam and the UK, and partially his boss know his efforts, but this knowledge and recognition remain mainly between them. A few weeks after our conversation at Sproghjælp, Pietro tells me in an online interview that his experience of treading water also concerns a lack of knowledge about the organisation's expectations for his Danish language progression and whether there is a connection between his language learning progression and his professional progression. He says that the annual salary negotiation has just been published in the organisation and that he has received a small one-off bonus. He is happy with the result, but he is also confused about what it is based on and what he should have done to get more: "*Jeg ved ikke, om mere dansk kunne have hjulpet mere, eller om det fordi jeg stadig er lidt ny eller nogen andre ting*" [I don't know if more Danish could have helped me more, or if it's because I'm still a bit new or if it's due to other things]. (Pietro, in Danish, March 2021). If we look at his feeling of treading water from the perspective of his process of learning Danish, we can see that he has been attending intensive Danish courses since he started in the department and is experiencing a significant improvement in his receptive skills. He has a desire to acquire skills in spoken Danish, i.e. to perform in a more personal, varied, and nuanced way (c.f. linguistic registers), but he also knows that it will require more time and more effort from him, and the question is whether it will influence his professional position. As a result, he is unsure about how to navigate his investment in language learning, language use, and building up his professional identity. I regularly observe him attempting to create new openings by using language to discreetly signal to others in the department that he is making progress with his Danish learning. This happens, for example, as he replies in Danish to shared emails, but I also observe that his Danish language replies are often answered in English. Through his choice to respond in Danish, Pietro signals his desired (or imagined) identity as someone who can communicate in Danish. However, he is obviously not ascribed this identity by others as his signals are not responded to. A caveat to this interpretation is that I observe different patterns in verbal communication and the lack of response may be related to the written nature of the communication and the fact that it is a shared form of communication and not a more personal one-to-one form, so the awareness of the sender's individuality is less pronounced.

I hear several others expressing a similar lack of direction and a feeling of uncertainty. In the winter of 2022, I am doing an online interview with Luca from my office at the university. At this point, he is in his second year. Luca joins the department in the winter of 2021 and must learn Danish from scratch. Luca is sitting in his room in his shared

flat in Copenhagen. I have not seen him for a couple of months because he has not been to Sproghjælp. I say *hej* in Danish and ask him how he is doing. He does not answer, but quickly tells me in Danish: "*Jeg tror, vi skal tale engelsk, for vi skal tale om nogle svære koncepter.*" [I think we need to speak in English, because we're going to talk about some difficult concepts.] Then he says in English: "It's better for the interview, we can have Danish practice another time." Shortly after, he makes this clear to me: "I have to also say for your research purpose that I'm biased on the whole thing because we had the salary negotiation yesterday, no actually the day before, and I didn't get a pay raise and this is extremely/so I probably have a negative perspective." He explains that it is not about the money for him, but about the recognition of his efforts and that he does not understand the reasoning behind the organisation's decision. He is well aware that the organisation is not able to give raises to everyone who has been there for more than a year even if the employees have developed their skills, but he lacks a plan for what he could have done, guidance for how to navigate his investments: "They could tell you like we would like to see these kind of things, so why don't we put three modules in Danish or four modules in Danish for one year and then you will get something out of it. I know this is not a public way of doing things, because my friends in private sectors they are like/they get bonuses every day for like some bullshit that they do, for like whatever happens. We don't do that. We don't have bonuses enough and that's fine I understand the whole public sector, but then there is still like bonuses for some people." I ask Luca to elaborate on what he means when he says that the department management could make an agreement with employees about Danish learning progression and how it relates to salary negotiations. He tells me:

If you don't set parameters to quantify your work then it's hard to complain and this also applies to Danish, because you don't know what do they, let's say the management to make it like in general, expects. I started a year ago, my level of Danish is middle. I don't know is it enough? Is it enough in a year or should I have done more? Like should I have focused more on that? Is it more important than being like more productive in the cooperation? And this is where Danish becomes fuzzy. Like my partner in the U.S. doesn't care that I speak Danish like if I was very knowledgeable in Danish and I was not knowledgeable in energy systems he would not appreciate that, because he wants to have a person that knows about energy and not Danish, but maybe I would be much more strong, much more valued in the agency. I don't know. I don't know what is the level. If you tell me, you reached this level in Danish, which can be Module four and then you get a bonus, a raise and you are being seen as

a top person, then you focus on that and less on something else, but what is the need? What do you value more?

(Luca, in English, February 2022).

Luca appears quite upset as he unleashes his frustrations. The interview may not be representative of Luca's general state of mind, but presents a distinctive moment, more precisely a moment of disillusionment for Luca in his employment history. This relates to his insecurity about whether his way of navigating his investments in language learning in contrast to his knowledge of renewable energy is beneficial in terms of being recognised and promoted. In other words, he is unsure of what is the right investment to reach the assessed identity that he aims for.

This confusion also relates to the organisation's language policy, which underlines Danish as mandatory in internal communication, but does not specify the languages to be spoken in external communication, for example in meetings with partner countries. In practice, international employees therefore perform in several sites of language of which some are seemingly more important than others in relation to the employees' career opportunities:

Danish is the money-language. The important people speak Danish. Let me put it this way; if you are important, you speak Danish. If you are involved in high-level things, you speak Danish. If you have to ask for money [for a project as a project manager], you speak Danish like because the documents are most likely in Danish.

(Luca, in English, February 2022).

As Luca says, the "important people" speak Danish. They hold high positions with power to set a course for others and make decisions together with other important people with more impact and influence such as Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, Ambassadors, and key people in the industry. He understands that Danish skills are important, but in his daily work with the cooperation countries, he experiences that Danish is not that important. Luca points out that his partner in the U.S. "doesn't care that I speak Danish", because "he wants to have a person that knows about energy and not Danish". Luca estimates his daily work to be around 80

percent in English. He tells me that the 20 percent in Danish is important in terms of keeping up with the activities in the department and in the organisation. In short, his many hours and efforts to learn Danish are an investment in participating in department meetings, the General Director's *Husmøder* [House meetings] for everyone in the organisation, MUS (the yearly performance review), lunch etc. and possibly in being promoted. However, even though Danish may not be the main language during his ordinary workday, it is the language of power and enables recognition within the organisation.

Luca's thoughts resemble my conversations with other employees, who have been in the department for more than a year. Their way of expressing those thoughts is often interrogative and alternates between talking about professional skills and linguistic skills, but without making explicit why they bring up the different skills at the same time and whether they find a connection between them. I ask both Luca and Pietro if they talk to the department management, Human Resources, or others in the organisation about it, but they both say no. It is not a topic for *MUS* or the one-to-one meetings. Neither they, nor the department management bring up the subject of language skills. I am a little surprised the first time I hear that Danish language skills are not addressed at job review meetings since employees were told at their employment that Danish was essential to the job (c.f. Chapter 4). When Luca starts in 2021, he is informed about the organisation's language policy and the importance of him immediately starting to learn Danish, but after that, he hears nothing about it. Luca expresses to me how he feels alone with his uncertainties as no one asks how the Danish learning process is going, what level he is at, whether he will be able to carry out new work activities in Danish, etc., and no one lists specific expectations for which modules, i.e. language levels, he must strive to reach. In the positive narrative about employees suddenly learning Danish after six months, which is prevalent in the department (c.f. Chapter 4), there is no specification of what 'learning Danish' means. The narrative only provides an outside perspective from which both the process of learning an additional language and the limitations of the learners' ability to express themselves are invisible to the native Danish speakers. Without explicit goals and a corresponding reward from the organisation's side, be it a salary increase or recognition it becomes difficult to navigate language learning and socialisation into the organisation.

5.3.2. Need for collaboration

In this subsection, I will focus on another need related to what many international employees perceive as a lack of collaboration, which is centred on the language learning process and divergent notions on language learning.

In Chapter 4, I discussed my observations of the interactional meeting culture in the department, which I found to be characterised by a fast pace of speech, few breaks, and struggles to get the floor. The meetings with Danish as the language choice are most often dominated by native Danish-speaking employees. For employees in their first year, who have just started learning Danish, the meetings, i.e. the primary work activity, are particularly difficult to attend in Danish. This is different for employees after their first year, who now have more experience in the workplace, who have acquired a wider range of language skills, and who have an increasing desire to be involved. Valentina tells me that after almost two years in the department with intensive language learning, she feels linguistically and socially ready to use it more: "*Jeg er ikke så genert, som jeg var før, og jeg siger ok, min dansk er ikke perfekt, men jeg taler seks sprog, så samlet er jeg ok. Men der er mange gange, at man ikke forstår, hvad de andre siger, og man føler usikker, fordi ja de andre taler for hurtigt og de bruger mange vanskelige ord, så ja, det er ikke nemt.*" [I'm not as shy as I was before, and I say ok, my Danish isn't perfect, but I speak six languages, so overall I'm ok. But there are many times you don't understand what the others are saying, and you feel insecure because, well the others speak too fast and they use a lot of difficult words, so well, it's not easy.] (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020). A fast pace of speech and "the others" use of difficult words and expressions are often highlighted as particular constraints. In addition, several people mention the rapid shifts without clear transitions (between topics and linguistic genres and registers) during meetings. Oscar tells me that when he tries to "take the floor" in Danish, the "Danes" have usually "moved on" before he finds the right words: "and then they are on to something else". (Oscar, in English, March 2021). This indicates that several employees at this stage are able to identify interactional challenges, but have a hard time acting accordingly. Furthermore, many are critical of the challenges in a way that I rarely encounter when I talk to new employees who are learning Danish from scratch.

Alice has come to Denmark from Italy in connection with her position as a PhD student at the same university as Valentina and Pietro. I know her from my time as a Danish teacher in the organisation, but due to conflicting schedules and not least the lockdown, we

do not meet that often. In January 2021, I finally get to meet her online, and I ask her how it is going with her Danish classes and performing Danish at work, and whether she feels that there have been any changes in the period of about eight months when I have not seen her. She recalls a situation from a year ago: "*Måske det var et år siden måske på teammøde eller KLX-møde, øhm og skal sige noget om Kina på dansk, for det var på dansk, og jeg husker, at måske de [Kinateamet i afdelingen] kunne ikke forstå min udtale, og de kunne ikke/måske det var ikke den perfekte udtale, men jeg fortsatte på dansk, og jeg følte bare, at de venter, fordi jeg er langsom/jeg var langsom øhm langsommere. Så ja og nogle gange de kunne ikke forstå mit udtale, og jeg prøvede at sige noget på dansk, for det var vigtigt til mig.*" [Maybe it was a year ago, perhaps at a team meeting or KLX meeting, umm and I had to say something about China in Danish, because it was in Danish, and I remember that they [the China team in the department] maybe couldn't understand my pronunciation and they couldn't/maybe it wasn't the perfect pronunciation but I continued in Danish and I just felt that they are waiting because I'm slow/I was slow um slower. So yes, and sometimes they couldn't understand my pronunciation, and I tried to say something in Danish, because it was important to me.] In this context, she talks about her current challenges: "*Men ... det er nogle gange lidt irriterende at tale på dansk, for jeg prøver at tale dansk, og det er ikke mit førstesprog. Jeg taler andre sprog, men jeg vil gerne tale dansk selvfølgelig.*" [But ... it's a bit annoying sometimes to speak in Danish, because I'm trying to speak Danish, and it's not my first language. I speak other languages, but I want to speak Danish, of course.] I ask her what would make it easier for her to speak Danish, and she answers:

For eksempel, hvis folk siger kan du sige det igen? Kan du gentage? Eller kan du sige det på en anderledes måde? Der er også nogen hjælp som fra kolleger og folk, jeg møder her og der, nej måske ikke kolleger ... jeg kan ikke huske, men de hjælper mig, hvis jeg laver fejl, og de gentage på den rigtige måde på dansk, og så jeg føler ikke øhm judged, ja judged ja. Det hjælper, hvis de gentager og bare siger det på den rigtige måde på dansk, så de ikke siger, åh den rigtige måde på dansk er blah bla. De skal sige/bare sige det på den rigtige måde, og jeg kan godt lide det, fordi det hjælper mig, og jeg kan huske det meget bedre, end hvis jeg læser om det i en bog.

[For example, if people say can you say that? Can you repeat that? Or can you say it another way? There is also some help, like colleagues and people I meet here and there, no not colleagues maybe ... I can't remember, but they help me if I make a mistake and they repeat it the right way in Danish, and then I don't feel that umm judged, yes, judged yes. It helps me if they repeat and they just say it the

right way in Danish, so they don't say, oh the right way in Danish is blah blah. They have to say/just say it the right way and I like that because it helps me and I can remember it better than if I read it in a book.]

(Alice, in Danish, January 2021).

I have observed that native Danish-speakers often listen to international employees speaking Danish with attentiveness and responsiveness, which is confirmed by some of my informants, who are at a very high level of spoken Danish. Others, however, experience it differently. What I particularly notice when I hear Alice, Valentina and Oscar talk about their challenges in speaking Danish in their second year of employment is a shift in perspective from themselves as the primary cause of the challenges, those who have to learn more, to their native Danish-speaking colleagues, as contributing to their challenges. Alice emphasises her own worth in a way that I do not find among many new employees, who often show high modesty by, for example, expressing that they are the ones coming with a 'linguistic deficit' and that it is their own responsibility to correct it. Like Valentina, Alice brings up that she has a large linguistic repertoire, i.e. that she knows that she has the skills to learn languages, but that her Danish language learning process seems particularly challenging because of the native Danish-speakers at work. In short, Alice says that she is doing her best to learn and use Danish as required and expected of her, but she does not experience that her native Danish-speaking colleagues do their part to help her.

I hear something similar from the employee Carl when I speak to him online in the winter of 2021. Carl recalls the time when he understood most of what his colleagues said, but did not speak Danish at work and uses that as a starting point to make some more general observations about the language learning process based on the knowledge and experience he has today. He tells me: "*Det var lidt svært at komme ind i [det danske sprog]/men jeg kunne ikke rigtigt deltage og snakke hurtigt nok og give input.*" [It was a bit difficult to get into [the Danish language]/because I couldn't really participate and speak fast enough and give input.] He interrupts himself: "*Altså jeg kan bare ikke tænke, hvordan man i en dansk myndighed ikke skal have dansk. Det giver ikke rigtigt nogen mening til mig.*" [Well, I just can't imagine a Danish government not speaking Danish. It doesn't really make any sense to me.] Carl takes a short break while he thinks about it. I smile and take a sip of water. Then he takes a deep breath and says:

Altså nej jeg kan bare ikke tænke, hvordan man i en dansk myndighed ikke skal have dansk. Det giver ikke rigtigt nogen mening til mig. Men på den anden side det kræver måske også, at danskerne taler lidt langsommere. Altså det kunne være irriterende for dem, men det er, hvad man skal gøre. Hvis jeg tænker/altså da jeg kom til Danmark og talte engelsk med folk, de kunne ikke forstå, hvad jeg sagde, fordi jeg taler med stærk australsk accent, jeg taler hurtigt, så jeg begyndte at tale langsommere og mere tydeligt, og det er også, hvad man skal gøre, så hvis du vil hjælpe dine kolleger, som lærer dansk, så skal du tale langsommere, tale tydeligere [han strækker vokallyden på "langsommere" og "tydeligere", og det er, hvad man skal gøre; prøve at forstå hvad de siger. Der er to veje. Det er ikke kun nogen, som skal lære at tale på dansk, det er også dem, der skal lære folk med at lære dansk, og danskerne, hvis jeg skal være meget ærlig, danskerne er virkelig dårlige for at forstå dansk i en lille accent. Bare en smule [viser med fingrene] accent. Bare en lille accent. I Australien på engelsk vi har tusind accenter. Jeg prøver at forstå. Man skal prøve. Det er bare ikke nemt til danskerne. Der er mange i Australien, som ikke har engelsk som førstesprog. Jeg har flere venner fra asiatiske lande, så jeg har den der måde, du ved/ altså det er bare en typisk en, at hvis jeg siger noget, de svarer at "hvad siger du?" og ellers de bare svarer på engelsk. Det er måske det værste. Jeg kan ikke rigtigt tænke på flere eksempler, men det er bare, at man prøver meget, og hvis svaret er altid bare at skifte til engelsk, så føles det ligesom ok, hvorfor skal jeg prøve agtigt?

[No, I can't imagine a Danish government without Danish, but on the other hand, it might also require that the Danes speak a little more slowly. Well, it might be annoying for them, but it's what you have to do. If I think/so when I came to Denmark and spoke English to people, they couldn't understand what I said because I speak with a strong Australian accent, I speak fast, so I started speaking more slowly and more clearly, and that's also what you have to do, so if you want to help your colleagues who are learning Danish, you have to speak a little slower, speak a little more clearly [he lengthens the vowel sound on "slower" and "clearly"], try to understand what they are saying. It goes both ways. It's not only someone who has to learn to speak Danish, because it's also the Danes who have to help people learn Danish, and the Danes, if I have to be very honest, the Danes are really bad at understanding Danish with a little accent [illustrates with two fingers that he holds horizontally with a small gap], just a little accent. In Australia in English, we have a thousand accents. I try to understand. You have to try. It's just not easy for the Danes. There are many people in Australia who don't have English as their first language. I have several friends from Asian countries, so I have that way, you know/it's just typical that if I say something, they [native Danish speakers] reply "what are you saying?" and otherwise they just answer in English. That might be the worst. I can't really think of more examples, but it's just that you try a lot, and if the answer is always to just switch to English, then it feels like, ok why should I try?]

(Carl, in Danish, January 2021).

Carl also expresses a need for the investment in speaking Danish to be mutual as he sees the language learning process through linguistic interaction as a collaboration and co-creation where everyone involved has to contribute to make it work. If we follow Carl's thoughts, it is not necessarily the speaker who expresses herself unintelligibly, as it may just as well be the listener who does not make a proper effort to understand.

Carl's perspective presents a different approach to language learning and linguistic interaction than the approach which I usually encounter among new employees without Danish skills and among native Danish-speakers in the department. This difference can be clarified through Norton's distinction between *investment* and *motivation* (Norton-Peirce 1995, Norton & Toohey 2011). Whereas motivation is connected to a view on language learning as an individual process driven by the (degree of a) learners wanting to learn the language, the concept of investment emphasises the social dimension of learning, that is, the importance of access to learning through speaking in everyday contexts. When the international employees begin in the organisation, they have great personal motivation to learn Danish and the organisation provides the necessary resources to embark in the form of paid Danish courses in their working hours, but as their language learning skills improve, they experience shortcomings in terms of their ability to practice speaking Danish due to an uneven investment between the learner and other employees. In short, Carl's observations point to the shortcomings of a view on language learning emphasising individual motivation, and instead underlines the relevance of mutuality and social embeddedness of learning to enable speaking a language.

Accordingly, Carl and several of his colleagues express a need to not only invest in language learning and use, but also for Danish colleagues to be invested in the process through mutual adaptation instead of viewing the process as primarily a matter of individual accomplishment. I hear from both the General Director, August, and the department manager, Eva, that "perfect Danish" is a matter of having "the will and desire to learn the Danish language and to try to use it." When I ask about the organisation's role in the process, I am told that the organisation reciprocates with patience and Danish courses. These are also indispensable basics, as also Lønsmann concludes in her study from 2011. Private Danish lessons, provided by an external company, during working hours with small classes of

three to eight people, is a costly financial investment for the organisation that give rise to a strong symbolic meaning of being wanted for new employees. At the workshop in the spring of 2021, Luca is a few months into his employment in the department, and he has just started a Danish beginner's course. He has understood that the organisation pays for his course, but he finds it very hard to understand that it also pays him for the time he spends on it, i.e. in principle this has no consequences for his work, since it counts as his work. After several attempts by colleagues to explain it to Luca, he begins to understand the concept:

Luca: Well, it just sounds odd because we are in Denmark and they [the organisation] are paying for it [the Danish course], but they are like doing you a favor/it's not like if you are in India and they are like ok you come here and you have to learn Danish because it's a part of your job. Here it's like ok we are already doing a favour to you by paying for the courses so it should not be included in your working hours, but I guess I have a wrong way of seeing it from my Italian perspective

Pietro: [laughing]

Luca: Yeah, you agree Pietro? In Italy it would be like if you work here, and you do Italian in your extra hours that is very nice, and we don't give a shit about it

Pietro: It might sound like a dream, but it's like/at least from my side I'm grateful for this opportunity not only to get free courses but to do them during working hours. Then getting to a level where you can understand everything that's another point.

(Workshop, in English, April 2021).

Thus, Luca and Pietro's emphasis on the organisation's patience and Danish courses acknowledge that these structures create a basic framework for the learning process, but the framework does not include mutuality in the form of participation of Danish speakers. The language learning process is reserved for the individual and the classroom, and the expectation is that the employee will one day cross the threshold from the classroom to the meeting room as a fluent Danish speaker.

5.3.3. Need for consistence

So far, I have described non-native Danish-speaking employees' expression of a need for mutual investment to strengthen the learning process and to be able to perform as Danish speakers. In theoretical terms this is a shift from an emphasis on personal motivation to an investment in language learning as a mutual and social practice. I have particularly highlighted wishes for interactional practices such as speaking slowly and clearly, listening attentively and repeating words. One last thing I want to discuss is the consistence, or lack thereof, in particular language choices at work, especially the phenomena of switching to English at the initiative of native Danish-speakers.

In the spring of 2021, I talk to the native Danish-speaking employee, Magnus, online about the language policy in the organisation, about when he uses which languages at work, and about his teams where the number of "foreign colleagues" has grown steadily during his two years in the department:

Magnus: *Altså det må være svært for dem, som ikke taler så meget dansk, og vi vil jo gerne hjælpe så meget vi kan.*

[Well, it must be difficult for those who don't speak much Danish, and we want to help as much as we can.]

Charlotte: *Ja, hvad kan hjælp være for eksempel? Altså, hvordan prøver du at hjælpe?*

[Yes, what could help be for example? How are you trying to help?]

Magnus: *Mmm, jamen de kan gå til undervisning i dansk ikke? Jeg mener, der er nogle kurser*

[Mmm, well, they can attend Danish classes, right? I think there are some courses]

Charlotte: *Ja, det er rigtigt, men når I arbejder eller spiser frokost, når der altså ikke lige er lockdown, hvordan hjælper du så kollegerne med dansk?*

[Yes, that's true, but when you're working or eating lunch, when there's no lockdown, how do you help your colleagues with Danish?]

Magnus: *Ja altså, jeg skifter over til engelsk tit/også i teamet*

[Well, I often switch to English/[this applies] also to the team]

(Magnus, in Danish, March 2021).

Magnus' comments are similar to other conversations I have had with native Danish-speakers in the department. The vast majority express empathy and sympathy for their colleagues who are learning Danish, i.e. they see their colleagues and want to help them. When I ask what they do to help, Danish courses and switching to English are usually mentioned and often in the same order. This resonates with my observations from especially the time after lockdown in the office, where I occasionally see that, for example, Pietro and Oscar speak Danish together in the kitchen. Then a native Danish-speaking employee enters the room to get a cup of coffee, listens a bit and joins the conversation by asking a question in English.

The shift in language choice by native Danish-speakers, however, is perceived in various ways by non-native Danish-speakers and in part dependent on where they are in their Danish language learning process. As described in Chapter 4, Sofia and Emilio experience an ambivalence in relation to the use of English in Danish-speaking sites during their first year. They feel "a little bad" that others speak English because of them and Sofia in particular expresses a reluctance to stand out, which is reinforced by language choice negotiations in situ. On the other hand, Sofia says that she is "actually very happy" for the meetings where English is a fixed pattern, and that she protects the pattern as she sees English as a help. In contrast, my conversation with Carl about his second year reveals that he does not find English to be a help, because to get an answer in English when he speaks Danish: "might be the worst". I hear similar attitudes in relation to switching to English from several other more experienced employees who are trying to make use of their Danish skills in their second year in the department. Alice tells me: "Sometimes they [Danish-speaking colleagues] say okay, let's switch to English, or you just have to say it in English, and it's very annoying for me because I'm trying to say it in Danish. Sometimes I just feel that they are waiting and waiting and then I switch to English because I don't want to bother them umm yeah, because I feel pressure [laughs a little] and it's not such a good feeling." I ask Alice if it often happens that she is asked to switch to English, and she replies: "*Nej ikke så ofte. Men jeg kan klart huske situationerne, fordi det er irriterende.*" [No, not that often, but I can clearly remember the situations because it's annoying.] (Alice, in Danish, January 2021). Practices of switching to English are also a topic at one of the two workshops initiated by some of the participants, including Jorge who perceives it as a constraint for language learning: "I think the only problem is the switching to English actually. I think that is kind of the worst barrier for learning, because it really makes it feel like a failure and moves the chances for practicing, which is already hard since everyone in Copenhagen speaks English.

You go to 7/Eleven, and they speak English, you go to the supermarket, and they speak English. So, I think that is something I appreciate in general if our Danish-speaking colleagues would actually stay in Danish or do not switch to English unless you ask them in a way. So, if you speak in Danish then try to keep it in Danish unless it's absolutely impossible to getting to know each other." (Jorge, in English, April 2021).

For many non-native Danish-speakers switching to English challenges the meaningfulness of their investment in language learning as they experience it as an obstacle to their second language socialisation. As Carl says: "if the answer is always to just switch to English, then it feels like, okay why should I try?" Carl may feel a certain resignation in relation to sticking to the course to learn Danish when his colleagues switch to English, but due to the organisation's requirements for language skills, resignation does not seem like an option either.

5.4. Recognition

As described at the beginning of this chapter, Delphine's intervention on the Diversity day indicates a remarkable progression in her Danish language skills compared to most of her international colleagues around their second year in the department. Other international employees express that they do not perceive Delphine as representative of the average non-native Danish speaker. For example, Valentina says in connection with her own language struggles: "*det er fantastisk, at for eksempel Delphine starter at tale dansk efter et år, men hun er super klog, så det er ikke normalt [griner]*", [it's fantastic that, for example, Delphine starts speaking Danish after a year, but she's super smart, so it's not normal [laughs]]. (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020). Delphine's language development and advancement is not "normal", that is, representative of the typical second language socialisation process into the organisation. Nonetheless, she can still provide insight into which conditions may enable a clearer sense of progress from being a non-native Danish-speaking novice to becoming a competent Danish speaker. Based on Norton's theory of investment and the implied power relations that give access to language learning, I will explore social factors, such as recognition and access to key positions. Delphine's linguistic breakthrough is not only about acquired advanced Danish language skills, but also about being able to use them in work situations. I see the combination of acquired language skills and the ability to use them as providing Delphine with an increased sense of integrity and power in the department.

On my first day as a researcher in October 2020, Delphine, my first mentor, shows me around the deserted office. She stops at several desks and introduces me to who they belong to when there is no lockdown and their power position: "*Her sidder Johannes. Det er ham, der kan bestemme mest*" [Here is Johannes' place. He can decide the most]. We move on to a new office island: "*Her har vi modelleringsteamet, og det er Kims plads. Han har været her meget længe, og han vil gerne vise, at han bestemmer meget, men faktisk det gør han ikke* [stort smil]" [Here we have the modeling team, and this is Kim's place. He has been here for a very long time, and he would like to give the impression that he decides a lot, but in fact he does not [big smile]. As we have been around the entire department and are sitting together on the office sofa, I ask her how much she can decide. She thinks for a while. "*Jeg har en lille magt*" [I have a small power], she answers me and repeats "*en lille*" [a small].

(Introduction to the department, in Danish, October 2020).

Delphine tells me that the reason for her "small power" is that she is the country team leader of a small team and that she is also responsible for *Forsikringstildelingsordningen* [The Insurance Grant Scheme], which is a support scheme reserved for sustainable businesses. She is offered both *roller* [roles], as she calls it, after a year of employment. Before that, her workday consisted of being an energy efficiency specialist in two different country teams. The role as a specialist enabled her to focus on her area of expertise, which for her is developing energy efficiency in her two partner countries. The vast majority of her non-native Danish-speaking colleagues also work in the role of a specialist. Leo is developing district heating, while Valentina's focus is offshore wind power. In the work as a specialist, the primary contact is the different teams in the department and the partner countries. Delphine's later roles as country team leader and responsible for The Insurance Grant Scheme are more distinctive roles that make her visible as an individual and give her greater exposure upward in the organisation, as the roles include more responsibility, decision-making and thus more collaboration with "important people" with "great power". These are roles that are more administrative in nature and by taking them, she moves from being a specialist, which is typically made up of employees with a background in engineering, to being a generalist, which usually consists of people with an education in political science. In short, Delphine moves from one professional area to another. Both roles require extensive Danish language skills, which Delphine does not have when she is employed.

Later, during my first day in October 2020, Delphine and I continue our conversation at a café. According to Delphine, it was not in the cards for her to be offered the roles, because she spoke mostly English in the first year: "*Jeg kunne slet ikke noget dansk i begyndelsen, og det blev en vane at tale engelsk, og det er svært at skifte*" [I didn't know any Danish at all at the beginning, and it became a habit to speak English, and it's hard to change]. I ask her what was causing the change. "*Ja, det var fordi, jeg skulle arbejde med Forsikringstildelingsordningen, og det var på dansk, selvfølgelig, så jeg var, ok nu skal jeg tale mere dansk.*" [Well, it was because I had to work with the Insurance Grant Scheme, and it was in Danish, of course, so I was like, ok now I have to speak more Danish.] I ask her if she knew that the role required advanced Danish language skills, as she accepted it. Did they talk about the language policy when she was offered the role? She answers: "*Ja ja, jeg sagde, ja det vil jeg gerne, men det skal foregå på engelsk, for jeg ikke arbejde på dansk. Ja ja, selvfølgelig, selvfølgelig Delphine, det vil være på engelsk selvfølgelig.*" [Yes, yes, I said, yes, I would like to, but it must take place in English, because I don't work in Danish. Yes yes, of course, of course Delphine, it will be in English of course]. She laughs and continues: "*Og ham der var teamleder på det tidspunkt, han tog mig med til det første møde med øh Jura og øh Compliance og vores ministerie, og det var to timer om den juridiske ramme for Forsikringstildelingsordningen, og det var selvfølgelig på dansk, og jeg var oh my God, det vil være en katastrofe*". [And the team leader at the time, he took me to the first meeting with umm Law and umm Compliance and our ministry, and it was two hours about the legal framework for the Insurance Grant Scheme, and of course it was in Danish, and I was like oh my God, this is going to be a catastrophe]. We both laugh. "*Og så brugte jeg meget tid for at forstå, hvad det betyder på dansk. Jeg tog noter, mange, og lyttede og læste mange, mange, og så fungerede det. Og endnu en gang vores kolleger i styrelsen er super søde. De var meget tålmodige og snakkede på dansk med mig.*" [And then I spent a lot of time understanding what it all means in Danish. I took notes, many, and listened and read a lot, a lot, and then it worked. And once again, our colleagues in the agency are super nice. They were very patient and spoke to me in Danish.] (Delphine, in Danish, October 2020).

Delphine's story is an exception to the otherwise dominant pattern of feeling stuck in a certain social position (Davies & Harre 1990) at work in relation to their Danish language learning and use and their career opportunities. At a time when others are suffering from disillusionment, Delphine is growing. Based on that, I find connections between what I would call career mobility in the organisation, language learning and power relations. Norton

and Toohey describe how pedagogical practices, i.e. language learning, has the potential: "(...) to be transformative in offering language learners more powerful positions than those they may occupy either inside or outside the classroom." (Norton & Toohey 2011: 417). Thus, learning is understood as a potentially transformative process that enables the language learner to gain access to powerful social networks that provide the opportunity to speak, i.e. access to use the language, perform a desired identity and to learn more. Delphine's transformation process during her second year, emphasises this mutual constitution. According to Delphine's description, she was not offered the role of being in charge of the Scheme because of her language skills. Instead, she develops her language skills because of the role. The role both requires and makes it meaningful for her to learn and use Danish. As the person in charge of a network of Danish-speaking lawyers and officials from the ministry, she cannot get through the work by simply listening to the Danish discussions and speaking in English. In contrast to Oscar and Carl, she experiences a lot of patience and willingness from native Danish-speakers to help her which may be because she now has a more important role. From this perspective, the role offer can be seen as a promotion and an investment in Delphine on the part of the organisation, which move her from the specialist role in the partner countries to an administrative generalist role in the organisation. This implies that she is growing linguistically, professionally, and socially and it gives her a new course towards new opportunities.

However, taking on the role is not easy for her, but means increased hard double work. Like her start in the department, she is also shocked to discover that the work with the Insurance Grant Scheme takes place in Danish. She reminds me that she starts working with the Scheme, while I am her Danish teacher. I clearly remember her telling me at the beginning of 2020 that she is going to speak more Danish. In my teacher's notes from that time, I can see that I notice "a big progression" in her language, but I do not note anything about her new role, which is probably because I am unaware of the scope of it, what it implies. She says that one issue is learning all the legal vocabulary and register usage around the Scheme, another issue is communicating with citizens, mainly business owners, from all over the country, who she has never met before. In this case, she is not an internal colleague, but a representative of the organisation who must answer questions and give advice when people write and call. She finds phone calls particularly challenging. They require her to quickly tune into people's questions, listen through regional languages, dialects, memorise the legal framework and respond appropriately in an easy-to-understand way that

makes her sound confident and authoritative: "*Jeg rystede og var helt våd af sved efter*" [I was shaking and all wet with sweat afterwards], she says. She particularly remembers a situation where it was very difficult for her to formulate a response to a business owner, and she asked him if it was ok that she spoke in English. His response was: "*Har jeg ikke ringet til den danske Energistyrelse? [Delphine griner stort]*" [Haven't I called the Danish Energy Agency? [Delphine laughs heartily]]. (Delphine, in Danish, October 2020). Due to her new position, Delphine does not just have to deal with the language policy within the organisation, but also with the society the organisation serves. In short, citizens expect the Danish Energy Agency to speak Danish. Thus, it bears witness to the fact that the organisation is not only part of the central administration, but also serves the civil society and its language ideologies.

As to why she was offered the roles, she believes it was more of a coincidence than anything else. Most specialists start in "red countries", i.e. countries that are considered difficult to progress in and do not get much attention. In a focus group interview in the spring of 2021, in which Delphine, Leo and Alexandra, among others, participate, I learn that it is difficult for most "foreign specialists" to move from "red countries" to higher status countries. Leo and Alexandra tell me how they repeatedly experience that the department management quickly moves "new Danish colleagues" to countries with more opportunities, although Leo and Alexandra have been in the country team longer than them (Focus group interview, in English, June 2021). By chance, the department needs Delphine's professional skills in a high-profile country when she starts. This means that she participates in several high-level mission trips and is quickly noticed by the Directors. On the mission trips, the use of Danish is frequent. Danish is "the secret language" for the meetings, i.e. when the team discusses decisions together during meetings with the partners, the notes to the General Director, August, are in Danish, and the team speaks Danish when they are gathered. Delphine therefore does her best to keep up and use the Danish she has learned, and she thinks this is noticed by, among others, August. Three months after my conversation with Delphine at the café in October 2020, I speak to August, who emphasises Delphine's Danish skills. He tells me how he could follow her learning process from mission trip to mission trip. At first, she could make small talk and order a beer and eventually she could write his notes and they were excellent, he says.

According to Delphine, the role of being responsible for the Scheme becomes a turning point, as it requires her to linguistically step over the threshold "to speak more Danish". As she steps into a distinctive, administrative generalist role, she becomes widely

visible in the organisation, which positions her with some power. What is clear in Delphine's story is that her crossing or transformation in Norton and Toohey's words relates to a reinforcement of the double work of second language socialisation, getting into the professional field in unfamiliar 'Danishes'. There are several indications that Delphine's transformation, her learning process, has involved more than time and effort, but also high-intensity, emotional boundary crossing, fluctuating between shock, fear, and pride. Thus, Delphine can be seen as an example of an employee who actually experiences a mutual investment in regards to accessing new roles, language learning, and the colleagues' understanding of her language learning mutually affect each other.

As Delphine is not typical, her success in second language socialisation into the workplace enables us to point out what she is provided that her international colleagues are not. It is central that the requirements of her Danish language skills are well defined through her assignments. It is very clear what she needs to understand and actively perform in Danish. Delphine's role also means that her colleagues have to be nice and patient with her, as they cannot turn to one of her native Danish-speaking colleagues as Delphine is the solely responsible for the Insurance Grant Scheme. Thus, her work is indispensable and nurtures mutuality.

5.4.1. English as the inclusive language choice

A recurrent feature in my empirical material is that there is no single perspective from where to observe the processes of second language socialisation into the organisation. For example, many international employees fully understand and find the organisation's language policy natural, but the same employees may nevertheless be deeply frustrated by it. Similarly, employees who express frustration with native Danish-speakers' use of English may also express frustration with their lack of use of English. English is associated with both a lack of mutual investment from native Danish-speakers and a lack of inclusion.

In the autumn of 2020, Valentina describes the differences between employees who comply with the organisation's language policy and those who do not to me in an online interview:

Ahm, de [danske kolleger] ser det godt, hvad der sker, og der er mange, der gerne vil hjælpe [ved at tale engelsk] og andre der, jeg synes de/ jeg tror de vælger Dansk Folkeparti. Så de taler kun dansk med kolleger fra udlandet, og de er superstolte af at være danskere.

[Umm, they [the native Danish-speaking colleagues] see well what is happening and there are many who want to help [by speaking English] and others who I think they/I think they vote *Dansk Folkeparti* [a political right-wing nationalist party in Denmark]. So, they only speak Danish with colleagues from abroad and they are super proud to be Danes.

(Valentina, in Danish, October 2020).

When Valentina talks about Danish colleagues, "who want to help", she refers to colleagues she can ask for help, someone who sees her challenges and stands up for her by choosing English. According to her, this group of colleagues are people who, like herself, have travelled and worked abroad before, which means that they have a more "open and free will and understand that it can be difficult for me, for example, to be a foreigner in Denmark" (Valentina, in Danish, October 2020)²². She positions herself and those she believes she can count on by attaching positive values to them in contrast to those choosing to speak Danish. She understands the reasons for some colleagues only speaking Danish to be rooted in their ideological beliefs of strong nationalism. Thus, Valentina perceives the Danish language choice as a metonym for the speaker's personal values and characteristics. I hear that several others explain their colleagues' choice of Danish with similar connotations such as being "old-fashioned", "narrow-minded", "feel superior", and "poor English speakers". Due to this social categorisation of colleagues based on their language choice, Valentina and several other of her non-native Danish-speaking colleagues build a safety net of "close" colleagues whose help they can count on. Due to this belief, they also optimise their perceived positions as more right than those who choose to speak Danish. Thus, the social categorisation within this trusted network of colleagues in relation to their language choice is central to the tacit language ideological battle in the department, has direct consequences for ascribed identities and is a strategy for opposing power related to the chosen language.

²² Valentina's positioning of herself and colleagues who want to help can be related to what Valentin emphasises as *cosmopolitan sociability* with reference to Glick Schiller et al. (2011). I.e. "(...) forms of relational practices and domains in everyday interaction where people encounter each other through points of shared interests and through an openness that is experienced despite differences." (Valentin 2017: 268).

Choosing English as a language during a meeting, which is otherwise supposed to be in Danish, is always explicitly motivated by the need to include all employees:

"Det næste vil jeg sige på engelsk, så alle har mulighed at forstå det" [I will say the next thing in English, so everyone has the opportunity to understand it].

(Delphine, department meeting, in Danish, October 2020).

"Og så skifter jeg lige til engelsk, for der er nogen, der er i gang med at lære dansk" [And now I'll just switch to English, because someone here is learning Danish].

(Svend, department meeting, in Danish, November 2020).

"And now I'm switching to English so everyone can follow".

(Nord, department meeting, in English, January 2021).

"Nu skifter jeg til engelsk, for der er nogen, der går til dansk". [Now I switch to English, because someone, is attending Danish courses].

(Trine, department meeting, in Danish, May 2021).

The quotes above are taken from various department meetings. What they all have in common is the marking of a language shift from Danish to English without prior request for permission to do so, i.e. permission to depart from the organisation's language policy. It is a signalling, an information of an action that either will or is already taking place, as seen in the quote from Nord, where the speech act and language choice together constitute the action itself. Prior to the language shift, the speakers are given the floor in Danish by the meeting chair. At the beginning of one of the meetings, Svend is given the floor by Johannes: "*Svend er du med på linjen? Kunne du sige et par ord om mødet med modelleringsholdet i sidste uge?*" [Svend, are you on the line? Could you say a few words about the meeting with the modelling team last week?]. Svend's face pops up on the screen: "*Ja selvfølgelig. Til orientering afholdt vi vores faggruppemøde i onsdags i sidste uge, hvor IKL deltog, og så*

skifter jeg lige til engelsk, for der er nogen, der er i gang med at lære dansk." [Yes, of course. For your information, we held our professional group meeting on Wednesday last week, which IKL attended, and now I'll just switch to English, because someone here is learning Danish]. (Department meeting, in Danish and English, November 2020).

In all my observations, the department management responds to this type of action with blank faces and total silence. Sometimes they look down. The events echo Delphine's response to the Diversity day both in relation to the message, i.e. English language choice enables everyone to follow along, and in relation to the department management's reaction. A key difference, however, is that Svend and the others do not only talk about the benefits of English in Danish, but also switch to English. During my conversations with Svend and Nord, they both independently refer to Delphine's "speaking between the lines" on the Diversity day. During an online interview in the spring of 2021, Svend says: "*På vores kontordag, da vi havde den for et års tid siden, var der også en, der sagde/kan du huske Delphine? Noget med at det bare ikke giver mening at have møderne på dansk, når der er så mange, der ikke forstår det.*" [When we had our department day a year ago, there was also someone/do you remember Delphine?, who said something to the effect that it just doesn't make sense to hold the meetings in Danish when there are so many who don't understand it.] (Svend, in Danish, May 2021). Switching to English with the explanation that "someone" is learning Danish can be seen as an effort to create conditions that make more sense to them although resisting the organisation's language policy. In this case, ownership to language choice is up for negotiation as those who switch from Danish to English, within Spolky's threefold categorisation of agents of language management (Spolsky 2018), function as 'advocates' by asserting an authority that is not legitimised by the 'owners', i.e. department management.

What characterises the speech act is that it is performed in a subdued tone and is seemingly non-defiant or confrontational. By drawing on the diplomatic register, the employees carry it out as a side note with the utmost naturalness. To the untrained eye, it is hard to see that they are empowering themselves to act against the rules. The speaker who in a given situation performs as an "advocate" (for the inclusiveness of English) by suggesting the change of language, keeps it short and positive. At no point do I observe anyone raising it to a general level or addressing it as a negative social consequence of the organisation's language policy. Words that I hear in more private contexts, such as exclusion, injustice, frustration, and anger, do not appear openly in these situations. If we turn our attention to

those who consistently initiate the language shifts, it is about eight people (both native and non-native Danish-speakers out of approximately 85 in total). Most of those getting the floor and changing the language have been in the department for more than a year and all speak seemingly effortless Danish. It is not employees who themselves need English to keep up, like Emilio or Sofia in their first year, but employees who speak on behalf of "someone" to make them part of "everyone". A strong notion of a close relationship between language choice, inclusion and equality is expressed, for example, during an interview with the native Danish-speaking employee, Bo:

Hvorfor vælger vi ikke en neutral bane, som er engelsk? Så er vi alle sammen lige! Fordi italienere, altså Leo, han er italiener, så hans andetsprog er engelsk. Jeg er dansker. Mit andetsprog er engelsk. Så er vi jo lige. Og jeg synes rent psykologisk, så får man udenlandske medarbejdere og generelt folk til at føle sig mere lige, når man vælger det sprog, som er ens andetsprog, og det er jo det samme, vi gør med vores udenlandske partnere. Vi siger jo heller ikke, at vi skal tale dansk eller øh kinesisk eller tyrkisk med vores udenlandske partnere. Det er jo engelsk, og det er for at være ligeværdige. Vi snakker altid om, at vi skal være i øjenhøjde, så synes jeg også, at vi skal være i øjenhøjde med vores kolleger.

[Why don't we choose a neutral course that is English? Then we're all equal! Because Italians, well Leo, he's Italian, so his second language is English. I'm Danish. My second language is English. So, we're equal. And I think psychologically, you make foreign employees and people in general feel more equal when you choose the language that is your second language, and that's the same thing we do with our foreign partners. We don't say that we have to speak Danish or Chinese or Turkish with our foreign partners. It's English, and that's to be equal. We always talk about being at the same level, so I think we should also be at the same level with our colleagues.]

(Bo, in Danish, May 2021).

Returning to the consistent use of indefinite pronouns, I suggest that the Danish-speaking employees do not want to risk revealing their colleagues' needs, as this is in principle, declaring them unfit for the job, a point I will come back to soon. At the same time, the use of indefinite pronouns also functions as an allusion, a reminder that several nameless attendees are not part of it all even though it might look like that. The omission of specific names adds an enigmatic twist to for whom exactly Svend is speaking English. Svend tells me in the spring of 2021 that he is not sure if people in the department realise that there are

quite a few people who have no idea of what is being said in the meetings and he is not sure that the department management gives it much thought either.

5.5. Management dilemmas

As mentioned, the department management does not comment on the language shift.

However, the department managers, Henrik and Eva, briefly raise the subject at one of our online meetings in the winter of 2021 where we talk about the organisation's language policy.

Henrik says that employees like Svend (a native Danish-speaker), for example, "*han har ret meget modstand på, at vi taler dansk på morgenmøderne og får os til at fremstå som om, at vi ikke opfylder vores lederfunktion ordentligt*". [have a lot of resistance to us speaking Danish at the morning meetings and make us appear as if we are not performing our leadership function properly.] Henrik says that he does not think that such resistance is quite fair.

According to Henrik, they offer people an exciting job, the salary is not as high as in the private sector, but it is not bad and with the financial allowances that come with the mission trips etc. and the long vacations, it is not so bad at all. "And yes, much of the work is done in Danish, and we have become much better at making that clear before they are hired, and they accept that." Henrik points out that the organisation pays for a number of expensive Danish courses and rhetorically asks if it is not okay that the organisation expects a little in return?

Henrik does not specify what he means by "to expect a little in return". I assume that it is about the will and the desire to try or at least not to resist the current rules. Eva nods affirmatively to what Henrik says. She tells me that some of the employees are upset that so many meetings are in Danish, and that the situation is also "*lidt træls*" [a bit hard or bad], but what can they do? The Directors "*lægger den sproglige linje*" [lay down the linguistic line], says Eva, "and when you think about who we are, it's quite fair", interjects Henrik. He pauses and looks down. He sometimes does this when he has said something that defends the organisation's language policy. I have written in my notebook that both Henrik and Eva seem discouraged and a little resentful. We are all quiet until Eva breaks the silence. "It's difficult. I don't like anyone feeling excluded, and I prefer everyone to just be happy. I don't like it when there's a bad atmosphere," she says. She does what she can to help, including approaching the organisation's language policy with a certain creativity, but she knows very well that it is not enough, she says.

Based on my regular conversations with the department management from January to September 2021 and in the years following my official fieldwork period, I understand that like the employees, the department management similarly experiences the organisation's language policy is problematic. The department management know the language policy in the central administration and fully understand the Directors' language policy in the organisation. "Even in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, everything is in Danish", Eva tells me several times, which I also observe myself on different occasions. For example, at seminars, which are held in English because external representatives of the cooperation countries participate, I see that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' presentations are originally made in Danish. Some of their slides have been translated, and some are still in Danish. Several employees such as Carl, Emilio, and Delphine express their understanding (and acceptance) of the organisation's language policy in language ideological terms as the natural language in a Danish state administration, whereas I typically hear the department management talk about the organisation's language policy as a question of a deeply anchored social pragmatic practice in the organisation and the entire state administration, which the department must follow. Asking ministries to hold meetings in English is asking their bosses to diverge from their own practice. Furthermore, all legal documents etc. are written in Danish. Otherwise, they are not valid. What I find is that the department management perceive the organisation's language policy in relation to the vast social, hierarchical web of relationships. The professional hierarchy applies not least internally in the organisation, where the department management closely follows the Directors' instructions just as the Directors follow those of the ministries. The department management is thus in a middle position. Their job on the one hand is to carry out the Directors' interests and on the other hand, to take care of all their employees and these interests collide with the organisation's language policy.

Eva expresses concern for her non-native Danish-speaking employees in relation to their well-being and career opportunities. She finds it challenging both to bring employees' full potential into play due to "den sproglige barriere" [the language barrier], as she calls it, and to retain her important employees. Eva tries to navigate the conflicting demands and needs by use of ingenuity, creativity, and civil disobedience towards the Directors' demands. This applies to a daily compliance with the language policy (c.f. Chapter 4), but also in terms of recruitment. The department managers are responsible for staffing the department and to be able to do that, they need employees with specific skills. Due to a

rapidly growing field within renewable energy, these employees are not only attractive to the organisation, but to the large global labour market where there is fierce competition for "the most suitable candidates". Nonetheless, Eva tells me one day on the phone in the spring of 2021 that "*det med hvem der er mest egnet er ikke helt let*" [deciding who's the most suitable isn't that easy]. She has received many applications from highly specialised and experienced people from all over the world who just do not speak Danish. Should she reject them because Danish is a requirement in the organisation? The act of "civil disobedience", in many ways done out of necessity, contributes to creating a taboo about the local English language practices, and makes it difficult to have a dialogue about the employees' linguistic challenges. This applies both to a dialogue with employees who, according to the organisation's language policy, are not "best suited", i.e. qualified, for the job and with the Directors.

5.5.1. Global Cooperation – a global workplace

It is clear from the previous sections that non-native Danish-speaking employees, native Danish-speaking employees, and – to a certain extent – department management all navigate around the organisation's language policy with various forms of resistance, or acceptance, often justified by the need to include all employees. Another form of justification relates to a notion of English as the global language.

In the summer of 2021, Pietro and a small handful of colleagues put on colourful Hawaiian shirts and mix strong, icy cocktails. Pietro flits around the entire department with various flags in his hands. He carefully places the flags on desks, shelves, and other surfaces. He finds stickers and tells his colleagues that all teams must have one when they have completed the treasure hunt. It is their mark of proof. "I guess we're ready for the big party", he says with a big smile. Soon after, Pietro welcomes the first team. It consists of about fifteen people who come from different departments in the organisation. Many are dressed in high heels, short dresses, and shirts with short sleeves. Employees, managers, and Directors. Around 600 people, whom the party committee has neatly divided into different teams and sent off on this year's tour de chambre, a tour to visit everyone in the various departments. Pietro offers everyone a cocktail and then places himself in the centre of the circle of guests as he begins his welcome. Many teams come by during the day, and each time Pietro welcomes them in almost the same way:

Pietro: *Så velkommen til! Jeg hedder Pietro, og jeg her med mine kolleger Carl, Fen, Juan, Charlotte og mange andre. Vi er Global Rådgivning. GR [engelsk udtale] det er Global Rådgivning. Så vi har masser af lande, masser af sprog, so today we are gonna talk in English<*

[So welcome! My name is Pietro and I'm here with my colleagues Carl, Fen, Juan, Charlotte, and many others. We are Global Cooperation. GC, it's Global Cooperation. So, we have lots of countries, lots of languages so today we are gonna talk in English<]

[>giggles from the guests]

Pietro: and I hope you are all ok with that

[giggles from the guests]

Pietro: So, one minute to describe what is GR and what do we do (...)

(Pietro's welcome speech, in Danish and English, August 2021).

It would be difficult for an outsider to see that Pietro plays with the usual Danish language order within the organisation, but the guests' giggles suggest that they can see it, because they know the rules. In Pietro's welcome speech I see a parallel to the situations where Svend, Nord and their colleagues make a language shift. This applies to the subdued form, the absence of challenging or defiant remarks, and that it is carried out as if it is common practice, the most natural thing to do. However, Pietro's reasoning for the language shift differs from Svend and Nord's, who focus on helping their colleagues who attend Danish courses. In contrast, Pietro does not emphasise differences or otherness in the department, for example that "someone here is learning Danish" contrary to others. Instead, he draws on the norm of sameness in the shape of a shared We: "We are Global Cooperation. So, we have lots of countries and lots of languages". Based on that, he makes the conclusion: "So today we are gonna talk in English".

Yet, I find that Pietro's use of the shared We is more ambiguous than the usual socially inclusive use of it. Pietro makes the language shift while standing with a handful of his colleagues, all of whom are non-native Danish speakers. That "Lots of countries and lots of languages" refers to the employees, i.e. the internal people in the department, seems sensible, but it can also refer to the cooperation with the partner countries, i.e. the externals, in a type of analogue relation. Intentionally or not, Pietro makes the two dimensions feed each other by assembling the employees from lots of countries with lots of languages with the core work. In short, he positions employees like himself, Valentina, etc. as a natural part of

the global line, which is the department's *raison d'être*. He resists the organisation's language policy by insisting on another that makes more sense to him. The logic implies that the department is not like the rest of the organisation because "GC is global" and therefore they should not be subject to the same language policy as the rest of the organisation. By creating a linguistic assembly between employees and partner countries, Pietro interferes with the Directors' distinction between what is internal and external, local, and global, where the boundaries, among other things, are drawn by language choice. The distinction has great similarities with Lønsmann's study of language ideologies in a private company in Denmark, where she finds that: "Danish is associated with local values and local power, while English is linked with power and quality at an international scale." (Lønsmann 2015: 349). In essence, Pietro claims that the external, the global or international, is not only outside the walls of the organisation, but also within it with him as a manifestation. To borrow a term from Fairclough, one could say that Pietro linguistically *reverses* (Fairclough 1989) the power structure by making himself and his international colleagues more "right", more natural in a global department. A few days after the summer party, I ask Pietro about the language shift in the welcome speech. He is on his way to a meeting and has just changed from sneakers to black leather shoes. He stops and walks over to my desk: "*Vi er Global Rådgivning. Global!*" [We are Global Cooperation. Global!], he says, rounding his mouth dramatically while he stretches out "gloobal" (Pietro, in Danish, August 2021). He smiles and walks away as if it were self-evident.

Pietro's statement indicates a belief or a notion of "English as the global language" (Lønsmann & Mortensen 2018: 437) or English as "the one and only language of internationalisation" (Lønsmann 2015: 350). As Pietro's mother tongue is not English but Italian, he could have chosen a language other than English. Lønsmann and Mortensen write: "Framing English as 'the global language' naturalises a system of ideas in which English is seen as 'an obvious choice' for internationally oriented companies and individuals alike, while the relevance of other languages is downplayed." (Lønsmann & Mortensen 2018: 437). This is not only related to the everyday challenges due to the fact that not everyone understands and speaks Danish fluently but to a wider understanding of the nature of the organisation and how it relates or not relates to the practices of the state administration. Laurent tells me: "It doesn't really make sense that the meetings are in Danish when there are so many people who can't understand anything of what is being said, and not at all when you consider that we are an international department." When I ask Laurent what he means by the department being

international, he says that it is not like the other nationally oriented departments [within the Danish Energy Agency] and "people" should recognise that (Laurent, in Danish, March 2021). Thus, the Danish language policy is challenged both by pragmatic concerns to include everyone, but also by defining the identity of the organisational We within a larger institutional context.

5.5.2. Language confusion

In the winter of 2021, I speak to the native Danish-speaking employee, Jon, a few times who is hired in a role as a generalist. His primary activities are communication, Director Services, and project managing. His team consists exclusively of native Danish-speaking colleagues like himself. Jon is also responsible for many social events in the department during lockdown, which include online morning coffee, social lunch, Christmas events, a Christmas confectionery competition, etc. By virtue of his role, he is in contact with many different employees in the department across teams, positions, and organisational layers and he is often the sender of joint emails. He tells me: "*Jeg er tit lidt i tvivl om, jeg skal skrive på dansk eller på engelsk, når jeg sådan skriver til alle. Sådan har jeg det også nogle gange, når det er mig, der står for et møde eller noget socialt. Jeg synes, der skulle være nogle klare regler for, hvornår det skal være på dansk eller på engelsk.*" [I'm often a little unsure whether I should write in Danish or in English when I write to everyone. I also feel this way sometimes when I'm in charge of a meeting or something social. I think there should be some clear rules for when it must be in Danish or in English]. I say: "*Men der er jo faktisk nogle ret klare regler for det, hvis vi ser på Direktionens retningslinjer*" [But there are actually quite clear rules for that if we look at the Directors' guidelines]. Jon confirms this with a "yes", but says that his impression is that they are not really followed: "*og det er jo ikke så fedt, hvis nogen bliver sure, hvis jeg skriver på dansk. Jeg er begyndt at skrive ud på dansk og på engelsk for at være sikker på, at det er ok, men jeg ved ikke helt, hvordan det virker*" [and it's not cool if someone gets upset if I write in Danish. I've started writing [joint emails in] Danish and in English to make sure it's okay, but I don't know how it is received [how it is received]. (Jon, in Danish, February 2021). Even though Jon is aware that writing in Danish may upset some, he does not express any particular attitude towards communicating in Danish or English. His main problem is that it is up to him alone as a single individual to make that choice. As there are social categorisations and feelings connected to these language policies, he risks making

the wrong choice anyhow as he can be ascribed as being nationalistic by his international colleagues or civilly disobedient towards his Directors.

Jon is not the only native Danish-speaker in the department who feels "language confused". In the winter of 2021, I attend the weekly department meeting, which takes place online. Eva is today's meeting chair for the approximately 46 participants. For a few months she has experimented with "muddling through" the Directors' language policy in different ways, i.e. being "creative" as she calls it. For two or three weeks, her "creativity" has developed to the point that she occasionally also speaks English at meetings, which should be held in Danish. Eva starts the meeting with a status update in Danish. After 10 minutes, Eva initiates a *bordrunde* ["a table round", i.e. a presentation round] that includes comments from two native Danish-speakers, Sylvester and Theo, and the non-native Danish speaker, Maria:

Eva: *Øhm ... så har jeg egentligt ikke så mange ting på min liste øh, men jeg vil give ordet til et par stykker, som har meldt sig til at komme med en god øh ... en god historie eller en øh en spændende eller en positiv lille ting, fordi det er jo det her vi har talt om med, at vi skal sprede godt humør i den her/nu er det jo dejligt flot vejr i dag ikke, men ellers sådan lidt mørk og kold tid ... og jeg tror måske Maria er måske* Maria is maybe stuck in a meeting øh with South Africa so maybe she will she is<

[Umm ... so I don't really have that many things on my list uh, but I want to give the floor to a few who have volunteered to come up with a good uh ... a good story or an uh an exciting or a positive little thing, because that's what we've been talking about, that we should spread good cheer in this/it's a nice nice weather today right, in this kind of dark and cold time... and I think maybe Maria is maybe Maria is maybe stuck in a meeting uh with South Africa so maybe she will she is<]

Maria: >No, I'm here

Eva: not here ... you're here. Good

Maria: [giggles]

Eva: but let's start with Sylvester and then Theo and then Maria. Sylvester!

Sylvester: Ok, thank you umm Eva. *Ja jeg ved ikke helt skal jeg kø/ skal jeg køre det her på dansk eller skal vi gøre det på ... engelsk, fordi<*

[Ok, thank you umm Eva. Well, I don't really know if I should do/should I do this in Danish or should we do it in ... English, because<]

Eva: >du må gerne øh<

[>you're welcome to um<]

Sylvester: *>for man kommer jo lidt bredere ud med det engelske, men øhm<*

[because you reach out a little more in English, but um<]

Eva: *> jamen det er du velkommen til<*

[well, you're welcome to do that]

Sylvester: *> til gengæld kan jeg godt lide ... øh ... det forstod jeg ikke lige ...*

[on the other hand, I like ... uh ... I didn't quite understand that ...]

Eva: *Du er velkommen til at ... at sige det på engelsk ...*

[You are welcome to ... to say it in English ...]

Sylvester: *øh ok*

[umm ok]

Eva: *Hvis det er ok med dig?*

[If it's OK with you?]

Sylvester: Umm ok I'll do it in English umm in the interest that then maybe the details will uh you know disseminate the most uh ... so umm yeah some of the good news is that uh ... recently we had/maybe some of you noticed that we have had a meeting with the ... Japan Southern Grit (...)

(Department meeting, in Danish and English, February 2021).

Eva can be said to be in a difficult position in between, straddling the line between being the direct boss of some of these employees and the extended arm of the Directors. For her, the language choice implies a choice of inclusion versus civil disobedience and inflicting civil disobedience on other employees. Overall, Eva is trying to navigate the dilemma between Danish and English in a creative way, and she does so by choosing both. Later in the meeting, she switches between Danish and English not only from speech turn to speech turn, but also in the middle of speech turns. Eva is also the meeting chair at the department meeting the following week, but at this meeting only Danish is spoken, which may be due to Human Resources being present.

Among the employees in the department, I observe that the unexplained and unpredictable switching between Danish and English from meeting to meeting and from speech turn to speech turn contributes to language confusion and uncertainty:

Is it going to be in Danish? Is it going to be in English? Is it going to be in Danish, but can I speak English or not? For some of us we reached a point where we just speak what we want. I do it sometimes, but it's a bit harder when you are new, and you don't know the rules. Because there are really no rules, there is just like a set of expectations.

(Jorge, workshop, in English, April 2021).

Even Valentina, who is influencing the initiation of more English language use in the department, also expresses frustration:

Ja, jeg synes, det går bedre med mit dansk, men det er så forvirrende at arbejde med dansk og engelsk, dansk og engelsk, så jeg starter at fokusere meget på dansk, og derfor jeg har sagt, ok jeg vil rykke mig til en anden arbejdsplads, hvor de arbejder hele tiden på dansk. For her, hvor vi har de to sprog, det er så forvirrende.

[Yes, I think that my Danish is going better, but it's so confusing to work with Danish and English, Danish and English, so I have started to focus a lot on Danish, and that is why I have said, ok I want to move to another workplace, where they work in Danish all the time. Because here, where we have the two languages, it's so confusing.]

(Valentina, in Danish, August 2021).

Jorge and Valentina express frustration at the lack of consistency and predictability in relation to the use of Danish and English. Jorge has a particular focus on the asymmetry between experienced and new employees caused by the implicit expectations. Like Luca, he says that the lack of explicit rules combined with a set of incomprehensible expectations is a powerful barrier to finding a direction and performing as a good employee. Valentina highlights the language confusion as a barrier to learning Danish and in August 2021, she chooses to take the consequence of it by switching to a workplace which reportedly works exclusively in Danish. This may seem surprising as she at other times expresses that she sees

those colleagues who speak English as helpful and understanding, but this seeming contradiction speaks into the widespread ambivalence towards proper language choice. During our many conversations over the last 11 months from October 2020 to August 2021, she often tells me about situations that can be linked to confusion and frustration over the lack of being able to count on the language choice for the next meeting. It happens that she spends extra time preparing for what to say at a meeting in Danish, but the meeting ends up being held in English. After two years of intensive language learning she has also made up her mind several times that she wants to speak more Danish in social contexts at work, but then a new employee logs in during joint lunch, who has just started learning Danish, and then the whole conversation switches to English. She tells me that it makes it difficult for her to find a structure around her language learning process, where a central part of her investment is to prepare for her presentations in Danish. At the same time, she does not find the local English language policy to be sufficient in the long run. It is too uncertain because even though English is practiced in some internal meetings, she never knows for sure what language will be chosen beforehand. She tells me that she has experienced having a native Danish-speaking colleague show up at an internal team meeting, which the team usually holds in English, and refuse to speak English referring to the organisation's language policy. "Danish will always win", she says. In contrast to Delphine, Valentina remains in a specialist position and does not have a key role that makes others dependent on her Danish skills. As described earlier in this chapter, several people mention that switching or being asked to switch from Danish to English during a conversation is a challenge for practicing and learning Danish, and immensely discouraging. This suggests that not only can it be a challenge to learn and use Danish, but also that employees are at different language levels. Switching to English can be supportive for new starters without Danish language skills, but for more proficient employees, it is seen as demotivating for their investment. Alice and Carl interpret this type of action as a sign of impatience, inexperience with variations, and a lack of goodwill. However, when I talk to native Danish-speaking colleagues about switching from Danish to English, I see that issues of equality, similar to what Bo addressed earlier, when it comes to direct interactions between colleagues.

In the spring of 2021, I meet the native Danish-speaker, Theo, online for the second time. He smiles a little shyly when I pick up a thread from our last conversation, where he talked about some of his conversations with non-native Danish-speaking colleagues, where he remembered that they started in Danish, but at some point, switched to

English. I ask him to describe in detail what preceded the language shift. He says that his colleague may have started speaking very slowly, or that it seemed as if the colleague did not really understand what Theo was saying, and this caused Theo to switch to English during the conversation. I ask him why he did that, and he replies, "*Jamen, det kan hurtigt blive lidt akavet*" [Well, it can get a little awkward quickly]. (Theo, in Danish, March 2021). He tells me that he considers his colleagues to be as specialised as himself. They are colleagues on the same level, and therefore he believes that this should also be reflected in the way they talk together.

The native Danish-speaking employee, Magnus, says something similar one day in the summer of 2021 in the department kitchen. I tell him that I noticed that he switched to English during a conversation with Oscar earlier this morning, at a moment where Oscar hesitated and paused, and asks him if he knows why he did so. He says that he remembers doing it, but that he did not really think about it in the situation. I ask him why he did not repeat, gave it some time, or helped in another way in Danish. He thinks about it and then says that he did not give it much thought, but that he thinks Oscar in general feels most comfortable in English. Magnus himself feels "*lidt på samme måde*" [a bit the same way]. He likes it when the conversation flows and that is difficult in Danish. Maybe it is a bit *pinligt* [embarrassing] for Oscar if there is something he does not understand, says Magnus. It can quickly become an awkward situation. I tell Magnus that I have heard the term "awkward" before in this context and ask what he means by that. Magnus says that for him it has something to do with Oscar not being a child, but in fact a more experienced employee than him. It does not feel that way if they cannot understand each other.

My conversations with native Danish-speaking colleagues such as Bo, Theo and Magnus provide a slightly different perspective on the language shifts from Danish to English during conversations with non-native Danish-speaking colleagues. Whereas non-native Danish-speaking employees such as Alice and Carl associate the shifts with factors such as impatience and a lack of ability to take their perspective, I find that colleagues like Bo, Theo and Magnus are largely motivated by an empathy with what they perceive as the non-native Danish-speaking colleague's perspective and a high respect for them as professionals. Theo and Magnus's fear of the "awkwardness" or "embarrassment" is rooted in not being the same, because for Theo and Magnus being the same is highly associated with the Danish concept of *ligeværd* [being equally worth]. A conversation in Danish directly displays that Oscar is different from Magnus as it takes him longer to understand and express himself in Danish.

The use of English is a way of quickly restoring sameness, a shared We. Through the language shift, a notion of symmetry can be preserved. Thus, actions and intentions appear differently depending on perspective and values. While Theo and Magnus try to create sameness by switching to English, Alice, Carl and Oscar want to be recognised and treated as different.

In summary

This chapter has outlined how international employees socially navigate the organisation's language policy during their second year in Global Cooperation, shifting from basic optimism to various forms of disillusionment and resistance to the organisation's language policy, although this resistance is highly ambiguous and expressed in contradictory ways. There are several reasons for this shift in attitude. Firstly, Danish is not just Danish, but many kinds of Danish, and the language use in Global Cooperation presents multiple and significant challenges. In terms of language use, the meeting culture is dominated by a diplomatic register, where people speak between the lines, thereby exercising linguistic power that circumvents direct conflict. This requires a high level of Danish and a clear understanding of the unspoken pragmatic context. Secondly, speakers are fast-paced, and shifts between topics and linguistic registers are both frequent and unmarked, requiring rapid adaptation to changing and implicit pragmatic contexts. While international employees are much more likely to acquire good receptive skills during the second year, the indirect form of the diplomatic language, the fast pace of speech and the many shifts make it difficult for many non-native Danish-speaking employees to speak Danish and thereby gain a voice and a complete professional identity in meetings. Another challenge in the language learning process is the circumvention of the organisation's language policy, which I have labelled a local English language policy, practised by both the department management and native Danish-speaking employees. The unpredictability and lack of consistency that comes with inconsistent language choice is particularly challenging. But in general, there is also a lack of clarification of what is required to speak Danish to make a career, just as there is a lack of collaboration with Danish-speakers. The identification of these shortcomings implies an understanding of successful second language socialisation as based on mutual investment rather than solely on individual motivation. A further complicating factor in learning to speak Danish is the conflicting language ideologies surrounding Danish and English. While Danish

is seen as the natural language, the language of power, the language of a state administration, and also as an excluding language, English is seen as an inclusive language that everyone can speak, and the latter language ideology is therefore central to the resistance to the organisation's language policy. Furthermore, the organisation can be understood either as a Danish (and therefore Danish-speaking) organisation oriented both upwards in the system towards the central administration and outwards in the world to the international partners, or as a globally oriented organisation that identifies itself as international due to the international employees and international partners, and with English as the preferred language. However, a key finding is that these contradictions do not follow traditional organisational power hierarchies, but can also be found within individual employee groups and even within the individual employee. For example, many international employees have the language ideological standpoint that of course the national language, in this case Danish, should be spoken in a state administration. Conversely, these same employees are frustrated by the challenges posed by language policy and may resist by emphasising English as the right language, while at the same time feeling that it reduces their ability to learn Danish. Thus, while the conflict is systemic, the axes of conflict are not primarily at the macro level of the organisation as a whole, but also between employees as well as with the individual employee.

Chapter 6. Language policy and flexibility: after two years



The kitchen in Global Cooperation is a frequently visited meeting point for all employees in the department outside of the COVID-19 lockdown. Between 8 and 9 a.m., there is a steady flow of people who aim straight for the coffee machine, greet their colleagues, take their coffee with them towards the meeting rooms and leave behind a fresh scent of shampoo and morning air. After the first meetings of the day, around 11 a.m., people gather in small groups to continue the discussion from a meeting or simply to have a much-needed break with a little small talk, catch up, gossip, and sometimes confide in each other. The kitchen is also the centre of larger events in the department. At birthday parties, employees and department management stand close together balancing glasses and white napkins with cake in their hands. The same applies to celebrating positive team results, wishing happy holidays, and when saying goodbye to a colleague.

Resilience

Thursday the 30th of September at 3 p.m., around 35 employees, mainly from Global Cooperation, are gathered to say goodbye. Leo leans on the kitchen table at the back in the department's kitchen just below the squared artwork on the wall. A large group of people stand around him in a crescent. "*Hvad har du gjort krøltop? (tsk tsk)*" [What have you done, curly top? (tsk tsk)], someone says with excessively raised eyebrows and a deep frown. Leo laughs and runs a hand through his thick, dark hair. Cakes, beers, and bottles of wine behind them are neatly arranged on the tall and the low round

table. The chairs have been moved aside for today's occasion. Some have opened a beer or poured wine. The cakes are uncut. Small talk, jokes, and laughter. Two claps of hands and a loud "okaaay!". The speeches can begin. Leo's boss is quieter than usual. Wearing high heels and dressed in a tight blazer jacket, she barely moves. While she looks intently at Leo with her blue eyes, she gives her speech in Danish. She supplements the speech with quotes from colleagues about Leo, which she had collected by email a few days before. There are many stories about Leo's time in Global Cooperation. Funny anecdotes from his countless mission trips: cancelled flights and food poisoning. There are also serious stories about his hard work in one of the partner countries, which has finally paid off. According to his colleagues, it is "*Leo's partner country*". It was "a red country", which means a difficult country for the organisation to establish cooperation with, and an unnoticed country that did not receive extensive Danish delegations, visits from the Danish Crown Prince Couple or headlines in the newspapers. Still, Leo stayed and stubbornly continued his work as a one-man army. Leo's boss, Eva, says that he will leave a void of knowledge and generosity. They will miss him. It is hard to imagine the department without him. He was here long before most of those colleagues present in the crescent came along. Five years in the department means that he is one of the old ones. She concludes her speech by saying in Danish: "*Gode kolleger er kun til låns*" [Good colleagues are only on loan]. Then it is Leo's turn. He begins his farewell speech by saying in Danish that it took him a long time before he started speaking Danish at work, much longer than most others, but now he speaks Danish. Despite that, he will give his speech in English so that everyone can understand what he is saying. Leo speaks about his start in the department, a story that none of the others have been around long enough to hear before. Through words and with lively gestures, he sketches a picture of himself on his first day in a freshly ironed shirt shaking approximately 23 hands and eager to take it all in. For him, the job was a dream job. "It's hard to believe that you can actually get money to make the world a better place! If I had had to work for free, I would have said yes, I will do it."

(Leo's farewell, in Danish and in English, September 2021).

The reactions of colleagues and the speeches in Leo's farewell, described above, combine to paint a picture of Leo as a highly valued employee and a dear colleague. However, it was not easy to get so far. In his speech, Leo describes his early excitement, and he associates his first time in the department with both enthusiasm for the opportunity to make global green transition his livelihood and a certain discouragement about the challenges of the Danish language, as it was difficult for him to follow meetings, communicate with colleagues, and generally pick up what was going on around him, since most communication was in Danish. Nonetheless, over time, he managed to do so.

In this chapter, I will explore patterns of international employees' second language socialisation after about two years of employment, but I will also begin this chapter by doing something different. I will start by focusing on a single informant, Leo, from the vignette above, from his beginning in the organisation before the time of the organisation's language policy, through its implementation and from then on, Leo's struggle with becoming a Danish-speaking employee in the organisation. In this way, Leo's case encompasses the organisational change seen from the perspective of an international employee, but also his development through a series of steps following the implementation of the organisation's language policy that resemble the pattern of later colleagues, employed after the tightening of the language policy, going through optimism, disillusionment and resilience, aiming to become full members of the organisation with a Danish-speaking professional identity. As Leo is the informant with whom I have the longest history (2019-23), he provides unique example of crossing the threshold from learning Danish in classroom contexts into using Danish in different work contexts. In addition, he is important to this study's approach to and interest in second language socialisation. Many second language socialisation studies involve extensive analyses of informants' transformation or change through their acquisition of linguistic phenomena such as morphosyntax (Ellis & Freeman-Larsen 2006) or speech acts (Boz et al. 2018) such as making requests (Li 2000). These studies not only include Kulick and Schieffelin's (2004) two first criteria of second language socialisation research (c.f. ethnographic in design and longitudinal in perspective) but also the third criterion of demonstrating change, i.e. acquisition of specific linguistic and cultural practices over time and across contexts. My study, however, does not mainly focus on the acquisition of linguistic phenomena, otherwise the focus on much research, but more so on the pragmatic-communicative aspects of second language socialisation. This means, how to 'acquire and perform a voice' of your own and position oneself as a Danish-speaking professional in the workplace through using Danish in its many forms, or registers (the many Danishes) and knowing the often implicit pragmatic contexts due to which performing language in particular ways make the speaker succeed or not in a particular situation. This crucial pragmatic-communicative element - knowing and using language to participate and engage in social and work contexts - is under-researched in the literature on second language socialisation and second language acquisition. From this perspective, crossing the threshold is not only speaking Danish, but also performing a Danish-speaking identity and positioning oneself in a particular context, and Leo provides an extensively documented example of that. The chapter

includes other informants' experiences after two years of employment, and a main finding is that there is no single threshold, but a series of them. In addition, the third year also reveals that there are systems in the organisation (and around it) which sort of transcend the second language socialisation perspective. This is due to the fact, that many international employees in relation to career opportunities experience a glass ceiling, an invisible but very real limitation to fulfilling the optimism and enthusiasm with which they had to begin with. The chapter, however, will begin with Leo to unravel the case of his second language socialisation in a period of organisational change.

6.1. Leo's many steps

As described in chapter 4, Leo has no Danish skills when he starts in 2017, but during the first year, he does not experience it as a big issue. He chooses to focus on what he understands as the work itself, i.e. the cooperation with the partner countries, which mostly take place in English, and not on learning Danish. In the years following his employment, the organisation gradually tightens the requirements for the use of Danish at work against the background of an increased use of English. For Leo, this means that he slowly realises that Danish skills, like knowledge about renewable energy, are also considered a professional skill, and after a longer and slightly hesitant process, he accepts the organisation's offer of Danish lessons in the autumn of 2019.

I follow Leo closely in this process, as his Danish teacher from the autumn of 2019 to summer 2020 and then as his mentee, colleague, and 'language helper' during my fieldwork period from the autumn of 2020 to the autumn of 2021. During our lessons over the year, he tells me that he has learned a bit of Danish himself by hearing so much Danish at work, translating emails, reading energy laws and reports, and asking his close colleagues for help to understand information at meetings. Even though Leo has not attended Danish courses before, we speak exclusively in Danish together from his first lesson. This indicates that he has taken care of much of his own language learning. Within second language acquisition, this can be described with the term *linguistic attention* (Bowles 2010; Long 1991). This includes attention to semantic and pragmatic meanings and to grammatical and phonological aspects. Leo has not only heard a lot of Danish, but listened attentively and found patterns. During my two years of work with Leo, I see how his language gradually develops. He develops his receptive skills, produces short sentences, and later includes longer

and longer sentence constructions with increasing variety and precision. I also see how Leo begins to use Danish outside the contexts of teaching and Sproghjælp. Leo's challenge is not that he cannot understand and speak some Danish when I meet him for the first time in 2019, but more specifically, it is to learn to use his Danish language at work. This includes linguistic flexibility for linguistic shifts during the meetings, at lunch, at his desk, in the office corridors, and with many different people. As analysed in the previous chapter, it requires that Leo set out to talk not only Danish, but the many Danishes included in the language of the Danish Energy Agency. In the following section I will focus on Leo's transformation from silent attendance to active participation at meetings held in Danish with examples from the period October 2020 to April 2021.

6.1.1. Leo just has to speak up

"Og så har vi Leo, som slet ikke taler dansk endnu" [And then there's Leo, who doesn't speak Danish at all yet], Eva tells me in Danish at one of our first online meetings in October 2020. She is in the middle of giving me a brief overview of all the international employees in the department who she thinks are taking Danish lessons. The online format limits my opportunities to form an overview myself. I note that Eva does not speak Danish with Leo. During my first six months, Eva is far from the only one who mentions Leo's name in connection with colleagues who do not speak Danish, and I am beginning to understand that this is how many people see Leo. The department management and colleagues have no idea that Leo can do group work in Danish in class, write essays for his Danish teacher, and give an interview in one hour in Danish. His Danish language learning process is invisible to his workplace. My observations of online meetings, which take place in Danish, largely confirm this image of Leo. In many of the meetings, I can see on the meeting list that Leo is present, but he is mostly quiet. Occasionally, he writes a funny comment in the chat in English, which is not related to what is going on in the meeting, but which is addressed to specific colleagues who have started their own conversation parallel to the meeting. This type of interaction can arise from topics from the meeting, which then evolve in new directions long after the topic has changed and the meeting chair has moved on to a new one. News about employees who are leaving the department, are soon to be parents, have signed up for an Iron Man, have been infected with COVID or are still waiting to receive their office equipment from the organisation, which all employees are offered, are sure catalysts of a long chat thread. When

the employee Aida says that she still has not received her electric height adjustable table and asks the department manager when she can expect it to be delivered, Leo joins the chat in English: "Aida, did you remember to check the mailbox? ;-)", and then he disappears again.

However, I also continuously follow the Ethiopia team meetings of which Leo attends consistently. From October 2020 to April 2021, the team consists of only three people: the Ethiopia team leader, Laurent, the diplomat, Jonas, and Leo. The team has a fixed series of meetings every two weeks, but in periods leading up to events, conferences, and high-level meetings, they meet more often. Leo is allocated hours from his primary work with his partner country to the Ethiopia team in the spring of 2020, about half a year before I start fieldwork, because they need a specialist in district cooling. Leo and Laurent are close colleagues and at Leo's start in the team, Laurent tells him that he holds the meetings with Jonas in Danish, and that he thinks they should continue in Danish, as it can help Leo to get into the language. Leo agrees to this as he is looking for opportunities, "a space", to use his Danish, but it also worries him. As one of the "old ones", over time he organised his workday so that most of his work is in English. The various teams he has been involved in so far increasingly rely on his knowledge and expertise, and their dependence on him makes it possible for him to navigate around the organisation's language policy in small meetings by choosing English. By joining a new country team in Danish, he risks being set back. This possible setback is not just a setback in terms of language skills and his ability to speak Danish as well as practicing within the social context of the workplace, but it is also a setback in terms of his constructed professional identity as an important go-to person. In the context of international employees navigating the organisation's language policy, second language socialisation is not only the process of learning a new language and understanding the codes of a particular social world, but also about developing a professional self and a professional identity in the Danish language and the context of the organisation. Thus, for Leo and many others, second language socialisation is not just about becoming part of the organisation but becoming part of it by achieving his new second language professional identity.

In comparison to the department meetings, which usually have more than 45 participants, the team meetings have a low number of participants. Consequently, everyone is represented on the screen in live images or with an employee profile picture, depending on whether they have a camera on or not. When Leo has turned on his camera, I can study his participation more closely. Whether he turns it on or not depends on what Laurent, Jonas and I do, and on the quality of the Wi-Fi connection. With only a few exceptions, Leo participates

with the camera on, varying from about 10 minutes to the entire meeting, which lasts an average of 52 minutes. As an unwritten rule, everyone starts the meeting with the camera on. One of my key observations of Leo during the series of meetings, though, is that he is very quiet. The few people present and his close relationship with Laurent do not seem to have a significant impact on Leo's interaction pattern. In October and the first part of November 2020, I observe two Ethiopia team meetings where Leo says nothing more than "*hej*" [hello]. At the outset of both meetings, he has his camera switched on. He is sitting with his headset on, viewed from a slight low-angle perspective and looks focused. He nods, shakes his head, frowns, laughs with the microphone off and keeps looking down at the camera while blinking slowly. In this sense, he takes part in the interaction by paying close attention, showing interest, confirming what Laurent or Jonas says, and shows that he can follow what is being said, but he takes on the role of an audience member, clapping and laughing at the right times, but not saying anything, interfering, or setting a new direction for the conversation. Leo switches off his camera around 14 and 26 minutes into the two meetings and only appears on the screen with his profile picture. From this point on, it is as if he is not there at all anymore. After being an important employee communicating in English in his first years in the organisation, the Danish language choice in the team suggested by Laurent and agreed upon by Leo suddenly makes him almost invisible as he begins to perform in ways similar to a first-year employee. The setback in professional identity and presence due to language choice is indeed significant and points to the immediate costs of an investment in Danish at the workplace.

At the subsequent meeting in mid-November 2020, I realise that I am not the only one noticing Leo's invisibility. The first 36 minutes of the meeting seems like a repeat of the previous two meetings. Laurent and Jonas exchange information, discuss and strategise, whereas Leo is quiet. He has his camera on throughout the meeting. Jonas's camera is switched off. Laurent cannot see anything, as he is connected to the meeting from his phone. He is out walking, and the microphone sometimes catches the wind and his brisk steps. At some point, the footsteps stop, and Laurent begins to round off the meeting. "*Godt Jonas jeg er nu fremme til øh børnehaven her, så nu skal jeg ind, og jeg er nødt til at tage mundbind og hele affære på her*" [Well Jonas, I'm now at the umm kindergarten here, so now I have to go in, and I have to put on a face mask and the whole deal here], he says in Danish. He apologises for having to leave and Jonas reassures him that it is fine. As they are about to log off, Laurent suddenly asks: "*Har Leo været her overhovedet?*" [Has Leo been here at all?].

There is a two-second pause and then Jonas answers "*nej*" [no] while Leo answers "*ja*" [yes]. Leo starts laughing and repeats "*ja, ja, ja*" [yes, yes, yes] while laughing. Laurent says "*nå*" [well], then switches to English and says to Leo: "you were so silent". He wraps up the meeting with Jonas again and finally says to Leo in Danish: "*og Leo beklager, at du ikke fik nogen ord. Du skulle bare øh, melde ud!*" [and Leo apologies that you didn't get a word in. You should just umm, speak up!]. (Ethiopia team meeting, in Danish, November 2020).

Laurent's "just speak up" comment is a well-intentioned invitation, but speaking up is precisely what Leo cannot "just" do. Despite the fact that he both understands and speaks Danish in other contexts, he finds it very challenging to take part in the meeting with his own voice in Danish (Holmen 2006, Zhang & Zhan 2020). As a result, he is forgotten and silently consents to Laurent and Jonas' many decisions involving him. The day after the meeting, I speak to Leo, who tells me: "*Der er mange ting på dagsorden og kort tid. Faktisk jeg havde nogen tid til at forberede mig, men ja, det er fint.*" [There's a lot on the agenda and time is short. I actually had some time to prepare, but yeah, never mind.] (Leo, in Danish, November 2020). Based on the previous meetings, Leo had planned to set a new, more interactive course for himself before the meeting and prepared a talking point in Danish. He himself cites the time pressure of an extensive agenda as a reason why he is holding back. Laurent and Jonas have a lot on their minds and their language use is characterised by a fast pace as one speech turn is intensely followed by another without significant pauses, and Leo is not invited into the conversation. They do not ask for his opinion, his input, if it is clear etc. during the meeting. If Leo wants to get into the conversation, he must push his way through, and this prevents him from presenting what he has prepared. His experience is like that of other non-native Danish-speakers, who fear being a nuisance, wasting other people's time, not being able to complete the undertaking in Danish. Leo does not feel that he has an equal right to speak. While he goes to the meeting with a plan to say something, Leo backs out and hides (cf. Lønsmann and Sanden's analysis of avoidance practices from 2018). Leo only joins in when Laurent asks whether he has been present with the word "yes" accompanied by a lot of laughter, which almost drowns out his *yeses*, pronounced in a small, frail voice, and lengthens his response time and his communication, a manoeuvre that claims his presence without him using many words.

A significant challenge for speaking is the online format and the social practices surrounding it. In other contexts, Leo is what I would describe as a highly vibrant communicator who makes extensive use of facial expressions and gestures when speaking. It

is an inextricable part of his language use, of him as both a speaker and listener, and it accentuates the meaning of what he says. When the other participants are connected to the meeting from their phones and cannot see Leo, or they have switched off their cameras and are not watching, he loses this dimension and is reduced to 'a naked voice' as he has nothing else to use.

6.1.2. Leo pushes his way through

At the next Ethiopia team meeting, all the participants have their cameras on during the entire meeting. As Leo later tells me, he has once again prepared a small point in Danish, but as previously, he participates in a listening position and does not present his point. Laurent and Jonas are very engaged in the discussion and forget the time. The meeting that day is scheduled for 30 minutes. I observe that Leo starts checking emails and other things. A blue light from his screen casts a faint reflection on his face. He moves more restlessly, he runs his hand through his hair a few times, and looks like someone who wants to say something, but Laurent and Jonas do not notice.

32 minutes into the meeting, Leo turns on his microphone: "*Øh undskyld men men undskyld*" [Um sorry but but sorry], he says with the same frail voice as last time. Laurent and Jonas immediately stop talking, and Jonas asks "*ja?*" [yes?]. Leo asks: "*Laurent er du med med vores nye møde med Direktion klokken halv fire? Fordi ja, jeg tror jeg skal*" [Laurent, are you with us for our new meeting with the Directors at half past three? Because well, I think I should<]. Laurent quickly interrupts Leo: "*Nej æh det ved jeg ikke. Hvad for et møde er det? Er det øh Indonesien?*" [No, um, I don't know. What kind of meeting is it? Is it um Indonesia?]. Leo confirms it with two yeses. Laurent begins to end the meeting. He apologises for the abrupt ending and, with the help of Jonas, summarises what they did not achieve on the agenda. Jonas highlights an ongoing dialogue that Laurent and Leo have with the ministry, which Jonas has yet to hear about. Laurent refers to an email correspondence between him, Leo, and the ministry: "*Skal vi ikke bare lige sige at øh/jeg tror jeg tror, at du er på sms på på cc sammen med sammen med mig vel? Er du ikke det?*" [Shouldn't we just say that um/I think I think that you're on sms on on cc with with me right? Aren't you?]. Laurent's question lingers for two seconds, and this initiates a brief interaction between the three participants:

Laurent: *Leo har du ikke sat øh øh Jonas på cc også?*

[Leo haven't you put um um Jonas on cc too?]

Leo: *Nej men jeg sender en kort summary på det, men øh, det sker ikke øh ... ikke så meget, men øh jeg venter for feedback fra ministeriet, og ja det er en plan at have cirka femogfirre minutter per per workshop, så der workshoppen er kort end vores INID workshop i Etiopien [trækker vejret dybt] og<*

[No but I will send a short summary of it, but um, that's not happening um ... not so much, but um I'm waiting for feedback from the ministry, and yes, it's a plan to have about forty-five minutes per per workshop, so the workshop is shorter than our INID workshop in Ethiopia [takes a deep breath] and<]

Jonas: *Men hvor meget øh undskyld Lennard øh Leo hvor lang tid<*

[But how much uh sorry Lennard uh Leo how long<]

Leo: *Fem. Femogfirre*

[Five. Forty five]

Jonas: *Femogfirre, ok yes*

[Forty five ok yes]

Leo: *Per workshop ja*

[per workshop yes]

Jonas: *Ja*

[Yes]

Leo: *Men jeg skriver til dig Jonas, så du har en øh, øh<*

[But I'm writing to you Jonas, so you have a um um<]

Jonas: *Ja det er fint*

[Yes that's fine]

Leo: *om<*

[about/]

Jonas: *Ja det er rigtigt godt. Det er cool [smil/grin i stemmen]. Tak skal du have*

[Yes, that's very good. That's cool [smile/laugh in voice]. Thank you].

(Ethiopia team meeting, in Danish, November 2020).

Leo does not get to present what he has prepared, but in contrast to the other meetings that I have observed, he gets involved in the conversation in another way. This is initiated by him pushing his way in by interrupting Laurent and Jonas. Leo does not feel comfortable interrupting, he tells me the following week, but he also does not want to leave the meeting without giving notice or informing Laurent about the meeting with the Directors, where he has seen Laurent's name appear in the meeting notice. He briefly considers what to do and hopes that Laurent himself will realise that he has an important meeting and that it is time to end the meeting so Leo can avoid saying it. When that does not happen, he chooses to go with his collegial conscience, plucks up the courage, and switches on his microphone.

What Leo may not anticipate is that his interruption sets off a series of questions from Laurent and Jonas, which can be said to initiate Leo's Danish language use. Leo understands and adequately answers Laurent's question about whether he has put Jonas on cc. In principle, Leo could have volunteered a one word reply ("no") to the closed-ended question, but he chooses to give more than that by briefing Jonas that he will send him a summary, a short status update (not much happens, and Leo is waiting for the ministry's feedback) and the time frame for their workshop. It is common practice in the department to brief colleagues in this way, to give a little more, but this is the first time that I have observed Leo do it in Danish. In that sense, Laurent's direct address to Leo can be said to evoke Leo's participation as a Danish-speaker. Leo's briefing leads to a new stage in the interaction, as Jonas interrupts Leo with a clarifying question ("Leo how long?"). I interpret the question as derived from Leo pronouncing "forty" with variation (the vowel I instead of the native standardised Y in Danish). Leo seems to understand the reason for Jonas' question, repeating the word, "*femogfyrre*" with a self-correction marked by an emphatic stress on the y sound. Within conversation analysis, Leo's correction can be termed *other-initiated self-repair*, which prevents a possible breakdown, and the interaction can continue (Lilja & Eskildsen 2022; Schegloff et al. 1977). Leo's repair indicates that he is highly aware of his language use and how it is received by others during the interaction. Jonas confirms that he has understood Leo by repeating "forty-five ok yes", and Leo confirms that Jonas has understood it correctly by adding that it is "per workshop yes", after which Jonas confirms again with a "yes". I see the small interaction as a work of meaning clarification, which results in a common understanding of the time frame for the workshop. As with Leo's briefing, clarification is also a regular part of the department's language practice in general. The employees talk fast and

overlap each other, and the Wi-Fi connection is poor, which may be the simple reason for Jonas's question ("Leo how long?"), but which Leo interprets as a question of his pronunciation.

It can seem like a simple everyday interaction in the department, but it is a pivotal moment where I observe Leo stepping over the threshold. From Leo's perspective, it is quite a demanding discipline linguistically and socially. "*Det var næsten som en lille eksamen*" [It was almost like a small exam], he tells me the following week (Leo, in Danish, November 2020). The interaction is built up and kept going by information, questions, and repair, which evoke and enforce Leo's Danish language use by putting him under pressure. Even though the structure of information, questions and repair between Leo and Jonas resembles scaffolding, Laurent and Jonas obviously do not take pedagogical considerations into account, but approach Leo as if he were a native Danish-speaking colleague. Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) define scaffolding as a process "(...) that enables a child or novice to solve a task or achieve a goal that would be beyond his unassisted efforts" (Wood et al. 1976: 90). In a second language teaching context, scaffolding is commonly used as an intentional pedagogical method in connection with task-based language activities with a communicative purpose (Ellis 2017, Long 2015). The hypothesis is that, for example, a problem-based case, which the students depend on each other to solve, stimulates using the language, learning with and from each other and as a preparation to be able to manage situations like Leo's outside the classroom. However, it is crucial that Leo's experience with the interaction takes place not in the classroom, but in a work context where he is required to provide answers under time pressure and is expected to deliver the answers in a comprehensible language immediately, like an exam. There is no time to stop or ask meta-linguistic questions, and giving up halfway comes at a cost, as it is not just an exercise, but his professional identity which is at stake. Laurent and Jonas treat Leo as an equal colleague and not as a child or a novice who must learn something from them in the situation. On the contrary, they expect him to inform them and their way of responding to him also supports his ability to continue to speak up. Thus, the process is an effective, but tough learning process, but also a process that plays out in a particular space. In other words, from now on Leo will continue to develop ways to perform himself as a Danish-speaker within the team, but at this point he will only do so in the team, but not in other spaces and contexts at work, where he continues to be the Leo who does not speak Danish.

In the previous chapter, I described how Danish-speakers' attempts to approach their non-native Danish-speaking colleagues as equals without adapting, for example by lowering their speaking pace, or by switching to English, can be experienced as challenging and discouraging in relation to learning the Danish language. Similarly, Leo feels it is very challenging, but he also tells me later that he is happy about it and surprised that it went the way it did. These mixed emotions relate to the fact that while the situation is very stressful, it also takes place in a small team that provides a relatively safe space for Leo and that the outcome is a small, but important personal win. Also, the timing is significant as there are several indications that Leo himself feels more ready to use Danish, but as quoted in the first analytical chapter, he has been looking for a "special space" (Chapter 4) in the department to do it. The team leader, Laurent, is aware of Leo, who is new in the team, and takes the initiative to talk to him about his language development and how he needs help. As mentioned, the interaction is not an intended learning activity, and according to my observations Laurent and Jonas do not change linguistic practice at all, even though Leo is present. For this reason, Leo's opportunities to participate as a speaker for a longer period of time at the meetings are limited. Despite this, the interaction is an important first step in Leo's language use at work. Echoing a point from Toohey and Norton (2003), this will in turn give him the opportunity to learn more. There are at least three decisive factors for these key initial steps in stepping over the threshold: 1) the timing is right in terms of the level of Leo's language skills (high receptive and productive skills). 2) The small team provides a relatively safe space for trying out oneself in using the Danish language. 3) There is a mutual and consistently applied agreement about language choice. Thus, Leo's way of navigating the language policy is – after about two years of investment in Danish language learning - invisible to his colleagues. To invest in speaking Danish in a particular work context (but not in others) and thereby put his position at risk, is considered relatively safe in these small team meetings. They serve as a stepping stone to expand the areas in which he can perform as a Danish-speaking employee. An additional factor might be that Laurent is an advanced Danish-speaker, but nonetheless a non-native Danish-speaker. Laurent has gone through a Danish learning and usage process himself, and this makes Leo perceive him as someone who is "close" and "can see" Leo's situation (c.f. Chapter 4). In terms of roles within a process of language socialisation, Laurents' position is one of an experienced, whereas Leo is a newcomer in terms of language use.

6.1.3. Leo makes a choice

In the months after Leo pushes his way through and passes the threshold at the Ethiopia team meeting, I observe a slight change in the team's interactional dynamic. In some meetings Leo is still silent, but in most of them he gets or takes the floor for about a minute, and this usually gives rise to a small discussion between the three participants. When Leo takes the floor himself, he frequently uses the same communicative strategy as in the previous example. He moves a little uneasily, changes body position, moves a little closer to the screen, uses the "umm sorry" opening gambit (Soerjowardhana 2015). Another change is that a few times Laurent or Jonas involve him in the discussions by asking him short, factual questions in Danish, and Leo answers adequately each time. Outside of these team meetings, my observations are that Leo continues to be silent at the department meetings, and that he otherwise speaks and writes in English at other meetings, at shared online lunches, etc. unless I talk to him alone or he sends me emails and text messages. He tells me that he occasionally also speaks a little Danish with his other country team leader, Simon, but that it is not very consistent. In short, there are only few signs that Leo has found other spaces to speak Danish than in the Ethiopian team. When I ask him about the reason why he does not try to speak Danish in other small-scale situations, such as his one-to-one meeting with Eva, or his weekly meeting with only two native Danish-speaking representatives from a council, he replies that he does not really know why. He says that he thinks it is difficult to change patterns, and that it is daunting to ask the others to hold the meeting in Danish, because he might be imprecise, or cannot carry it out etc. "*Ærligt ved jeg ikke, hvad jeg skal gøre, men jeg skal gøre noget*" [Honestly, I don't know what to do, but I need to do something], he tells me in January 2021 during one of our online mentor meetings (Leo, in Danish, January 2021).

In February 2021, there is suddenly a small opening for another space to step into Danish. In one of our weekly online mentor meetings, Leo tells me that his boss, Eva, has asked him if he wants to help her conduct job interviews. There is a lot of recruitment happening at that time, and with Leo's extensive knowledge of district heating and years of experience in the department, she thinks he would be the right person for the job. She tells Leo that he can choose whether he wants to do it in Danish or English. If he prefers to do his part of the interview in English, she sees it as an opportunity to check the applicants' English skills. Leo thinks about it. The thought of speaking Danish with native Danish-speakers in front of his department managers is intimidating. Everyone will expect him to act like a professional authority, a representative of the department and the organisation. Conversely,

he also realises that it will allow him to speak from a position where he already has "credit", as he calls it. He decides he wants to do it in both Danish and English. He will start by asking questions in Danish and then switch to English when going through the applicant's case. The following month, Leo is busy with job interviews, and we do not talk much. He tells me one day on the phone between interviews that "*det er helt vildt hårdt*" [it's so hard]. A week later, though, he tells me that "*Det er faktisk ret nemt. Man spørger om næsten de samme ting. I går jeg tænkte, nu taler jeg dansk!*" [It's actually quite easy. You ask almost the same questions. Yesterday, I was thinking, now I speak Danish!] (Leo, in Danish, March 2021). In contrast to Delphine's gateway to new possibilities, which I described in the previous chapter, it is Leo himself who has to make the language choice. Speaking Danish in yet another space might help him towards what, in Early and Norton's words, can be called his future *imagined Danish-speaking identity* (Early & Norton 2012), but in doing so during job interviews, he also puts his professional performance at risk in a job function which is new to him. Leo's role as an interviewer includes two tasks, so he takes the safe route by doing each task in each language and thus chooses both Danish and English. In this situation, he is provided with a new position as an expert and gatekeeper, an insider, who together with his boss evaluates possible new employees. Thus, socialisation comes full circle as Leo is no longer simply socialising into the workplace, but now also represents the organisation that new employees are about to socialise into. He can perform this role in Danish as there is a recurrent pattern in how to ask questions and interact. In a short time, he quickly adapts ("it's actually quite easy") through automatisisation ("You ask almost the same questions"). His new role allows him ownership and integrity without requiring an insurmountable amount of language skills in spoken Danish. For the first time he succeeds in performing a professional role as an 'insider' in Danish and this provides him an *aha moment*, that is, an experience of a sudden insight ("Yesterday, I was thinking, now I speak Danish!").

As was the case with his breakthrough moment and the process it initiated in the Ethiopian team, this next step over the threshold for Leo takes place within a particular space and with a clear agreement between him and his boss both about language choices and about their division of roles during the interviews. In addition, the scripted situation underpins (or scaffolds) Leo's ability to reuse and vary his questions to the applicants from the position of his clearly defined role. In terms of acquired identity through second language socialisation, it is also a pivotal moment as he is now looking at applicants many of whom are in a similar position to himself joining the organisation years ago.

6.1.4. Leo gives up comfort

Despite Leo being very busy, he attends most department meetings etc. during February and March 2021. In these meetings with many participants, it is not observable that Leo is undergoing a vigorous linguistic and social development in the Ethiopia team and recruitment with Eva. According to my observations, he neither says nor writes anything in any of the department meetings in Danish or in English. I speak to Nord and Valentina, who each mention Leo as an example that not everyone in the department speaks Danish, even if they have been there for a long time. I tell Valentina that Leo actually speaks Danish fluently. She widens her eyes and says that she thinks I have told her before, but she does not remember ever hearing him speak Danish. Leo's process of speaking Danish is invisible to most of his colleagues until one day in late March 2021 in an online meeting, with the whole department.

After the weekly status update in Danish, the department manager and today's meeting chair, Johannes, initiates a *bordrunde* [a table round] in which all the coordinators of the department's various *faggrupper* [specialised, discipline groups] take turns giving a status update on their work. He gives the floor to Mia, who coordinates the work of the energy modelling group. She talks about the latest results in the group in Danish for just over three minutes. Johannes takes his time to give the group positive feedback and then says in Danish: "*Øhm, Aida? Leo?*" [Um, Aida? Leo?]. After a few seconds, Aida says in English: "Leo are you on?", and she appears on the screen. "*Ja, ja, ja [griner] ja ja*" [Yes, yes, yes [laughs] yes, yes, yes], Leo says as he also appears on the screen. Despite that Aida gives him the floor in English, probably because she only knows him as the English-speaking Leo, Leo pauses for a moment before he begins in Danish:

Ok måske jeg starter på at sige noget mere på/men ja Aida og jeg fokuserer meget på vores fjernvarmefaggruppe øhm på at styrke vidensdeling og faglighed, og i den sidste månede har vi ansat nye, fantastiske fjernvarmeeksperter og mange nye, spændende ting sker i ... sker i Danmark i forhold til fjernvarmeudbud med Bo og Sprogø, Energiøer [navne på organisationens udbudsmaterialer] og PtX, så vi prøver vores bedst at dele viden til vores nye kolleger, men også vi prøver at dele videns med øhm alle øh eksperter i vores fjernvarmefaggruppe for at styrke synergi, og vi har haft for eksempel spændende præsentationer fra Rosa [en medarbejder i afdelingen] om en rapport om socioeconomic benefits for fjernkøling i Japan, og Indonesien bliver inspireret, og Indonesien er i gang med øh for at replikere en studie om det. Øhm de havde også to forskellige sessioner om road maps for fjernkøling, hvor Mads og Mia og Kristine og Laurent [medarbejdere i afdelingen] øh

præsenterede deres arbejde om fjernkøling road maps i Vietnam og Indonesien. Vi havde også en præsentation fra Per [medarbejder i organisationen på tværs af afdelinger] om Energiøerne øh to tre dage før æh aftale om Energiøerne blev officielt, så det var meget spændende at øhm ja høre mere om det øh for andre mennesker [som ikke er i organisationens afdeling for Energiøer, men som er i den samme organisation] [griner], men vi havde også et stor seminar sammen men Systemanalyse, Center for VE [vedvarende energi] øhm vores fjernvarmegruppe og VE integrationsfaggruppe om Power to X og sektorkobling, hvor forskellige øh forskere fra universitetet præsenterer/præsenterede deres arbejde om brint og Power to X. Det var rigtigt sjov/en rigtig god arrangement. Og ja måske en andre ting øhm er vi også i gang med at bygge vores interne øh online bibliotek med forskellig faglig/faglige varme og kølingpræsentationer og materiale, der kan forud forskellige ideer, så det var det fra mig. Måske, hvis du har mere Aida, du kan bare sige det.

[Ok I might start by saying something more about/well but yes Aida and I focus a lot on our district heating discipline group umm on strengthening knowledge sharing and specialisation, and in the last month we have hired new, fantastic district heating experts and many new, exciting things are happening in ... happening in Denmark in relation to district heating tenders with Bo and Sprogø, Energy Islands [names of the organisation's tender documents] and PtX. So we try our best to share knowledge with our new colleagues, but also we try to share knowledge with uh all uh experts in our district heating discipline group to strengthen the synergy, and we have for example had exciting presentations from Rosa [an employee in the department] about a report on socioeconomic benefits for district cooling in Japan, and Indonesia is inspired, and Indonesia is in the process of uh to replicate a study on that. Um they also had two different sessions on district cooling road maps, where Mads and Mia and Kristine and Laurent [employees in the department] uh presented their work on district cooling road maps in Vietnam and Indonesia. We also had a presentation from Per [an employee in the organisation across departments, but who belong to the same organisation] on the Energy Islands uh two or three days before the uh agreement on the Energy Islands became official, so it was very exciting to um yeah to hear more about it um for other people [who are not in the organisation's department for Energy Islands] [laughs], but we also had a big seminar together with System Analysis, Department of VE uh our district heating group and VE integration group on Power to X and sector linking, where different uh researchers from the university presented their work on hydrogen and Power to X. It was really fun/a really good event. And yeah maybe one other thing um we are also in the process of building our internal um online library with different special/specialised heating and cooling presentations and material that can anticipate different ideas, so that's it from me. Maybe if you have more Aida, you can just say so.

(Department meeting, in Danish and English, March 2021).

With 63 colleagues listening, Leo speaks in Danish for almost three minutes. He is sitting in his usual position with his headset and looks slightly down at the camera. He appears very relaxed, breathing deeply but calmly, and speaking in a voice that even I have not heard before. It is steady, confident and a little deeper than usual. By doing this, he steps forward in Danish for the very first time to the whole department and positions himself as a professional Danish-speaking representative of the district heating discipline group with a deep insight into the group's activities, objectives ("strengthening knowledge sharing and specialisation"), the connection between the group's work, the organisation's, the field in Denmark in general, and new technologies ("district heating tenders"). He presents the group's broad collaboration and the high impact of the department's core target group, the partner countries. Along the way, he acknowledges new colleagues and experienced colleagues who have contributed to the activities with adjectives such as "exciting" and "fantastic" and the use of specific names. He speaks the updating language of the department through social codes such as the use of a consistent shared We and its genitive form our, but he starts and ends with I, marking that he alone speaks for Aida and the group. It is his perception of the group's work and he who is to be blamed if something is not right in the presentation. Furthermore, he also has enough confidence to make a subtle inside joke about the lack of internal information about the otherwise, also in public debates, highly anticipated Energy Islands.

This is Leo's break through moment to a larger audience and it shows a highly knowledgeable employee with a strong pragmatic-communicative competence built upon solid Danish language skills. This comprises adequate semantic or lexical use and collocations ("strengthening knowledge sharing and specialisation"), including the use of fixed prepositions ("in the process of"), text linguistics and cohesion linked to verb tenses ("in the last month we have hired"), morphology and inflections ("two different sessions"), phonetic, prosodic aspects, stresses, pauses etc. (Ekerot 2011; Hedge 2000). Being able to perform such a presentation in an additional language, coherently with attention to detail, requires an enormous linguistic excess, an overview of various facts, and the ability to orchestrate and structure the information. Even though readers who are familiar with a Danish standard practice will be able to see that Leo also lacks inflections a few times, connecting words and he stretches words ("*blev officielt*" instead of the Danish word *offenliggjort*, i.e., made public), it is very easy to follow his presentation, also because of his precise wording. Leo himself is aware of his language use as he corrects himself once ("*med forskellig faglig/faglige varme og kølingpræsentationer*") from the singular to the plural form

of "professional" and when he at times searches for words or phrases. However, in comparison to his language use in the Ethiopia team meetings, this presentation is longer and appears richer and more coherent. Leo hardly replaces words with laughter, but takes his time, despite time pressure and the fact that this is the first time the whole department are hearing him speak Danish. Despite the high stakes, he utilises a different linguistic interactional navigation pattern, a different strategy, and makes room for himself. The response from the many people present is a short silence and a few um's before they proceed.

About two weeks later, at one of the two workshops I am organising in April 2021, Leo tells his old and new international colleagues about his long-term frustration about being that guy who does not speak Danish. He has been highlighted so many times as an experienced and skilled employee, but he always noticed a kind of "but" referring to the fact that he did not speak Danish. Everyone in the department knows that for him it has been "a big problem just to try to speak Danish at meetings, because I, as Jorge also say, I really felt stupid like someone from the kindergarten trying to explain things to adults and I was just like it's gonna be impossible". He recounts some of the many times when he had planned to participate in Danish, but slowly lost courage. He identifies two situations that he has found particularly difficult. One where "you're on your own", i.e. presentations, and the other is the specific point in a meeting where the participants go from brainstorming good ideas to planning "how to move forward from different point of views it's definitely difficult to do in Danish". He did not think he would ever succeed:

(...) but then it was like it just clicked in my mind. I don't know to be honest what happening in my mind just/probably I gave up you know to the fact that you know I will never reach a level where I will feel comfortable as I feel when I speak English. Um I have seen how Carl and Delphine always try to speak Danish, even though they prefer English and then I just tried ok. I was like why should I be the black sheep? It was also maybe a time where I felt you know I will show the people what I am so people know who I am and now I'm just you know trying to speak Danish as much as I can. Of course, it's challenging of course it's um sometimes horrible for people to listen, but I think it works. (Leo, workshop, in English, April 2021).

According to Leo's narrative, his series of steps over the thresholds are partly due to his sense of weariness about his social position as the black sheep, but also because he compares

himself with his non-native Danish-speaking colleagues that speak Danish even though they feel more secure in English. This comparison enables him to give up the idea of being comfortable speaking Danish, but being able to just speak Danish regardless of shortcomings. In other words, he mirrors himself in close peers to underpin his linguistic socialisation into Danish.

Leo's small steps constitute milestones, such as the Ethiopia team meetings, job interviews, and finally the larger space of the department meeting, underline the connection between second language acquisition and identity constructions as theorised by Norton (2013) and Norton and Mckinney (2011), but also that there are several steps with several thresholds towards developing a new Danish language identity. Leo renegotiates his professional and social position by coming forward with his Danish voice, first in smaller spaces and later in front of the whole department. "I will show the people what I am so people know who I am" indicates that Leo himself experiences a direct connection between language and himself, which we can call his Danish self. He speaks of language as if it constitutes this self ("what I am") and thus "who I am". To put it simply, it is the Danish-speaking Leo who speaks at the department meeting, and he knows he is new or at least different to most of the others present. Coming forward in exactly that context is a strong symbolic renegotiation as he through his Danish voice sends a powerful message to everyone that he is a fully competent employee and colleague who has the right skills to join the department on an equal footing with the majority. As Leo himself expresses, there is no more a "but", i.e. no reservation.

My detailed study of Leo's process beginning to use Danish at work allows us to see some important aspects of how second language socialisation can take place in workplaces. First, there is no simple relation between language skills and speaking up. One may have a high level of language skills, but refrain from speaking due to immediate setbacks, for example, being a nuisance and appearing like an infant. Second, speaking up requires small and relatively safe spaces to practice and a clear agreement about language choice helps to facilitate the process towards speaking up and being perceived as a Danish speaker by the others. Even so, speaking up is not something that happens immediately. In addition, job functions that involve more generic language use (e.g. doing job interviews) can work as a form of scaffolding of speaking Danish in a particular context. Third, stepping over the threshold is not so much a single moment as it is an elaborate process of stepping over a series of thresholds defined as the lines between the spaces in which the employee speaks and does not speak Danish.

6.2. Changing social relations through the use of Danish

Whereas Leo's case has provided details about the many steps in speaking up in Danish, this section focuses on what this shift from invisible to visible language skills implies for employees and what they can do with it. Therefore, this section will elaborate on what characterises the employees' communicative competences after their second year of learning Danish, while they are in the organisation, and how this makes them linguistically and socially resilient. I will do this based on Jorge, Carl, and Valentina, who move from second to third year during my intensive fieldwork period.

6.2.1. Effortless shifts in linguistic practices

In Chapter 5, I presented how Jorge presented himself in interview as a Danish-speaker. He expressed his struggles with having acquired Danish language skills, but not enough to perform a professional identity. However, my observations of Jorge constitute a different impression of an employee who has long since stepped over the thresholds of using Danish in both smaller and larger spaces and who performs the language of the department, including shifts between linguistic practices and registers, with an effortless certainty. I have previously analysed rapid and frequent shifts between the many Danishes at meetings performed by native Danish-speakers as a major challenge for non-native Danish-speakers. Non-native Danish-speakers like Jorge, after two years employment, are now at a level where they can perform and benefit from professional Danish themselves. In order to illustrate how an advanced mastering of Danish enables the speaker to acquire and perform in terms of social position and professional identity, I will briefly revisit the department meeting in February 2021 (Chapter 5), where the department manager, Johannes, is late. This takes place in Jorge's third year of employment. Before Johannes's late arrival, the department manager, Eva, asks:

Eva: Mangler vi Johannes eller hvad? Han er mødeleder i dag, og vi var lige på et andet møde lige før. Det kan være, at han har brug for hjælp?

[Are we missing Johannes or what? He is the meeting chair today, and we were just at another meeting just before. Maybe he needs help?]

Jorge: Ja, jeg kan se, at han har joined og left et par gange. Det er muligvis forbindelsesprogrammet.

[Yes, I see that he has joined and left a few times. It might be the connection program]

Eva: *Nå ok, tak Jorge*

[Oh ok, thanks Jorge]

Aida: *Jorge, du skal lade være med at smide ham ud!*

[Jorge, you have to stop throwing him out!]

Jorge: [*Griner*] *Super. Tak for tippet Aida!*

[Laughs] Super. Thanks for the tip, Aida!

Aida: *Hej Jorge. Længe siden.*

[Hi Jorge. Long time no see].

Jorge: *Ja, længe siden Aida* [*smiler*]

[Yes, long time no see, Aida [*smiles*]]

Eva: *Jamen, det er godt at se nogen med kameraer på, Jorge og Aida og nogle af jer andre, og så skal I skiftes til at sige noget, sådan at I lige popper op, så vi kan se jer. Det er så hyggeligt. Nej, se en god kop kaffe!*

[Well, it's good to see someone with cameras on, Jorge and Aida and some of you others, and then you have to take turns saying something, so that you just pop up so we can see you. It is so cozy. Uh, take a look at that nice cup of coffee!]

[Pause for three seconds]

Henrik: *Nå, men jeg kan så anbefale en god gang Strava* [*en sportsapp*], *hvor man følger sine kolleger, så kan man se, at Jorge han øh, han hiker ud på Pampassen og overnatter i shelter i weekenden*

[Well, but I can recommend a good round of Strava [*a sports app*], where you follow your colleagues, then you can see that Jorge he uh, he hikes out on the Pampas and spends the night in a shelter at the weekend]

Jorge: [*Griner*]. *Ja <*

[[Laughs]. Yes <]

Henrik: *> det ser ret vildt ud Jorge*

[> it looks pretty wild, Jorge]

Jorge: *< ja. Tak*

[< yes. Thanks]

Sylvester: *Jorge skulle du ikke øh, var det ikke den der opgave/havde vi ikke en aftale om, at du skulle være foran din computer der? Ej nej [griner]*

[Jorge didn't you have to umm wasn't the assignment/didn't we have an agreement that you had to be in front of your computer on that time? No no [laughs]]

Jorge: [*Griner*] *Godt forsøg Sylvester*

[[Laughs] Nice try, Sylvester]

(Department meeting, in Danish, February 2021).

If we follow Jorge's way of interacting in this sequence, we can see how he himself takes the initiative to join the conversation by seizing on Eva's question ("Maybe he needs help?"), and he shifts between affective performances from being helpful and suggestive ("Yes, I see that he has joined and left a few times. It might be the connection program") to playing along in a joke with warm irony ("Super. Thanks for the tip, Aida!"). He also creates a brief moment of sincerity and recognition with Aida ("Yes, long time no see Aida [smiles]]") and then accepts a compliment from the department manager, Henrik ("yes. Thanks"), while playing in on another joke with a quick note that it failed ("[Laughs] Nice try, Sylvester"), all seemingly with ease. In short, the example illustrates Jorge's skills in performing varied linguistic practices and registers within a few minutes.

The example also illustrates that Jorge is part of the conversation with "the Danes", including two department managers as the only non-native Danish-speaker, and that he is not just part of the small talk, but the centre of it and the subject of positive attention ranging from friendly mocking, friendliness, praise, and admiration ("it looks pretty wild, Jorge"). I see Jorge's social inclusion as directly connected to his language skills, his communicative competence, as they enable him to join the small talk, keep the small talk going, to evoke positive emotions and to bond with four different colleagues in a few minutes. When looking at the other participants, the example also indicates that Jorge is well known among them all and part of what can be called a Danish inner circle, which, for example, includes the department managers. They know that Jorge is in on a joke and that he can both understand and respond to it.

The friendly mocking with a warm ironic style is relevant in this context as I never observe jokes being made with new or more quiet employees, where there is uncertainty about their language skills and personality. Associated with potential loss of face for both parties involved, it is too risky. If the colleague, due to lack of linguistic (and cultural) prerequisites, does not understand the joke, or even fails to recognise that it is meant as a joke, it can quickly go from a playful teasing to being embarrassing for everyone. In this sense, a joke is also a vulnerable social act in the department, which must be carefully adapted to the recipients and the social norms, i.e., to strike the balance between being too much without being too much. Jorge is a safe player in this game, someone Aida, Henrik and Sylvester can count on. As Rogerson-Revell points out, humour can be a sign of solidarity and inclusion in meeting contexts (Rogersen-Revell 2007). When Aida playfully accuses Jorge of throwing Johannes out of the meeting, she breaks the "ice", the formal tone and shows him and the other participants that they are close, because she has permission to tease him. In relation to this, Henrik's choice of the word "the Pampas" can also be seen as an inclusion marker. It denotes a plain around Buenos Aires, where Jorge is guaranteed not to have spent the night in a shelter, due to the lockdown. Jorge has more accurately been at the edge of a forest in Denmark, but by substituting the word, Henrik keeps an internal joke going between the two, which plays on Jorge's South American roots (cf. Jorge calling Henrik "El señor" (Chapter 4). "Us Latinos must stick together", I hear him say to both Emilio and Sofia in two different contexts with a raised fist, thus initiating the South American associations himself. To be clear, Jorge has not just stepped over the thresholds to begin speaking Danish, but appears as a self-confident, highly communicative, and interactive employee who is "close" not only with "foreign" colleagues, but also with "the Danes". With his language and social skills, he takes, gets, and maintains a central position in the broad community of the department, as someone who can participate on an equal footing in many different settings.

6.2.2. Being on top of language choices

In Chapter 5, I presented Carl as he has started to gain experience with speaking Danish at work. In January 2021, he highlights some of his main challenges in speaking Danish with "the Danes" as their lack of mutual adaptation by switching to English, mumbling, and speaking fast. I meet him again online in March 2021, where he tells me that despite "*de en lidt mærkelige situationer*" [the slightly strange situations] with speaking Danish at work, he is happy about it. He has gradually started to speak more and more Danish within the last nine months. I tell him that I remember when I stopped being his Danish teacher in June 2020, he told me that he hardly ever used his Danish. I ask him: "Do you remember when and why you started speaking Danish?" Like Leo, he finds it difficult to describe what got him started: "*Jeg taler meget mere [dansk] nu. Jeg ved ikke, hvad der er ændret for mig, men jeg er meget mere komfortabel nu med at tale dansk. Jeg ved ikke, hvad det var*" [I speak much more [Danish] now. I don't know what has changed for me, but I'm much more comfortable now speaking Danish. I don't know what it was]. One specific thing he can point to is that around August 2020, the department management again addresses the fact that the department meetings and other internal meetings must be held in Danish, and that during the announcement, he thinks that he should get started and from then on starts to steer towards the language policy and not around it. He tells me that he feels comfortable in his role as a Danish-speaker now, and that he is very satisfied that the language choice at the individual meetings has no significant consequences for him as he has previously experienced. As a native English-speaker, he clearly feels stronger and more confident in English, but if the meeting is held in Danish, he does not find it problematic to participate. Instead, he experiences that learning and using the Danish language makes him more resilient at work, as he is more flexible in relation to language choice. The language choice no longer determines whether he can speak or not. He has acquired a voice in both English and Danish and can navigate more freely.

During the time Carl has been complying with the organisation's language policy, he has not only experienced the lack of "Danes" putting themselves in his shoes, but also that he can do things by virtue of his language choice. He has noticed that: "*nogle af mine lidt ældre [dansktalende] kollegaer, jeg synes, at [griner] de måske kan være lidt sødere på dansk end engelsk måske. Jeg ved ikke, hvis det er bare, hvordan de taler engelsk, at de ikke lyder så søde.*" [some of my slightly older [native Danish-speaking] colleagues, I think [laughs] they might be a bit nicer in Danish than in English. I don't know if it's just how they speak English, that they don't sound so kind.] Carl finds that after he has started addressing his colleagues in

Danish, he is met with more kindness and openness. The colleagues smile a little more, make a little more effort, he gets a little better feedback, a little more information, and he gets a longer and more elaborate answers to his questions. Carl says that his colleagues' new approach to him may be due to general mood swings, the weather, or that it might be something he imagines, but that he thinks they think: "Åh, han er god til dansk. Det er nemmere at snakke med ham". [Oh, he's good at Danish. It's easier to talk to him". He blushes a little and says that he is afraid of sounding smug, like someone who thinks he is good at Danish: "*Men jeg synes bare, at jeg har oplevet, jeg taler til en af de lidt ældre kollegaer på engelsk, og jeg var ligesom, ok han er ikke særlig sød og rar og så har jeg talt til ham også på dansk og synes, åh han er faktisk ret sød.*" [But I just think that I have experienced, I speak to one of the slightly older colleagues in English, and I was like ok he's not that sweet and nice and then I've also spoken to him in Danish and thought oh he's actually quite nice]. In addition, Carl notes that his use of Danish also has an effect on some of his important external partners:

Jeg har en virkelig, virkelig dygtig kollega i på ambassaden i Hanoi, jeg skal have et møde med nu her om fem minutter, og hun er dansker, og hun ja, hun synes det er meget sødt, at jeg taler dansk [griner], og hun husker mig, og det er godt for mig, for hun er virkelig dygtig og ja så, og vi samarbejder om Vietnam, så det hjælper. Så det kan være lidt, jeg ved ikke, måske at charme lidt, fordi jeg lyder som en lidt sød, en sød accent.

[I have a really, really talented colleague at the embassy in Hanoi, I have a meeting with in five minutes, and she's Danish, and she yes, she thinks it's very cute that I speak Danish [laughing] and she remembers me and um it's good for me because she's really talented and yeah and we're collaborating on Vietnam so that helps. So, it can be a little bit, I don't know, maybe charming a little bit because I sound like a little sweet, a sweet accent].

(Carl, in Danish, March 2021).

Carl increasingly experiences that the Danish language is not only constraining his expression of a desired identity, but that he can also use it to his advantage in many situations. By virtue of his Danish language skills and the ability to use them at work, he feels that he is more on top of the interaction, i.e., that he can steer it more in his direction. One way to explain Carl's increased access to more information etc. is that he can break subtle social barriers through his use of Danish. By barriers, I am not referring to Carl having experienced overt resistance or

hostility in the form of outright rejection or the like from his colleagues, but what Gullestad captures with the metaphor of *invisible fences* (Gullestad 1992, 2002). The metaphor should be seen in the context of her theory of equality as sameness as a pervasive social, cultural value in the Nordic countries and covers a discreet avoidance of contact with people with whom equality as sameness cannot easily be established: "Norwegian men and women want sameness, but in the process of creating sameness they indirectly organize symbolic fences between themselves and people who are not considered the same. The symbolic fences are not primarily established for shutting someone out, but first and foremost to protect and preserve a social identity which is defined within a reference group." (Gullestad 1992: 195). Gullestad sees equality as sameness in relation to other pervasive values such as peace and quiet and wholeness, and people who challenge common ground are associated with situations of potential disharmony and conflict. Invisible fences are thus a way of avoiding the discomfort of a potential conflict, and central to their establishment is a signalling of whether and to what extent one is available (Gullestad 1992; Larsen 2011). Signalling busyness, giving brief and to-the-point answers, looking away during the conversation or doing other things while talking, are all what Gullestad calls strategies to avoid close contact while avoiding conflict over not wanting contact. In short, a polite, social rejection. When Carl says that he finds that his older, native Danish-speaking colleagues are nicer to him, give him longer responses, etc. when he speaks Danish, this relates to Gullestad's theory, but in inverse form: as invisible fences that open due to inclusion through sameness of language practices. I suggest that Carl's colleagues make themselves more available to him because Carl shows with his Danish language choice that he is making an effort to speak "their language" and easy to talk to, because he speaks the same language as them. It is a signal of an emerging common ground that minimises the risk of disruptions and changes in colleagues' linguistic practices, and it is a signal that he has the will and desire to try (cf. General Director August's definition of a perfect Danish):

"Altså det gør danskere glade, og det folk jeg arbejder med glade, når folk hører, at jeg prøver at tale dansk. Det gør det, og det hjælper mig for at skabe forhold med nogle kollegaer, danske kollegaer. Det gør det virkelig. Det kan jeg sige."

[It makes Danes happy, and the people I work with happy when people hear that I try to speak Danish. It does, and it helps me to build relationships with some colleagues, Danish colleagues. It really does. I can say that.]

(Carl, in Danish, March 2021).

This relates to Lønsmann's (2011) use of social identity theory to argue that Danes feel rejected if international employees do not show that they want to be part of the Danish-speaking in-group. Carl's experience of feeling more resilient, more on top of the conversations, and more socially included as he learns and uses the Danish language, aligns with my conversations with other non-native Danish-speaking informants. When I ask them how speaking Danish is going, they seem generally calm, confident, and relaxed, and unless we are talking about their experiences of learning the language a year or two ago, we often quickly move on to a new topic, which is more on their minds.

This impression is reinforced by my observations of online Danish lessons at an upper intermediate B2 level, which, for example, Jorge and Carl are registered for, but do not attend those times I am present. The five times I observe the weekly lessons, a maximum of two out of six registered. At the beginning of the lesson, the teacher asks each time if the participants have any questions in general about language, grammar, etc., but they rarely do. On a single occasion, a participant asks about the meaning of the Danish low-frequency word *omhu* [care/dedication/precision]. Combined with my other observations and conversations, I see the absence of urgent questions and questions of this type of refined word differentiations as another indication of an advantageous language learning process.

6.2.3. Standing up for oneself

So far, I have emphasised skills in switching between different linguistic practices, performing identities through the use of Danish and using Danish language choice as a means of building social relationships at work. In this perspective, Danish is a social act that initiates and strengthens the speaker's inclusion into communities. However, increased language skills can also be used to speak up and mark social separation. With Carl and Valentina, I will present two examples of speaking up or standing up for oneself. I see it as social actions in line with being able to bond, be kind, charming etc. In short, it is an important part of the employees' second language socialisation.

In the previous section, Carl talks about his new, social discoveries of choosing to perform himself in Danish. However, this change is mutual. Thus, it is not only Carl who is

changing: also, his colleagues change their approach to him. In June 2021, I meet Carl online. He says that speaking Danish in the department is still going well, and that he finds it difficult to remember specific situations with Danish because "*faktisk jeg tænker ikke på det så meget*" [actually, I don't think about it that much]. As he participates in more activities that are held in Danish, other things, nonetheless, have begun to annoy him, things that have to do with his "Danish skills", but which are beyond his Danish language skills. He mentions that "*de hyggelige ting*" [the cozy things], i.e., fun, informal, social activities that seek to bring the department together, can be "a bit excluding": "*Det er også irriterende for mig, hvis vi har nogle quizzet bare for sjov, og nogle gange det er fandme danskdiskriminerende. Hvem var stjernen af Matadors anden del i fucking 1980'erne, eller hvornår det nu var? Og de første fem spørgsmål er om danske tv-serier, så det er virkelig ikke sjovt for alle.*" [It's also annoying to me if we have some quizzes just for fun, and sometimes it's bloody discriminating. Who was the star of the second part of Matador in the fucking 1980s, or whenever it was? And the first five questions are about Danish TV series, so it's really not fun for everyone.]²³ Carl thus criticises the Danish organisers' quiz questions, as their highly frequent use of references from Danish cultural heritage is not common knowledge to him. I ask if he has told the organisers. "Nej, men jeg venter lige til den næste, hvis de gør det igen. Men, Charlotte, måden at gøre det på er at skrive i chatten "so oh my Danish skills are not really fitting for these questions". Det er nok en mere høflig måde end at skrive, at det er diskriminerende" [No, I'll just wait until the next time if they do it again. But Charlotte, the way of doing it is to write in the chat "so oh my Danish skills are not really fitting for these questions". That's probably a more polite way than writing that it's discriminatory], he says with an enigmatic little smile (Carl, in Danish and English, June 2021).

When the next department's quiz has been running for 10 minutes, I see that Carl enters the chat in English as planned. He does not receive much response beyond a few supportive messages, but the organisers see his message and take it to heart. I hear that international sports performances and foreign policy issues are on the agenda next time. As described in the last section, I see Carl as highly aware that his language choice is social signalling, pure communication, and in this case, he navigates it again skilfully. The choice of English serves to emphasise his point, and he executes his message with a superiority of feigned

²³ Matador with the English title Monopoly is a Danish television series, produced and broadcast between 1978-1982, which takes place in Denmark in the interwar period of the 1930s and the German occupation in the first half of the 1940s. Since first broadcast, the TV series has been very popular and has been rebroadcast several times.

surprise and a little sophisticated wordplay in which skills not only refer to language skills but also culturally defined knowledge. I see the English language choice as a powerful effect to serve up what I would characterise as a snide remark with an embedded hint that the chances of winning the game are unequal. The effect rests on the fact that the organisers are well aware that Carl speaks fluent Danish at this point. The choice of English is a reminder of his Australian background, i.e. that he has a different background than the majority and that Matador and other implicit cultural references exclude those who do speak Danish, but have not grown up in Denmark. I would argue that he uses his English-speaking identity to take what Norton calls *ownership* of his identity in Danish-language contexts (Norton 1997). He stands up for himself by standing out. In this way, he creates a space for himself, where his Danish language skills are enough for him to participate.

Even though Valentina experiences that language confusion in the department compromises her language learning process, I notice that she begins to speak more Danish during the spring of 2021. In June 2021, I am part of an interaction between her and a colleague who insists on the organisation's language policy. I observe their interaction in the office one morning around 9 a.m.:

It is my first time in the physical office in eight months, and I am waiting for my mentor, Leo, at the reception desk in the spacious hall to show me to my desk when Valentina walks by. Leo sends me a text message at the same moment apologising for being late, so I walk up the white, spiral staircase to the department with Valentina. As soon as we enter the department, we meet the colleague, who will only speak Danish according to Valentina. I greet the colleague. We chat a bit and look at each other for the first time outside of a screen. Valentina stands a little behind me and does not say much. I tell the colleague that Valentina is showing me around because Leo, my mentor, is late. The colleague laughs a little and says: "*Jamen sådan er det med de italienerne [griner]*" [Well, that's how it is with the Italians [laughs]]. Before I even have time to think about how I should respond to that and if I should respond to it at all, Valentina promptly steps forward and says, "*Så hvad med mig? Jeg er også italiener, og jeg er her!*" [So what about me? I'm Italian too, and I'm here!] She looks at the colleague and says no more. The colleague does not say anything either.

This exchange contains many potential perspectives that, just as in Carl's case, point to different exclusion mechanisms that are not directly related to the organisation's language policy or native Danish-speakers' view of second language learning, but to issues of blind spots and

racialisation (Ahmed 2007, Hervik 2015). What I want to highlight in the example is Valentina's social and linguistic way of dealing with a highly contentious situation. Valentina has told me several times that she regularly hears what she calls "discriminating jokes" and "ways to put me in a box", all of which are based on stereotypical notions of Italians.²⁴ I often ask her how she reacts to it, and her answer every time is that she does nothing: "*Hvad skulle jeg gøre?*" [What should I do?]. With this question, she refers both to the belief that even if she speaks up, it will have no effect on the colleagues in question and to the fact that she is not strong enough in Danish for that. She tells me that she does not understand that she has been the subject of a joke or remark until the conversation has moved on to a new topic, and that she finds it difficult to come up with a quick answer. This, however, contrasts with my observation of her quick and direct response to her colleague's joking comment about Italians carried out, short and to the point, with a lot of resilience and strength. In comparison to Leo's elaborate presentation of the district heating group's work, Valentina's linguistic action is very short, but it requires advanced linguistic and social skills to perform. With a careful precision in her choice of words and rhetorical devices, a question, and a guiding answer to it, she tells her colleague that the prejudice about Italians in general as someone who sleeps late and cannot keep appointments is untrue. She is living proof of this. She tells the colleague in a very clear way that the joke is not funny without raising her voice or using insults. In this way, making it short is an achievement in itself. The timing also manifests Valentina's communicative competences. Unlike the example with Carl's planned response to the quiz, Valentina does not have the opportunity to prepare a written response and cautiously plan when to deliver it as her colleague's joke is an unforeseen event. Whereas Valentina used to lag behind in understanding and responding, she is now the one who is silencing her colleague with lightning speed, resulting in a reversal in the power balance. Like Carl, she is capable of standing up for herself in Danish by standing up for her colleague Leo at this point. This implies the courage to stand up and position herself as different from the majority in the department.

²⁴ I hear from people other than Valentina that they experience discrimination based on their nationality, typically in an informal, humorous context. I try to investigate the issue throughout my intensive fieldwork period, but I find my empirical material too limited for an analysis. Only in the case of Valentina do I observe this kind of exclusion mechanism. This may be due to my roles as a researcher and second language teacher, as well as the fact that more than half of my empirical material consists of online interactions, where the way of interacting and the technique delay the response time and thus spontaneous remarks. In addition, I have only a few specific examples of discriminatory actions related to nationality and ethnicity in my conversations and interviews. I hear from employees that they are tired of being the subject of jokes and comments, but not what the jokes and comments contain or when and how they take place.

My analyses of Leo, Jorge, Carl, and Valentina's various linguistic performances show a group of employees who achieve consistently solid linguistic and social skills in Danish. Over the course of their employment period of more than two years, they have made a tremendous effort to learn Danish by being adaptable, accepting all offers of Danish courses and Sproghjælp, and by taking responsibility for their own language learning process at work. At the same time, the employees have worked hard to acquire the knowledge and competences to perform the work activities, values, social positions, and relationships through Danish. It is a group of employees who not only know when to speak, when not, what to talk about with whom, when, where, in what manner, to paraphrase Hymes (1972: 60), but they are also able to translate that knowledge into action. Their language skills and their socialisation into the organisation make them more resilient to the organisation's language policy as their professional identity and ability to speak up is no longer dependent on language choices made by others, but enables them to negotiate and renegotiate social positions, allowing access to more colleagues and thus more knowledge and learning. They have been socialising themselves into the organisation as Danish-speaking employees to such an extent that one might expect this to be the point from which they would re-embrace the enthusiasm with which they entered the organisation more than two years before. Nonetheless, this is not quite so.

6.3. Glass ceiling and "the whole employee"

Up to this point, the focus has been on how language is central to non-native Danish-speakers' navigation within the organisation's language policy, how they invest in learning and mastering Danish in practice, and how this makes it possible to be recognised and socialise themselves into a shared We. In short, the Danish language is perceived as the key to a professional identity, to gain a voice, and to be recognised, and at this point, the non-native Danish-speakers have achieved those language skills, and they have become resilient. Paradoxically, this resilience also leads to a recognition of other career limitations apart from language learning, perceived limitations that make several of them quit their jobs. These limitations involve the organisational structure and the career pathways, which I will explain in the next sections. Nonetheless, Danish language skills still play a central role in how this organisational structure functions, constrains and support career paths.

After two to three years in the department, most have built up extensive experience of working with cooperation countries, and practices in the department and in the

central administration. The employees are considered by managers and colleagues to be "*de gamle*" [the old ones] who must train new colleagues, and with a department that has grown rapidly from 23 employees in 2017 to around 85 in 2021, their expertise is depended upon. Due to their strong language skills and professional expertise, they are powerful resources, c.f. commodities, for the department, and they clearly notice this in the amount of increased work tasks, but not in terms of career opportunities. In this sense, many still have a double workload, which is not so much about learning to perform work activities in an additional language anymore, but about the double work of solving sudden problems with partner countries, taking on coordinator roles, being the go-to person, and training others. These activities are characterised by their importance in driving the core tasks in the department, but as they take place 'on the floor', backstage, they remain the 'invisible hand' for many in the department management and for the Directors. Consequently, many international employees find that their efforts to learn Danish and take on double work are not rewarded. Where the employees on arrival had a persistent belief that learning Danish would be a key to upward mobility, i.e. recognition, permanent pay rises, and career opportunities, they now experience that their profound inner journey is not matched by the external conditions, and consequently many resign. Delphine, Jorge, Valentina, Carl, and Pietro are examples of employees who resign during their third year in the department. *Glasloft* [glass ceiling] is a metaphor that some of the employees use when talking about their reasons for resigning. This term is also known in the literature on career constraints in organisations, for example for women or minorities: "The term 'glass ceiling' describes, in particular, barriers to advancement into leadership positions." (Deep & Bauder 2015: 49), and these are invisible barriers. In the following sections, I will elaborate on what the glass ceiling may consist of and how it is embedded in the organisational structure and culture.

In chapter 4, Valentina explained that there are different groupings in the department, and that the largest are Danes and foreigners. Another major grouping concerns the two official job categories, generalists, and specialists. The generalists' areas of work are primarily administration, coordination, finance, law and communication, and most generalists have an education in political science, economics, and law. Positions such as department managers, assistant managers in the department, country team leader, and responsibility for the Insurance Grant Scheme are considered generalist work. All the Directors in the organisation and all the department managers except the assistant manager, Christian, who has a degree that combines administration and sustainable transformation, are generalists. These are the

employees most visible across sections within the organisation. In contrast, the specialists are primarily educated as engineers within renewable energy, and their tasks are to plan renewable energy solutions in the partner countries, advise the countries and provide the country team leaders with knowledge and calculations of CO2 emission reductions from different types of renewable energy sources. The highest position in the department for a specialist is the role of (technical) discipline coordinator, typically referred to as "*et fagligt fyrtårn*" [a professional lighthouse] within a specific discipline such as district heating, integration of renewables, etc. The role as a specialist is not as demanding in terms of Danish skills as the generalist roles, because the specialists most often work in the "background" in terms of contact and exposure to generalists higher up in the system. The specialists draw up visions, solutions, and evidence, which the country team leader presents. 24 out of the 26 international employees in the department have been recruited for specialist positions. According to several of them, the role is difficult especially because it involves an invisibility to management that they see as a barrier to career advancement and promotion within the organisation. Every year, there are annual negotiations about career advancement, salary increases and bonuses. The procedure is that each department manager recommends around five of their employees, i.e. employees for whom the department manager is the responsible manager, to the Directors, who have the final decision on who qualifies for a bonus and who can move up from being an Official to becoming a Special Advisor and from being a Special Advisor to becoming a Chief Consultant. The recommendations are made based on a *lønforventningsafstemningssamtale* [salary expectation reconciliation interview] between the responsible manager and the individual employee. As the organisation has limited resources, only a certain number of employees can be promoted.

In the spring of 2021, Eva tells me during one of our online one-to-one meetings that she has recommended Leo for a promotion to special advisor, as she believes he fulfils all the criteria, and she wants to keep him in the department. However, she fears it will be difficult as he is up against Jorge, who has been recommended for the same position by his manager, Johannes. It will be difficult for Leo because the Directors know Jorge because he has moved from a specialist role to a country team leader role, which is made possible in part by his strong Danish language skills. At this point, Leo has not yet started speaking Danish outside of the Ethiopia team meetings. Eva emphasises that it is important that the Directors not only hear about the employees' performance, but experience the employees in action, for example, giving a presentation at meetings and seminars. A few weeks after my conversation with Eva, Leo tells me during an online interview: "*Jeg har kun været til en møde med Direktionen tre måske*

eller fire gange i hele min tid, men jeg har aldrig sagt noget, for alle møderne skal være på dansk, og man skal have en særlig rolle eller en talepunkt, hvis man skal høres og ikke bare sige hej, og det har jeg ikke. Det er meget mere naturligt for en som Jorge [at komme til orde], fordi han har teamlederfunktion". [I've only been to a meeting with the Directors maybe three or four times in my entire time, but I've never said anything, because all the meetings have to be in Danish and you have to have a special role or a speaking point if you want to be heard and not just say hello, and I don't have that. It's much more natural for someone like Jorge [to take the floor] because he's a country team leader] (Leo, in Danish, March 2021). This case suggests that non-native Danish-speaking specialists have more limited opportunities for advancement, as the system requires exposure to the Directors, which requires good Danish language skills and a generalist role.

Regarding promotion, I find it relevant to briefly describe which qualities are highly valued from a management perspective. In previous chapter, Delphine is an example of an employee who moves from being a specialist to being more of a generalist, and the role change gives her "a little power" (c.f. Chapter 5). Jorge makes a similar shift as he moves from a specialist role to a country team leader. Unlike Delphine, he is not offered the new role, but "takes it" in his own words by being tactical and persuasive, which includes learning and showing off his Danish language skills. In addition to the link between access to new professional roles and language learning, Delphine and Jorge's cases can also be seen as examples of a professional mobility pattern that speaks to the department management ideal of "*den hele medarbejder*" [the whole or complete employee]. I hear the term a few times during my intensive fieldwork without exploring it further, until one day in the spring of 2023 when I talk to the assistant manager, Christian, who uses the term. We are talking about the current specialist job posting where Christian is involved in the job interviews. He tells me that when he and the recruitment team interview an applicant, the focus is on the applicant's professional skills in her or his particular discipline, but every time they hire a new employee, deep down they hope they are hiring the dream of the whole employee. The whole employee is an employee who can perform a range of tasks outside of the specific specialist function they have been hired to execute, i.e. being responsible for various schemes, writing speeches, notes, and briefs to the Directors, committee work, managing budgets, coordinating teams, organising events and courses, etc. It is an employee who can step in when needed, levelling out imbalances between employees by rotating tasks so that certain tasks are not always allocated or entrusted, depending on their attraction value, to the same people. In short, the employee

comprises the sum of different specific functions, and this requires Danish language skills that cover many specific areas.

The idea of the whole employee is based on organisational optimisation values such as flexibility, fairness, and the team spirit of a shared We. Unlike most international employees, Delphine and Jorge gain access to take the floor with the Directors by virtue of their Danish language skills and change of role, which increases their opportunities to advance in the system. The learning and use of Danish thus clearly emerges as a powerful commodity, a capital, which allows access to more. Nonetheless, the division between generalist and specialist means that it is not sufficient to have complete Danish skills and a professional identity as a Danish speaker; the employee also needs to move into generalist positions, and this constitutes a fundamental aspect of the glass ceiling experienced by many international employees after their second year.

6.3.1. Creating a new career path for specialists

Second language socialisation is not only about adapting to a new social world through learning and using a second language, but also to performing an identity and a self within that social world. The concept of navigation in this study emphasises the agency of the learner, that is, second language socialisation as an active investment in the process aiming at a social and professional identity through speaking Danish. Furthermore, the concept underlines the mutuality between the one navigating and the context in which he or she is navigating. The widespread experience among international employees of glass ceilings within the organisation, though, points to structures of paramount importance as to why many international employees after their second year in the organisation reconsider their imagined future and leave the organisation. This leaves the remaining employees with a doubt as to whether they are doing the right thing. These constraints on career paths are somehow beyond the power of their individual agency and their particular ways of navigating the language policy and their socialisation into the organisation. One international employee who not only tries to understand, but also change this is Leo.

During an online interview in the winter of 2021, Leo tells me about what it means to him when his close colleagues quit:

Leo: *Det var rigtigt trist for mig faktisk, når Delphine, Alexandra og Hannah flytter ud fra Global Rådgivning, fordi jeg startede at spørge mig, måske er jeg dum, fordi jeg ikke kan se ting som Hannah og Delphine og Alexandra kan se, og er jeg for ... different?*

[It was really sad for me actually when Delphine, Alexandra and Hannah moved out of Global Cooperation, because I started asking myself, maybe I'm stupid because I can't see things like Hannah and Delphine and Alexandra can see, and am I too ... different?]

Charlotte: *Anderledes?*

[Different?]

Leo: *Anderledes fra Energistyrelsen og også fra Hannah, Delphine og Alexandra. Jeg prøver at finde en andre dimension, som kan give noget til mig, men det er trist, at Hannah, Delphine og Alexandra ikke kunne finde den dimension.*

[Different from the Danish Energy Agency and also from Hannah, Delphine and Alexandra. I'm trying to find another dimension that can give something to me, but it's sad that Hannah, Delphine, and Alexandra couldn't find that dimension].

(Leo, in Danish, February 2021).

Leo does not elaborate on what he means by "too different", but given that everyone he mentions is international and speak fluent Danish, I cannot find any other meaning than being foreign. Leo's statement thus indicates that advanced Danish language skills and a shift from being a specialist to a generalist are not enough to even out differences. He tells me that he, like his close colleagues, has experienced so many times that "new Danish colleagues" start in the same teams as him - in the red countries - and that department management quickly moves them to other, higher level-countries. The new Danish colleagues become special advisors after a couple of years, while he is still an official and works far more than full-time. Some of the new Danish colleagues also quickly advance in jobs as LTA (Long Term Advisors) or sector advisors in the partner countries, where they get a place in the respective country's ministries or at the Danish embassy. These are usually very attractive jobs, as they are a big step on the career path and well paid, but largely unattainable for the international employees, as the jobs require a Danish passport.

Leo understands that his close colleagues such as Delphine are looking for new opportunities. However, he does not want to give up his job and considers different forms of

solutions, which he persistently pursues on his own initiative: "*Vi har ikke en karrierespor for specialister i Global Rådgivning, så det er et stort problem*" [We don't have a career track for specialists in Global Cooperation, so that's a big problem]. Leo imagines a future in the department, where generalists and specialists have more equal roles and specialists have more time to immerse themselves in their work: "*Så jeg er projektkoordinator for fjernvarmefaggruppe, men jeg har ikke tid med at være en specialist, fordi jeg skal koordinere alle de mennesker, der arbejder med fjernvarme. Jeg har ikke tid for at studere nye rapporter, og mit faglig arbejde laver eksterne konsulenter. Der er kun [tid til] koordinering*" [So I'm a project coordinator for the district heating discipline group, but I don't have time to be a specialist because I have to coordinate all the people working with district heating. I don't have time to study new reports, and my specialist work is done by external consultants. There is only [time for] coordination]. Leo wishes for a clearer career path for specialists in the form of a new position as a specialist team leader for all the discipline group coordinators and a specialist assistant manager in the department. He wants to create a new "lighthouse" in the department, and he is ready to fight for it: "*Jeg er ikke som sikker på, at det vil hjælpe, men jeg har været længe her, og det er også min sted, så jeg kan prøve*" [I'm not so sure it will help, but I've been here a long time and it's my place too, so I can try]. (Leo, in Danish, February 2021).

Leo feels that he has an in-depth knowledge of the department and the organisation, and at this point in his employment, he also feels a certain ownership of the place. Like Delphine, Carl, and Valentina, he finds the courage to speak up for himself and his colleagues with the difference being that Leo's struggle is far more pervasive as it involves an active attempt of restructuring of the entire department and its priorities, positions, hierarchies, and power relations. To create better conditions for himself and his specialist colleagues, he throws himself into a time-consuming investment that requires him to use all his knowledge of the department's organisational culture, his network, and his integrity. The process runs from around January 2021 to May 2021. First, Leo talks to individual specialists to gauge the atmosphere, then he gathers all the discipline group coordinators to exchange ideas and perspectives several times. He draws up a questionnaire and sends it to all the specialists in the department. He involves his boss, Eva, who supports him, and key specialists in other departments in the organisation. Based on all the input, he formulates a written presentation to the entire department management and invites them for a two-hour online dialogue meeting for which there will be follow-up meetings. At the beginning of the process, he writes and speaks in English when inviting to meetings, presenting, and throughout discussions, which all the

specialists present and the department management comply with, because it is Leo's meeting. At the end of the process, he writes in Danish and speaks Danish at the meetings, which one of the Directors has also started attending. Regardless of language choice, Leo sets the agenda and for the first time, has the full attention of management team.

Alongside the many meetings, I observe that Leo and several other specialists consistently begin to associate the word "*faglig*" [professional or specialised in the sense of being trained within a specific discipline] with specialists in a synonymisation. Statements like: "Der er ikke nok fokus på faglighed" [There's not enough focus on professional disciplines] means that there is not enough focus on the work of specialists, and "*Han er ikke faglig*" [he's not professional] is used with the meaning that he is not a specialist, but a generalist. Jon, the generalist in charge of communication and *Hjemtagning* (Chapter 4), tells me during an online lunch in the spring of 2021 that he thinks it is getting "lige lidt for meget" [a bit too much] with all the talk about specialists being *faglig*. Although he is not an engineer but a political science graduate, he believes he is also *faglig* in the department as his role requires just as much knowledge and training as an offshore wind specialist. Whether the specialists make use of a coordinated, discursive communication strategy (Fairclough 1989) or whether it is all due to a misunderstanding in the translation of the concept from Danish to English, during this period the specialists make it very clear to everyone in the department and to the Directors that specialisations do not come by themselves, but are disciplines that must be maintained and developed as it is the foundation of the generalists' work and the department's uniqueness in the global competition for cooperation with partner countries.

Leo and the specialists thus succeed in drawing attention to their roles, relationships, and relevance, but as the meetings with the department management and the Directors progress, it also becomes increasingly clear that it is difficult to find consensus in the specialist group on what they want for a future position. Some of the coordinators express that they would like to take more prominent generalist roles, i.e. become more whole employees, in the long term, which is inconsistent with Leo's ambitions. He tells me in the spring of 2021: "*Jeg har ikke interesse i at være landeteamleder eller den slags og lave næsten ren administration. Jeg vil arbejde med vedvarende teknologier, og hvordan de virker på landes udvikling. Og lønnen er ikke så vigtigt til mig, men jeg vil gerne være specialrådgiver, og det er så, så svært, for jeg er en person, der arbejder backstage. Jeg har ikke en interesse i at sige hej hej, det er mig! Men det er meget vigtigt. Det er meget vigtigt*". [I'm not interested in being a country team leader or anything like that and doing almost pure administration. I want to

work with renewable technologies and how they affect countries' development. And the salary is not that important to me, but I want to be a special advisor, which is so, so difficult because I'm a person who works backstage. I don't have an interest in saying hey hey, this is me! But it's very important. It's very important]. (Leo, in Danish, March 2021). A major barrier to Leo's desire for a future position is that it requires him to step into the foreground. Throughout the extensive process of promoting conditions and creating better positions for the specialists in the department, Leo is very much in the foreground as an advocate and informal leader. As mentioned, Leo's project shows a highly socialised employee, i.e. an employee who has acquired experience, in-depth knowledge, networks, and skills in the department and the organisational system. Leo makes use of his knowledge and his informal, social power, or *referent* power (French & Raven 1959), i.e. that Leo basically has informal support from a larger group in the organisation, combined with *expert power*, which is based on his *faglighed* and knowledge of practices and power relations in the organisation. Leo's agency or power to act is largely based on his go-to person function, the trust of other specialists.

6.3.2. Reasons for leaving

During the end of the spring in 2021, Leo's project to create a new career path for specialists is slowly dwindling. In addition, neither he nor Jorge are promoted to special advisor, despite both being "the old ones" with around five and three years of service respectively and holding large areas of responsibility. Jorge has even approached becoming a 'whole employee', which requires a large repertoire of professional skills and extensive communication competences. Leo explains his two rejections by saying that he is too different. The combination of being "*udenlandsk*" [foreign], that "jeg var for sen med at lære dansk" [I was too late to learn Danish], and that he is a specialist who insists on remaining a specialist means there are no more opportunities for him. That is his glass ceiling, he tells me during a two-day seminar at a hotel in August 2021. He knows he is welcome to stay in the department, but he is convinced that he will never be able to go any further.

I do not speak to Jorge in private after the announcement of the annual salary negotiations and promotions in spring 2021, but two months before in winter 2021 he outlines one of his key challenges as what he considers his glass ceiling:

Jorge: *Der er en ting, som jeg har set i forhold til danskere og udlændinge, og det er en barriere i forhold til at tænke om udlændinge som mulige ledere*

[I have seen one thing in relation to Danes and foreigners, and that is a barrier to thinking about foreigners as potential leaders]

Charlotte: *Ja?*

[Yes?]

Jorge: *Det er meget typisk, at danskerne er meget åbne til at acceptere en udlænding som en meget faglig specialist eller ekspert, og du kan være superdygtig, og du kan inkorporeres på et team som ekspert, men når det handler om en leder, som ikke er dansk, så er der meget mere skeptisk. Så udlændingene er gode eksperter men ikke ledere.*

[It's very typical that Danes are very open to accepting a foreigner as a highly professional specialist or expert, and you can be super skilled, and you can be incorporated into a team as an expert, but when it comes to a manager who is not Danish, there is a lot more scepticism. So, the foreigners are good experts but not leaders.]

(Jorge, in Danish, February 2021).

Jorge tells me about his experience of what I would characterise as a reproduction of tacit segregation in relation to job hierarchies. His understanding of the causal relationship is that the top management layers, i.e. the Directors and department managers, who have the power to make decisions on promotions and orchestrate the distribution of power in the organisation, consist exclusively of "Danes" and they promote Danes into management positions. He uses himself as an example when he applied to become a country team leader in the department and was met with scepticism: "*De [afdelingsledelsen] var skeptiske i forhold til min udlændingebaggrund, og muligvis troede de, at jeg var lidt for grøn på en måde med dansk og ledelse, fordi det var meget snak om dansk kultur og det danske flade hierarki, og du kan ikke forstå danskerne og blablabli, og det var ikke på den måde med Walther [en nyuddannet dansk medarbejder som bliver landeteamleder efter et år i afdelingen]*". [They [the department management] were sceptical about my foreign background, and maybe they thought I was a bit too green in a way with Danish and management, because there was a lot of talk about Danish culture and the Danish flat hierarchy, and you can't understand the Danes and blah blah blah, and it wasn't like that with Walther [a newly graduated Danish employee who becomes a country team leader after a year in the department]]. Jorge thus

experiences that he is ascribed a position as less qualified for the job because of his background, as it reduces his ability to understand Danish language and culture. This can be understood as *open discrimination*, which is when people in organisations are denied or restricted from being promoted based on ethnic background and gender (Cortina 2008, Van Laer & Janssens 2011). In the end, Jorge convinces the management that he is the right one for the job, but the process shapes his experience of the organisation and his hopes for future opportunities. Jorge says that Danes perceive foreigners as good specialists, but that they are not considered potential leaders, and that this implies locking the employees into the same role and thus disconnecting them from key decisions. I tell Jorge that I have spoken to one of the department managers five days ago about international colleagues leaving the department after a few years on the ground that there is no future for them and that the manager said: "*Jeg er ikke sikker på, at de ikke kan gå hele vejen, at de ikke kunne få en stor karriere i organisationen og i systemet [centraladministrationen]. Det er simpelthen for tidligt at konkludere noget, for vi har ikke særlig lang erfaring med udenlandske medarbejdere, og det tager tid at komme op i det her statslige system, uanset hvem man er.*" [I'm not sure that they can't go all the way, that they couldn't have a great career in the organisation and in the system [the central administration]. It's simply too early to conclude anything because we don't have a lot of experience with foreign employees, and it takes time to come up in this governmental system no matter who you are.] (Christian, in Danish, February 2021). I ask Jorge what he thinks of the manager's statement, and he replies that he thinks he has waited long enough.

Leo and Jorge both end up quitting their jobs to seek new horizons elsewhere. Jorge chooses to accept a job in a major European capital and leaves Denmark. He tells me in the winter of 2021 that if he does not have a Danish wife or is 100 percent assimilated in other ways, he will not have a chance to advance in the organisation or elsewhere in Denmark. "*Der er ikke meget plads for diversitet i Danmark. Der er plads til nogle typer diversitet som seksualitet, eller du kan være kristen, ateist eller måske jødisk, men kommer du fra andre tro som fx muslimer er det ikke nemt, og er du en udlænding, der vil være leder, er det ikke nemt*" [There's not much room for diversity in Denmark. There's room for some types of diversity like sexuality or you can be Christian, atheist or maybe Jewish, but if you come from other faiths like Muslims, it's not easy, and if you're a foreigner who wants to be a leader, it's not easy]. (Jorge, in Danish, February 2021). Despite his best efforts, he has not

really succeeded after eight years in Denmark with a master's degree, a PhD, and dedicated work with green transition.

Leo stays in Denmark and joins a company with more time to specialise. In the autumn of 2023, I call him from my office at the university as I need some details to describe his start in Global Cooperation in his words. He tells me that it feels like a long time ago, takes a deep breath, and says:

Jeg startede som en lille mus, som voksede og voksede, indtil jeg ikke kunne vokse mere. Det var en meget, meget svær beslutning til mig at forlade Global Rådgivning, og jeg savner det stadig faktisk. Det er det bedste job, man kan have i sit liv.

[I started as a little mouse that grew and grew until I couldn't grow anymore. It was a very, very difficult decision for me to leave Global Cooperation and I still miss it actually. It's the best job you can have in your life.]

(Leo, in Danish, November 2023).

In summary

This chapter has focused on how international employees navigate the language policy up to and after their second year in the organisation, what it takes to pass the threshold to speak Danish in work contexts, but also the extent to which their second language socialisation has borne fruit and with what consequences. It has been shown how passing the threshold between learning and speaking a second language at work is a series of steps that takes place within restricted spaces of the learner's choice and involves different forms of agreements, for example about consistent language choice. This means that the learners' progress goes unnoticed and is invisible to most people in the organisation up to the breakthrough moment where they decide to fully perform their professional role as Danish-speakers. Those who become Danish-speaking professionals around their third year of employment no longer due to the fact that they have become resilient to language choice because they can now speak up and perform their professional identity not only in English, but also in Danish. However, this is also a moment where they become aware of a glass ceiling, an invisible but very real hindrance to moving upwards in the organisation, obtain wider influence and visibility. A major reason for this is that most international employees enter the organisation as specialists within their

particular field, but for each employee getting the influential jobs requires not only a complete second language socialisation into the many Danishes of the organisation, its many practices and its implicit pragmatic contexts, but also the development of a generalist profile and, in the end, a Danish passport. Thus, the glass ceiling is somehow related to structures beyond the field of second language socialisation. That is, you may fully accommodate and develop a Danish-speaking professional identity and knowledge of how the organisation works, but nonetheless realise that your imagined identity is still far ahead or possibly even a road to nowhere. The second language socialisation has made it possible to move inside those many invisible fences which define the organisational We and become part of this collective identity only to discover that there are other invisible fences within the organisation, which seem impossible to navigate around.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

Within the broad framework of second language socialisation, this thesis has explored how international employees in a Danish state administration socially navigate the organisation's Danish language policy. When the language choice is Danish, there are a number of challenges related to the international employee's double investment in both their professional work and in learning Danish, as well as a number of complicating factors related to the employee's professional identity, position in the organisation and the entire organisation's way of working with and practising its identity. I have studied international employees in an organisation that, on the one hand, is anchored in a state administration with Danish as the official working language in internal contexts and, on the other hand, aims to work large scale on the global market as a leader in providing green transition solutions. This has necessitated an ever-growing international employee group due to a lack of qualified, Danish-speaking employees. In a condensed form, the organisation and the overall empirical field of the thesis reflects a broader political landscape with somehow contradictory political ambitions. It is a field of tension that includes an economically dictated and political desire for a global role for Denmark, while at the same time, focussing on maintaining Danish as the main language and associated notions of a special Danish culture, identity, and practices. By having Danish as the official language in a workplace that increasingly includes non-native Danish-speaking employees, the field of this thesis differs from most previous studies of second language socialisation of highly educated people, which concern private workplaces where the official language is English, a lingua franca that many speak. In contrast, the acquisition of Danish in this study takes on a different character and necessity, as the job simply cannot be carried out without advanced Danish skills. This is in part similar to a few other studies such as Suni's study (2017) of international healthcare professionals in Finland, which shows that good Finnish language skills are a requirement for the core tasks of working with patients. In the present study, however, the international employees need various forms of Danish for various relations. For the employees in Global Cooperation, it is necessary to master many roles and power relations such as expert to expert, employee to manager, expert to Director and expert to citizen, i.e. many roles through which the Danish-speaking professional identity must unfold. In comparison to socially isolated warehouse work (Sandwall 2013) and cleaning services (Strømmer 2016), the international employees in Global Cooperation are highly educated, used to adapting to other countries and many

already speaks several languages. Nonetheless, they are confronted with a challenge they have not encountered before. On the one hand, they have a number of personal as well as organisationally provided resources at their disposal in the form of language courses and colleagues in the same situation, but on the other hand, the threshold for proficiency in Danish at a level where they can fulfil their professional roles is correspondingly high.

Thus, the organisation has provided rich opportunities to investigate what it means to learn and use Danish, how the path to learning and using Danish can take place, and also to uncover second language socialisation as a quite comprehensive process, as it includes not only learning Danish, but learning to speak many kinds of Danish, including knowing and navigating implicit pragmatic contexts in order to achieve a Danish-speaking professional identity. I have therefore used the concept of social navigation as a methodological perspective that emphasises the employee's language acquisition and use as an active process and an expression of agency, but also to emphasise the dynamic nature of the environment in which the employee navigates. A key point in the thesis is that learning a second language in practice takes place in tandem with socialisation through language, and that this also has mutual elements, for example in relationships and practices between native Danish-speakers and non-native Danish-speakers. Language socialisation occurs through language in pragmatic contexts where the employee is *doing* things together with others by navigating around and through Danish towards acquiring a Danish-speaking professional identity that can also dynamically adapt to changing situations and linguistic registers. Thus, second language socialisation is not just an individual achievement, but - at least when successful - a result of a process of collaborative effort.

I have organised my empirical material into three stages which the international employee goes through during the first year, the second year and after the first two years. In themselves, the three stages provide a framework for understanding employees' development and have shed light on the scope and complexity of second language socialisation as both language and identity work. What particularly interests me is what happens within the three stages: how employees navigate language policy over time and the resulting reversals in views on language learning and the identity and position that follows. In particular, the points about my methodological approaches to gaining knowledge about employees' navigation patterns and second language learning at work as a social process, contain key findings which I will now discuss.

7.1. Participation, multiple roles and complicity

The research methodology involved close collaboration, dialogue and transparency with the participants, where I adopted and created multiple roles and methods to gain diverse perspectives. This approach provided rich, nuanced insights into the employees' second language socialisation process in the organisation. In terms of complicity, it was established on many levels, not least by virtue of an interdependence. I would characterise this as a productive complicity. In comparison with Marcus' analysis of complicity (1997), it is clear that Geertz and his wife happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time (or in the right place depending on the perspective), whereas I gained access to the organisation because the international employees and the department management needed an intermediary who had some expertise with Danish language learning and social dynamics. Halfway through my fieldwork, it was revealed that the contours of my role were already drawn before I started. The revelation - that I came into possession of this knowledge at all - I see as a result of fulfilling the expectations of my role and having in-depth conversations with my boss. When I write that I established complicity with the Danish Energy Agency (as the initiating subject), it means that they also established complicity with me. Marcus emphasises Geertz and his wife's choice to keep quiet about the cockfight in Bali as pivotal for their complicity with the village. In contrast, complicity in my study consisted of talking and establishing dialogue between the different groups and layers of the organisation. I acted as a kind of middleman, facilitating understanding and collaboration, which required careful ethical reflection and constant alignment between myself and various actors about how information should be shared and used and conversely, to what extent and how they should use me. Thus, my multiple roles afforded me a visibility whereby I established complicity not only with the international employees, but also with other groups and across additional layers of the organisation. The multiple roles implied that I had access to my informants in multiple occasions and in different ways, due to my various approaches to them. In addition to the traditional methods (participant observation and interviews in both online and onsite settings), the approaches also include *Sproghjælp* and close collaboration on a new language policy. In short, this ethnographic work enabled various approaches to the field and allowed me to slip in and out of formal and informal situations, experiencing staff in a variety of contexts and seeing many different sides of them.

In my empirical material, it is very clear that I have multiple perspectives. My main focus is on the non-native Danish-speaking employees, but I have additional perspectives as I have non-native and native Danish-speaking employees, department managers and Directors. These perspectives uncovered a number of issues such as what it means when native Danish-speaking colleagues switch to English or do not offer their help with Danish, and when department managers do not ask about the learning process. At the same time, the different perspectives from different layers of the organisational hierarchy make it possible to see how colleagues, Directors and department managers, the middlemen, see their role in the process, and how these understandings interact and conflict. For example, I observed my boss as a leader who I depended on, as she supported my research project. I saw her managing others, and I experienced working with her on the new language policy where I was in charge. Together with her employees I also saw her several times in her home with her family on team building days. These perspectives help to understand, why she navigates the organisation's language policy creatively in some contexts but not in all, which might otherwise appear confusing from the employees' point of view, and why she and other department managers do not ask more questions about their employees' process of learning Danish. All of this has provided information about the multilayered mutuality between learner and environment of second language socialisation and, not least, that second language socialisation is a dynamic process that can be understood in greater depth through the mutuality (and complicity) between the researcher, the research and the field.

The length of the study and the different methods have enabled me to access a relatively large window of time (in situ and retrospective time), which has shown how experiences and identity are constantly in the making. I have experienced this specifically by observing on the same parameters and when I have asked the same question to the same informants where their answer changes over time. In this sense, there is not one single informant identity.

7.2. Second language learning as social identity work

My study has shown that second language learning is not only an individual process, but very much a comprehensive social and cultural process. International employees' second language learning is directly linked to: 1) the linguistic practices at work, i.e. what the target language

users do and what employees need to learn in order to participate. 2) The challenges relating to the transition from learning Danish in designed learning contexts to learning to use it in work situations takes place in interaction with native Danish-speakers. 3) Professional identity as developed and performed through employees' language skills.

In relation to the first point, my study has shown that professional language in the organisation is characterised by a highly complex linguistic practice as it is not only constituted by one specific linguistic register carried by a set of subject-specific terms and fixed expressions. The advanced diplomatic register is characteristic of the professional language of the organisation, most often linked to genres such as discussions and negotiations, as are technical terms in renewable energy technologies, but small talk about sports and knowledge of Danish TV series and novels are also an inseparable part of the daily working language, i.e. speaking the Danish Energy Agency, as are humour and irony. Frequent and often unmarked shifts back and forth between topics, genres and registers are characteristic of the linguistic practice, which necessitates that the non-native Danish-speaker is able to detect subtle markers of change in pragmatic contexts. For non-native Danish-speakers, this implies learning what I refer to as many different kinds of Danish related to different topics, speaker relations, emotions and situations if they are to participate in a variety of contexts. The challenge is therefore not only to learn the structures and vocabulary of the different kinds of Danish, but also the ability to understand and socially navigate the implied pragmatic contexts including what I have addressed as norms of shared We, rules and functions. In a very direct way, this links second language learning (knowing the language) and socialisation (knowing what to say, when and why), and this complexity underscores the comprehensive nature of acquiring Danish, particularly in professional contexts.

In regard to the second point, my study has shown that learning Danish in designed learning contexts (in class) and learning to use it in work contexts is often an arduous process with many dilemmas and pitfalls. This challenges the notion otherwise prevalent within the organisation that language learning automatically leads to language use. There are good reasons why native Danish-speaking colleagues in particular can observe a sudden leap in Danish acquisition by their colleagues as the process is often invisible. This can be seen in the context of the We-culture in the organisation. Many native Danish-speakers are cautious about getting actively involved in their non-native Danish-speaking colleagues' Danish language learning process for various reasons such as fear of exposing differences and inequality. For the non-native Danish-speaking employees, the process from

invisible to visible involves many small steps over a series of thresholds, starting in small, selected spaces and gradually expanding in scope to more and larger spaces. The process is often initiated by a Danish-speaking colleague who is aware of the linguistic potential of their non-native Danish-speaking colleague and who is in a position to determine the meeting language for everyone. In rarer cases, the process is initiated by the employee being offered a key role where the rest of the team is dependent on the employee's Danish skills to fulfil core tasks. In these cases, the employee's learning of using Danish is intensified. The process of investing in learning Danish to investing in using Danish is a central aspect of second language learning and socialisation, as it essentially deals with the very purpose of employees' investment in second language learning, i.e. being able to put it to work, and the organisation's motivation for investing in private Danish courses.

In regard to the third point, my study has shown a close, almost symbiotic, relationship between language use and identity. Coveted employees with extensive specialised educations and solid work experience in renewable energy have, in practice, no voice in work contexts that are conducted in Danish. They have the agency to navigate situations by, for example, pretending to follow along, but they have no way of understanding what the meetings are about, what is being discussed and agreed, nor do they have the opportunity to contribute or raise objections. In short, language skills are synonymous with performing and participating in the core tasks, opportunities and functions assigned to employees. They are a decisive factor in whether employees are ascribed or ascribe themselves an undesired position (as a baby doll, a statue, a child) or as a professional employee with agency and impact. This is an affective evaluation and self-perception of their position at work. Advanced language skills, including mastering the many linguistic registers, are also a prerequisite for performing different aspects of one's personality, such as being smart, fun and polite. It requires profound receptive, social and cultural skills to read other speakers and situations and to be able to adapt the language to them, thereby actively participating in a common we and even shaping the practices around it. My study has shown that a change in language use, specifically from remaining silent or speaking English to being a Danish-speaking colleague, results in a profound change in social relationships and power relations at work. However, this should not be understood to mean that employees do not possess any agency before they cross the threshold, as my empirical material clearly shows that power and linguistic hierarchies are highly situated. Employees who cannot speak Danish can take the lead in meetings held in English. The entire organisation can even rely on

these employees' native language in team meetings with countries which speak 'their language and culture'. There are moments when even the most invisible employee shines, but becoming a full employee, that is, a Danish-speaking employee, definitely creates a more stable power position. The fact that language is so closely linked to how employees are seen by others, but also how they see themselves and others, for example political orientation, makes it a vulnerable subject and a taboo. In this way, language is used as a metonym for attributing a range of other personality traits and values. This makes it clear how language skills in work contexts not only affect daily practices, but are also central to identity formation, social inclusion and status among colleagues, revealing the deep connection between language, power and social dynamics in professional environments.

7.3. Mutual (second language) socialisation

In this thesis I have explored social navigation of the Danish Energy Agency's language policy as a central part of the international employee's second language socialisation with an emphasis on their agency, perception and reflection upon the process. Employees observe and read people and the environment, i.e. norms of linguistic and social practices, and try to both adapt to it and change it in different ways. In particular, I have looked at the organisation's language policy from the perspective of international employees and followed how their navigation develops and changes as they learn, use and perform themselves and their affective modes related to it. At the same time, my analyses have shown how the organisation and native Danish-speaking employees navigate in relation to non-native Danish-speakers. However, the fact that everyone navigates in relation to each other, does not automatically imply successful mutuality, where language learning and language use and opportunities to perform oneself as a professional employee happen in a supporting interaction with others. In the following section, I will provide some suggestions on how to organise the processes of mutual social navigation in order to create the best possible conditions for active, contextualised and socially anchored second language socialisation in a professional environment.

In the introduction to this thesis, I described a rare occurrence at a department meeting where an external speaker, unaware of its implications, asks about language choice, causing six seconds of silence. The six seconds is an expression of uncertainty and fumbling because there is no established agreement and consistent practice for dealing with the

organisation's language policy. Most people in the department can recite by heart the organisation's credo that they are a Danish public authority and therefore Danish-speaking. However, putting the credo into practice on a daily basis with all the challenges and opportunities that such a Danish-speaking work environment entails, is another matter. This discrepancy formed the starting point for the development of a new language policy. Some of the guidelines in the language policy align with the empirical material from my field and with some of the analyses in this thesis. In particular, the guidelines centre on helping each other, i.e. mutuality, which creates an awareness that language and language learning is something people do together. Second language socialisation is a shared process. My findings suggest that the individual employee cannot do the second language socialisation alone, i.e. not only learning Danish in the classroom and by taking notes in work contexts, but also using it in different work situations. It is not only the non-native Danish-speaking learner who adapts to a new linguistic and social environment, as it also involves socialising the workplace into being a Danish-speaking workplace with many different skills in play and ways of speaking Danish. In this sense, it is a process that affects everyone to different degrees and a process that everyone should actively engage with. Continuous dialogue and a consistency in practices are two important factors in facilitating mutuality, and this includes specific norms that apply in a number of situations. For example, should people switch to English or not, who decides, can information be redundant by being both written and spoken, is it possible to speak slowly, is it possible to go back and ask questions, is there time built into the communication to catch lack of understanding and misunderstandings? This means that the entire organisation needs to be primed as an environment to embrace the diversity of the employee group and learning on the fly.

Mutuality in second language socialisation involves different practices belonging to different levels, which more precisely can be categorised as: 1) Dedication of resources from the organisation to support the employee through free language courses, which Lønsmann also concludes in 2011, and time to attend the courses and a longer onboarding period, which includes extra time from the mentor. It is also beneficial to assign the employee a 'language friend', i.e. an experienced Danish-speaking colleague who can help with translations and clarification of meaning, including implicit cultural codes and tacit knowledge, and who can follow and support the employee's gradual Danish language learning. My empirical material has clearly shown that the employees' process significantly develops in direct interactions with colleagues who assume a language mentor role (Duff

2012). In addition, helping to plan a small Danish-language work activity for the individual employee over a longer period of time, with a high degree of repetition, gives the employee the opportunity to perform in Danish under safe conditions. Consistency and predictability are important for the employee's language learning in terms of preparation, use and sense of meaningfulness. 2) Mutually informed language choices so that practices are consistent and predictable. For example, will the other participants continue to speak Danish if an employee switches to English, or is it a signal that everyone must switch or that only the employee in question can do so? In my empirical material, there are many examples of native Danish-speaking colleagues wanting to support their non-native Danish-speaking colleagues by switching to English. The problem with this is not the good intention, but the lack of consistency in practice for when to do what. It is often decided in the particular instance on an ad hoc basis and my empirical material clearly indicates that this is not beneficial. Thus, agreements and guidelines are needed for more than just Danish being the official language, but for *where* and *when* to use it. Developing structural patterns could also help to reduce negotiations about language choice, which in many cases are determined by social hierarchies and demonstrations of power. 3) Not least, my findings indicate that guidelines on *how* to use Danish as the official language at an interactional level are a necessity. This includes everything from slowing down the pace of speech and taking short pauses to asking the interlocutor to repeat, i.e. an awareness of one's own language use and adaptation to the colleague's level. Many people, especially native Danish-speakers, can seemingly effortlessly and almost automatically vary their own language use back and forth according to people and situations, yet my empirical material suggests that adapting to the needs of a non-native speaker does not come as naturally.

Thus, creating a workplace with a workforce with very different linguistic, social and cultural skills requires dialogue, established practices and continuity. This is not least amplified by the dynamic global labour market where, as Lønsmann also concludes in 2011, new employees who need to learn Danish from scratch will be an ongoing state of affairs. In this sense, an organisation's facilitation of second language socialisation should not be understood as a linear one-off process where all non-native Danish-speaking employees are lifted linguistically at once, and the goal is achieved. Instead, it requires a readiness and a system to be in an ongoing process. This is not only a necessity for maintaining a language policy and a cohesive workforce, but also a condition for developing and utilising the potential, which a diverse team brings.

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Appendices

Appendix 1.

Lines in the history of Global Cooperation.

During my fieldwork, I drafted a history of Global Cooperation for internal use in the department. The story is based on an interview with two of the department managers from the autumn of 2021, who have many years of involvement and experience in the development of the Danish climate policy.

Global Rådgivnings historie

Begyndelsen

Som hovedansvarlig for Miljøstyrelsens Østeuropaprogram startede [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] i Energistyrelsen i januar 2008 som følge af en programsammenlægning. Her skulle han blandt andet opnormere et nyt medarbejderhold, hvilket medførte, at han d. 1. april 2008 ansatte [REDACTED] som tidligere havde arbejdet som konsulent i Sydøstasien hos [REDACTED].

Baggrunden for programsammenlægningen var, at den danske stat besluttede at lave en CO₂-reduktion i udlandet i 2005, som kunne tages med hjem til Danmark for at styrke opfyldelsen af den danske CO₂-forpligtelse over for FN. Systemet bestod af to mekanismer under Kyotoprotokollen: Joint Implementation (JI) og Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), hvilket var et veletableret system på daværende tidspunkt. Systemet muliggjorde en investering i konkrete CO₂-reduktionsprojekter som for eksempel biomasse, biogas, og vindmøller uden for Danmark. Programmerne startede i 2005 i Miljøstyrelsen med Østeuropaprogrammet (JI) og i Udenrigsministeriet, som arbejdede med en række Danida-lande (CDM).

Fra samarbejdets start var det klart, at [REDACTED] og [REDACTED] ønskede at være med til at skabe en ny udvikling inden for området med fokus på bæredygtighed: *Vi fik meget hurtigt fokus på øget bæredygtighed i projekterne, hvilket skabte et større engagement hos dem, vi ansatte.* ([REDACTED], september 2021). Engagementet og pionerånden var en stærk drivkraft for det nye hold, og sammen med en nøje planlægning af de strategiske linjer tog arbejdet hurtigt fart. I perioden 2008-2011 udviklede holdet, som bestod af 10-15 medarbejdere, 86 projekter i 15 forskellige lande for knap to milliarder kr. Projekterne var yderst velfungerende og modtog stor ros fra Rigsrevisionen. Det skyldtes ikke mindst, at holdet undervejs havde fundet ud af, at projektudviklingen og forholdet til partnerlandenes ministerier blev styrket væsentligt af, at programmet udover den tekniske dimension, også kunne dele danske regulatoriske erfaringer for den grønne omstilling. Samtidig gav projekterne ofte miljø- og socioøkonomiske sidegevinster for lokalsamfundet, hvor projekterne blev gennemført.

Fra projekt-setup til myndigheds-setup

I 2011 indledte Energistyrelsen et samarbejde med Kina. Energistyrelsen blev spurgt, om de ville bidrage til at opbygge et center for vedvarende energi i Beijing, hvilket Direktionen traf beslutning om at takke ja til. For 12 millioner kr. skulle holdet bistå til opbygningen af centret. Det nye samarbejde faldt netop sammen med afslutningen på Østeuropaprogrammet og muliggjorde således, at holdet kunne fortsætte. Kontrakten med Udenrigsministeriet blev underskrevet d. 11. februar 2011, og projektet blev starten på et nyt myndigheds-setup, som fortsat karakteriserer tilgangen i Global Rådgivning i dag.

I 2013 blev den såkaldte klimapulje under bistandsmidlerne etableret i en fælles dialog mellem Udenrigsministeriet og Klima-, Energi og Forsyningsministeriet. Klimapuljen havde fokus på en særlig dansk indsats inden for global CO₂-reduktion og for klimatilpasning. Inden for klimapuljens fokus på global CO₂-reduktion blev der i forlængelse af Kina-samarbejdet igangsat et energibistandsprogram i 2013-14, hvor Vietnam, Sydafrika og Mexico blev finansieret af klimapuljen. Programmet blev etableret under navnet Low Carbon Transition Unit (LCTU), og det blev lagt i Energistyrelsens Center for Systemanalyse. Det følgende år arbejdede holdet med [REDACTED] og [REDACTED] i spidsen for en større sammentænkning af Kinaprogrammet og LCTU, da programmerne overvejende indlejrede de samme processer og mål. Programmerne blev lagt sammen i 2014-15, og Kina, Vietnam, Sydafrika og Mexico kom til at udgøre det første Danish Energy Partnership Programme (DEPP). Samtidig kom Ukraine med fra Øststøtteordningen og efterfølgende Indonesien.

Det nu samlede DEPP affødte en refleksion over arbejdsprocesser og varemærkeidentitet. I forbindelse med sidstnævnte valgte man at markere det direkte statslige tilhørsforhold og opgav navnet LCTU som et resultat af dets manglende associationer til Energistyrelsen: *Hvem vidste, hvad LCTU er ude i den store verden? Det er der ingen, der ved, og der er ingen, der forbinder noget som helst med det. Derimod har en myndighed med 40 års transition i form af den danske Energistyrelse som myndighed en "kongekrone-effekt", som gav meget større respekt hos partnerne, og dermed overhalede det danske donorprogram med langt større internationale aktører, fordi Energistyrelsen repræsenterede en autoritet og med sin erfaring og eksperter skabte en reel kapacitetsopbygning hos partnerne*" ([REDACTED] september 2021). Global Rådgivning blev hurtigt udviklet herefter som både navn og koncept.

Langsom kapacitetsopbygning

Med påbegyndelsen af DEPP ændredes arbejdsprocesserne også. Under Østeuropaprogrammet og det tidlige Kina-samarbejde havde [REDACTED] og [REDACTED] været i dialog med Udenrigsministeriet om tilgangen til samarbejdslandene ad flere omgange, og denne dialog blev forstærket med DEPP og det strategiske sektorsamarbejde (SSC). Udenrigsministeriets traditionelle Danida-tilgang bestod på daværende tidspunkt af mere omfattende, ressourcekrævende programmer, som blev afviklet over en periode på tre til fem år og hvor der ikke var adgang til Energistyrelsens rammemæssige erfaringer fra de sidste 40 års transition. Med erfaringerne fra [REDACTED] og [REDACTED] tidligere samarbejder var denne tilgang i flere henseender båret af en for stor teoretisk forankring og for lille præcisering af implementeringsprocessen til at fungere optimalt.

I modsætning hertil arbejdede Energistyrelsen med meget små programmer i et bilateralt samarbejde med en langsom kapacitetsopbygning. De havde udviklet en mere efterspørgselsdrevet tilgang, som startede med en inceptionsperiode - en programmeringsdel – hvor udfordringer og behov blev analyseret i samspil med en analyse af forandringsparathed. I processen vægtede Energistyrelsen en aktiv inddragelse af samarbejdspartners perspektiv på energiudfordringerne frem for en fremlæggelse af en

færdig handleplan: *Det handler om at være nysgerrig på, hvad det er for en udfordring, vi skal sætte os ind i. Hvad er det, de gerne vil have? Hvad er det, de ser? Hvad er deres udfordring? Vi prøver at lave en holistisk tilgang, hvor vi kommer rundt om det hele.* ([redacted] september 2021). Erfaringerne med den efterspørgselsdrevne proces var, at den affødte en helt anden dialog og lokal deltagelse.

Trepartssamarbejdet

Tilgangen med myndighedstilgang og kapacitetsopbygning af partnerministerier blev i 2016 bredt ud til flere lande og andre sektorer igennem Udenrigsministeriets Strategiske Sektor Program (SSC). Ligesom i DEPP-programmerne, hvor de lokale ambassader i Kina, Vietnam, Mexico, Sydafrika og Ukraine var en vigtig deltager i programimplementeringen og der var udsendte energirådgivere fra Energistyrelsen i partnerinstitutionerne byggede SSC-myndighedssamarbejdet også på et tæt samarbejde med ambassaderne, og man introducerede derfor begrebet ”vækstrådgivere” som blev ansat ude på selve ambassaderne, og som derigennem kunne understøtte SSC-programmerne.

Introduktionen af trepartssamarbejdet bestående af Energistyrelsen, partnerlandets myndigheder og ambassaderne var et helt nyt tiltag i forhold til andre internationale donorer, som blev muliggjort af Energistrelsens udsendte energirådgivere, Energistyrelsens kapacitetsopbygning via partnerprogrammerne og af, at ambassaderne fik et fagligt fundament gennem sektordiplomati. Udviklingen af de diplomatiske værktøjer var særligt en inspiration for Udenrigsministeriet. Værktøjerne byggede på relationen mellem faglighed inden for energi og miljø, som Danmark var kendt for, og at Energistyrelsen var primus motor for en række samarbejdsinitiativer, som partnerlandet kunne se sig selv i og følgelig åbnede sig for. Set fra Energistyrelsens perspektiv er bevægelsen i den fortsat aktuelle trepartsmodel basalt set, at samarbejdet tilfører alle parter større værdi. I forhold til ambassaderne kan det for eksempel bidrage yderligere til samarbejdet med Udenrigsministeriet, når ambassadøren personligt sidder med i de styregrupper, som programmerne har etableret i partnerlandene. Ydermere er det en stærk motivationsfaktor for partnerlandet, når ambassaden viser engagement og deltagelse, og dette kan medføre en kausal højniveau-effekt. Erfaringerne viser, at det som regel diffunderer ned i organisationen og skaber en positiv forpligtelse, hvis partnerlandet besvarer myndighedsinvitationen med en generaldirektør eller viceminister i styregrupperne.

Sektortilgang til et diplomatisk samspil

[redacted]

Udenrigsministeriet præsenterede Global Rådgivning, som blev inviteret med ind i den diplomatiske øvelse at arbejde på at forbedre relationen gennem etablering af et nyt sektorsamarbejde. Dette medførte et hurtigt sektorprogram indenfor vind og hurtigt herefter et dybere klimapuljeprogram, som fokuserer bredere på integrationen af VE og som bl.a. lancerede et dansk/███ vindcenter, som ambassaden og Energistyrelsen i fællesskab tog initiativ til at arbejde for allerede tilbage i december 2017 som en vigtig del af det nye energisamarbejde mellem Danmark og ███.

Et turning point

At tage ud i verden og sætte et grønt fodaftryk globalt er fortsat hele meningen med myndighedssamarbejdet, som blev etableret som et parallelt handlingsspor til de internationale forhandlinger. Missionen for Global Rådgivning er at være udstillingsvindue for dansk viden og praktiske færdigheder om myndighedserfaring: *Ved at stille de danske erfaringer til rådighed i global sammenhæng, understøtte de internationale klimaforhandlinger ved at sige, at det kan lade sig gøre, og det kan give mening, og dermed at Danmark via handling, via action, kunne vise de internationale klimaforhandlinger, at ja det kan lade sig gøre, og det kan gøres omkostningseffektivt. Det var det, som var tanken bag, og det var helt bevidst, at man kørte i et forhandlingsspor og et handlingsspor, og vi var handlingssporet.* (███ september 2021).

Et turning point som for alvor styrkede handlingssporet kom omkring 2015, hvor sol og vind blev billigere end fossil brændsel. Inden da måtte man kvantificere og redegøre for en række parametre som for eksempel, hvad forurening, dødsfald, CO₂-afgifter og jobskabelse kostede og således plædere for de mere bløde værdier som opvejning af det dyrere grønne alternativ. I 2015 blev de grønne energiformer bundlinjen, og det medførte et enormt skred i interessen og med den en mental ændring. Befolkningsgrupper fra særligt mere progressive højvækst udviklingslande lagde pres på deres politikere, beslutningstagerne, for at få dem til at reagere og gribe til handling.

Selvom energi fra sol og vind var blevet væsentligt billigere, så var der (og er der stadig) en stor udfordring med at integrere den fluktuerende energi i et el-system således, at man ikke går på kompromis med forsyningssikkerheden og således, at der også er elektricitet i kontakten når solen ikke skinner og vinden ikke blæser. Løsningen er kort fortalt at udnytte alle muligheder for fleksibilitet i elforsyningen og planlægge elproduktionen, således at den billige vedvarende energi altid bruges, når den er der, og at den resterende elproduktion balanceres ind efter behov. Denne tilgang er og var Danmark verdensmestre i, og netop det tekniske og institutionelle erfaringer fra denne transition blev nu efterspurgt i meget stort omfang. Danmark har også særlige erfaringer på eksempelvis energieffektivisering og fjernvarme, som også blev stærkt efterspurgt.

I takt med den stigende globale interesse voksede Global Rådgivnings indsatsområder også, og der kom et behov for et større fokus i aktiviteterne. Med henblik på at opnå en større gennemslagskraft gennem strukturering og professionalisme udviklede de i 2016 i samarbejde med Departementet de fire hovedområder for det danske energipartnerprogram,

som fortsat er gældende: 1) Langsigtet energiplanlægning baseret på detaljeret el-system modellering – som bl.a. kan være med til at estimere 2030 og 2050 målsætninger. 2) Fjerne barrierer for at fremme vedvarende energi. 3) El-sektor fleksibilitet og integration af vedvarende energi i el-systemer. 4) Energieffektivisering og fjernvarme.

Med tiden har de fire indsatsområder kontinuerligt vist sig at være et præcist og rammende valg. Særligt Outlook-tilgangen, som blev introduceret i Kina-samarbejdet i 2016 og efterfølgende introduceret i Vietnam og Indonesien og nu også indgår i en række andre partnerlande er blevet standard i de dybere samarbejder, da den giver det pågældende land et unikt værktøj til at udvikle elsektoren og hele energisektoren med fokus på både forsynings- og forbrugssiden, således at der planlægges på kort og lang sigt med fokus på en omkostningseffektiv omlægning af hele energisektoren og yderligere bidrager til at konkretisere landets ambitiøse klimamålsætninger.

Tillid og integritet i et pragmatisk kredsløb

Ud over en række progressive udviklingslande tæller samarbejdspartnerne i Global Rådgivning også flere OECD-lande i dag, som er samlet under betegnelsen Eksportordningen. Med midler fra en Finanslovsbevilling startede Eksportordningen som et toårigt pilotprojekt i 2015, hvor bl.a. Tyskland og UK var med. Til forskel fra DEPP-landene er landene under Eksportordningen ikke finansieret af bistandsmidler. Med undtagelse af en kort pause mellem to bevillinger voksede Eksportordningen hurtigt som følge af en stor interesse. Ligesom med de øvrige partnerlande er formålet med Eksportordningen at samarbejde omkring grøn omstilling og reduktion af CO₂-udledning. Sideløbende hermed bidrager samarbejdet også til at modne markeder for eksport af dansk energiteknologi.

I forbindelse med Eksportordningens eksplosive udvikling er balancen mellem grøn energifaglighed, sektordiplomati og markedet et tilbagevendende punkt, idet Global Rådgivning værner om sin særlige position, som har drevet dem fra start af. Myndighedssamarbejdet er centralt, og det er båret af tillid og integritet frem for ”invested interests”. For det kræver både stor tillid og integritet, et fortroligt rum, at etablere og opretholde et åbent samarbejde med fokus på grøn energi: *Det er vigtigt, at der ikke er en kontrakt med til at åbne døre. Vi bruger rigtigt meget tid på at fortælle, hvorfor vi er der, og hvorfor vi ikke er som andre aktører, som partnerne ellers har erfaring med. For de spørger, hvad er det, I vil? Jamen, vi er her for jeres skyld. Ja ja, men hvad er det, I vil? Kommer I for at sælge vindmøller? For vi kan godt bruge nogle vindmøller her! Nej, vi kommer for at lave best practice i jeres land. Vi vil hjælpe med at lave en optimering af jeres system, men det er jer, der er eksperterne på jeres land, så derfor er det jer, der gør det.* ([REDACTED], september 2021).

Pionerånd og sammenhold

Et øvrigt emne som også er genstand for kontinuerlig refleksion i Global Rådgivning handler om den interne kultur, hvor pionerånd og fagligt og socialt sammenhold er et neksus for den

passionerede drivkraft i arbejdet. Lejrture [redacted] og til Lyngborg i Nordvestsjælland med faglige diskussioner, sovesale og telte, fælles madlavning, fester og [redacted] hjemmebagte morgenboller inkarnerer det. Desuden er pladsmanglen omkring kaffemaskinen i køkkenet, de mange missionsture og at tilbyde kollegaen sin sofa, når det sidste nattog til Odense er kørt også en del af den fortælling.

Imidlertid spørger ledelsen sig selv om, hvorvidt pionerånden på paradoksal vis er udfordret af Global Rådgivnings egen succes med at skabe nye tilgange. Har de sejret pionerånden ihjel? Og hvorvidt kan de bevare nærheden i sammenholdet, når centeret vokser måned for måned? *Vi har gjort enormt meget ud af at udvikle en maskine, hvor alle tænker ens, så vi leverer samme rådgivning og kapacitetsopbygning på tværs af partnerlande. Ikke sådan at vi skal gå i takt, men at vi kan forstå vores arbejde, selvom vi er mange, uanset om det er i Sydafrika eller Vietnam eller, hvor det er.* ([redacted] september 2021).

I takt med den bestandige udvikling af det globale samarbejde er medarbejdergruppen ligeledes vokset markant, hvilket til sammen har ledt til en større omorganisering og strukturering. Fra at være en enhed på 10-15 i 2008, som kunne sidde rundt om det samme bord og diskutere dagsordener og daglige agendaer, består centret i dag af ca. 85 medarbejdere, og antallet stiger fortsat. For netop at styrke fællesskabsfølelsen i forhold til både samarbejdslandene og medarbejdernes faglighed organiserede man i 2017 medarbejderne i en matrix. I 2021 var en større samhørighed og nærhed mellem ledelsen og medarbejderne en motivation for en fordeling over tre enheder med de tre kontorchefer og to souschefer.

Siden 2017 er der også sket en udvikling i medarbejdergruppen, idet flere internationale kræfter er kommet til, som udover stærke faglige egenskaber tilfører holdet nye sproglige kompetencer og udsyn og er med til at tegne en arbejdsplads, som kan tiltrække de bedste inden for feltet på tværs af grænser. Medarbejdergruppen er således blevet langt større og arbejdet mere organiseret, men bag spekulationerne om, hvorvidt det vil svække sammenholdet, engagementet og pionerånden, er der agiliteten i arbejdet og det faktum, at fremtiden er uforudsigelig, som får vingerne til at snurre: *Det er vigtigt at huske på, at der ikke er en one size fits all, og udfordringerne kontinuerligt ændrer sig i samarbejdslandene. Man ved ikke, hvad der f.eks. sker i uge 46 næste år, så samarbejdet kræver en agil og analytisk tilgang, hvor vi løbende evaluerer i samarbejde med vores partnere. For mig at se handler det om, hvordan vi skaber en bedre fremtid for hele verden. Hvordan kan vi både kigge på bæredygtighed, økonomisk vækst i lande og mindske fattigdom? Altså det er jo her, at vi samler tingene, og det er jo netop her, at vi kan gøre en forskel på den lange bane.* ([redacted] september 2021).

Appendix 2.

Employment contracts.

Aftale om praktikophold



Klima-, Energi- og
Forsyningsministeriet

**Praktikaftale for:
Charlotte Sun Jensen**

1. Praktikstedets adresse

Energistyrelsen (ENS), Carsten Niebuhrs Gade 43, 1577 København V, CVR.nr. 59778714, tlf. nr. 33 92 67 00.

2. Praktikanten

Charlotte Sun Jensen - Bechgaardsgade 2, 3 tv, 2100 København Ø, tlf.nr 30 31 77 44

3. Uddannelsessted

Aarhus Universitet (AU), Tuborgvej 154, 2400 København NV.
Afdeling, Pædagogisk Antropologi, [REDACTED]

4. Studieretning

Ph.d. inden for fagområdet særligt antropologi og etnografi

5. Perioden for praktikforholdet

Fra den 1.oktober 2020 -- til den 31. maj 2021

6. Afdeling og ansvarlig kontorchef

Center for Global Rådgivning (stednr. 40), kontorchef, [REDACTED]

7. Informationssikkerhed

Du har pligt til at overholde ENS's regler for informationssikkerhed.

8. Knowhow, ophavsret og opfindelser

Alle materialer, dokumenter, tegninger, elektronisk data, standarder, instruktioner og lignende, som du kommer i besiddelse af som følge af din praktik i ENS tilkommer og forbliver ENS's ejendom og skal således tilbageleveres til ENS ved praktikkens ophør. Der kan ikke udøves tilbageholdsret i de nævnte eller lignende materialer.

9. Tavshedspligt

Som praktikant i ENS kan du få kendskab til oplysninger, der skal behandles fortroligt og ikke omtales for uvedkommende, hverken i eller uden for ENS. Du er derfor pålagt tavshedspligt i henhold til forvaltningslovens § 27, jf. straffelovens § 152 og §§ 152c-152f. Tavshedspligten gælder for oplysninger, som ved lov eller anden gyldig bestemmelse er betegnet som fortrolig eller som det er nødvendigt at hemmeligholde for at varetage væsentlige hensyn til offentlige eller private interesser. Et brud på tavshedspligten betragtes som en væsentlig misligholdelse af praktikaftalen. Tavshedspligten gælder også efter praktikkens ophør.

10. Andre væsentlige vilkår for praktikforholdet

I øvrigt omfatter praktikaftalen de til enhver tid gældende politikker og retningslinjer i ENS, herunder personalepolitikker, it-retningslinjer og sikkerhedsbestemmelser. Du har pligt til at gøre dig bekendt med indholdet af retningslinjerne og holde dig ajour med eventuelle ændringer

Der vil som led i praktikaftalen vil blive foretaget registrering af forskellige oplysninger om dig, blandt andet brug af informations- og kommunikationssystemer mv., jf. persondataloven.

Under dit ophold i Energistyrelsen får du stillet en PC-arbejdsplads til rådighed, og i den forbindelse skal det understreges, at du under dit ophold er forpligtet til at overholde Energistyrelsens retningslinjer for IT-sikkerhed

Ligeledes gøres opmærksom på, at du senest på din sidste dag i styrelsen skal aflevere adgangskort, nøgle til dit skab, PC, arbejdstelefon samt evt. andre udlånte effekter.

11. Dato og underskrifter

ENS

Date

ENS

6. oktober 2020

Date

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikanten (som har modtaget genpart)

Date

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Underskrift

Kære Charlotte

Tak for din mail.

Jeg bekræfter hermed, at vi godt kan forlænge din aftale om praktik til den 31. august. Vi (personale@ens.dk) vil også sende dig et opdateret brev om praktikaftale med ny slutdato.

God dag.

Vh. [REDACTED]

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

[REDACTED]

Fuldmægtig / Advisor

HR og udvikling / HR and Organisational Development

Mobil / Cell

+45 [REDACTED]

E-mail

[REDACTED]

Danish Energy Agency - www.ens.dk

- part of The Ministry of Climate, Energy and Utilities

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Appendix 3.

Recommendation.

Til rette vedkommende

Anbefaling Charlotte Sun Jensen

Kontorafdeling
Center for Global
Rådgivning

Dato
10. november 2021

Hermed bekræftes det, at Charlotte har været tilknyttet Energistyrelsen, Global Rådgivning i perioden fra den 1. oktober 2020 til den 31. august 2021 i forbindelse med sit Ph.d- projekt om internationale medarbejdere på arbejdspladser i Danmark.

Global rådgivning er et center på omkring 85 medarbejdere, der samarbejder på energiområdet med 19 partnerlande. I alle partnerskaberne har vi fokus på grøn omstilling og reduktion af CO₂-udledning, men ofte er vores indsats også med til at modne markeder for eksport af dansk energiteknologi.

Særligt for dette center i Energistyrelsen er, at vi har mange internationale medarbejdere, omkring 25-30 procent. Vi er meget interesserede i, hvordan vi kan tiltrække og fastholde disse medarbejdere hos os og hvordan vi skal håndtere sprogudfordringer (og –muligheder), og har været meget glade for at have Charlotte tilknyttet, så vi kunne blive klogere på disse spørgsmål.

Opgaver som har ligget hos Charlotte, har bl.a. været: undersøgelse af sproglig, social og kulturel interaktion i GR; etableret dialog mellem internationale og etnisk danske medarbejdergrupper, samt mellem ledelse i GR og direktionen i organisationen; præsenteret resultater og afholdt workshops; bidraget til at udforme en sprogpolitik sammen med ledelsen; undervist og sprogcoached internationale medarbejdere i dansk ("sproghjælp"); og hjulpet med ideer og tilrettelæggelse af det faglige indhold på det årlige personaleseminar.

Charlotte har demonstreret en fantastisk evne til at opbygge fortrolighed og tillid og sikre opbakning fra medarbejderne, ledelsen og direktionen, hvilket har været helt afgørende for sprogpolitikens fremdrift. Charlotte har vist en unik evne til at tænke på tværs af organisationen, hvormed hun har identificeret, hvordan forskellige aktørers interesser, kompetencer og mål kan passes sammen.

Ud over stærke faglige kompetencer, som bl.a. tæller sprog og kultur, har Charlotte gode interpersonelle evner, som konkret er kommet til udtryk ved, at hun har set og afjulet misforståelser i forbindelse med lanceringen og implementeringen af sprogpolitikken.

Charlotte har via disse opgaver bidraget til en række resultater, som bl.a. omfatter: bidraget til en større forståelse af sproglig og kulturel diversitet blandt medarbejdergrupper; en sprogpolitik med en social og samarbejdede tilgang til sprogliglegelse; gjort det nemmere at tale om sproglige forskelle; at flere

Energistyrelsen

Carsten Niebuhrs Gade 43
1577 København V

Niels Bohrs Vej 8
6700 Esbjerg

T: +45 3392 6700
E: ens@ens.dk

www.ens.dk



internationale medarbejdere har givet sig i kast med det danske sprog på arbejdet; og at flere medarbejdere med dansk som førstesprog er mere opmærksomme på deres internationale kolleger.

Charlotte har i sin rolle hos os vist sig at have stor viden inden for sproglige, sociale og interkulturelle processer; overblik og blik for detaljen; analytisk sans; gode interpersonelle evner; empatisk og inkluderende; kan både arbejde selvstændigt og i teams.

Charlotte har i høj grad været proaktiv omkring sin egen rolle, og hun har hevet fat i sin personaleleder (mig), når hun har haft brug for rådgivning eller retning, men har i høj grad selv bidraget til at forme vores fælles projekt. Udover at medarbejderne har holdt meget af hende som ekspert og som menneske, har hun også været god til at lede opad og været utroligt nem at lede, fordi hun har en åben og diplomatisk tilgang – og samtidig ikke tilbageholdende med at give råd til mig som leder, som jeg automatisk har taget til mig pga. Charlottes store faglighed og integritet.

Med venlig hilsen

[Redacted signature]

Kontorchef
Center for Global Rådgivning
Energistyrelsen

Appendix 4.

Initial mail.

Fra: [REDACTED]
Sendt: 30. juni 2020 13:05
Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@studieskolen.dk>
Emne: PhD

Kære Charlotte

Så jeg har tænkt på dit projekt med min mave 😊 og jeg synes stadig, at det er en spændende idé. Det giver mening, at du fortsætter med os, da du kender os rigtig godt. Vi alle har meget stor tillid til dig, og vi ved, at du gerne vil hjælpe os med dit projekt, så jeg er sikker, at det kan fungere super godt.

Jeg forslår derfor, at du tager en snak med min chef [REDACTED]:

[REDACTED]
Kontorchef / Director
Center for Global Rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell +45 [REDACTED]
E-mail [REDACTED]

Du kan godt sige til hende, at du har talt med mig om det. Jeg kan se i hendes kalender, at hun arbejder hjemmefra fra i morgen, og at hun ikke har mange møder, så du kan ringe når som helst.

Held og lykke!! Lad mig bagefter vide, hvordan det gik 😊

Bedste hilsner,

[REDACTED]

PS: Mit private telefonnummer er [REDACTED] 😊

Med venlig hilsen – Very best

[REDACTED]
Fuldmægtig - Advisor
Center for global rådgivning - Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobile +45 [REDACTED]
E-mail [REDACTED]

Danish Energy Agency - www.ens.dk

- part of The Ministry of Climate, Energy and Utilities

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Appendix 5.

Permission.

Fra: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>

Sendt: 22. oktober 2020 16:34

Til: [REDACTED]

Emne: SV: Praktikaftale

Kære [REDACTED]

Jeg har læst praktikaftalen/kontrakten og har et par spørgsmål og kommentarer til punkt 8 og 9.

I punkt 8: "knowhow" står der, at alle materialer – herunder dokumenter – skal tilbageleveres til ENS ved praktikkens ophør. Jeg vil høre, om det også gælder, hvis jeg fx gemmer en invitation, en mail med "Dagens vigtigste nyheder" osv.? Jeg spørger, da det er vigtigt for mig at have disse materialer, når jeg stopper mit forløb i GR, da det er der mit analytiske arbejde, som bl.a. kan involvere materialerne, starter.

Punkt 9 omkring "Tavshedspligt" er selvfølgelig også lidt særlig, da jeg i min afhandling og eventuelle andre publikationer og præsentationer kommer til at skrive, at jeg har lavet mit feltarbejde i Energistyrelsen. Jeg anonymiserer personer og tilslører forhold og informationer, som kan rumme fortrolig information, men jeg kan ikke anonymisere jer.

Er der en måde, man kan komme rundt om det på i aftalen?

Bedste hilsner

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern

Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

E-mail

chsj@ens.dk

Fra: [REDACTED]

Sendt: 27. oktober 2020 10:41

Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>

Cc: [REDACTED]

Emne: SV: Praktikaftale

Hej Charlotte

Jeg har vendt med HRU. Det er nogle gode spørgsmål du rejser, og det er jo en standard praktikaftale. Vi synes ikke, at der er problemer med hverken at gemme nogle printede mails eller at skrive om GR i en phd opgave – det er jo hele formålet med dit ophold hos os. Vi har ikke behov for at ændre i praktikaftalen, men vil hermed gerne bekræfte i e-mail, at vi ikke ser problemer ift. de emner du nævner. Alt godt.

Bh. [REDACTED]

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

[REDACTED]

Kontorchef / Director

Center for Global Rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell

[REDACTED]

E-mail

[REDACTED]

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Appendix 6.

Consent form.

Samtykke til behandling af personoplysninger

Dataansvarlig ph.d.-studerende: Charlotte Sun Jensen

Titel på ph.d.-projekt: High-skilled international employees in multinational workplaces in Denmark

Vejleder på ph.d.-projekt: ██████████

Beskrivelse af ph.d.-projektet, herunder formålet med databehandlingen og hvilke personoplysninger der behandles:

This anthropological project is about high-skilled international employees in multinational workplaces in Denmark. According to statistics, it actually is quite difficult for Denmark to attract international talents, and even more difficult to retain them. Some of the statistics are followed up by a questionnaire pointing to "language challenges" and "social challenges". Since these indications are fairly broad generic categories, the aim of this project is to make a qualitative study of social interaction between foreign/second and native speakers and language policies and practices in the workplace. More generally, I am interested in investigating the life and experience of being a foreigner in Denmark with a white-collar job and how the workplace affects the employee and how the employee affects the workplace.

Jeg giver hermed samtykke til at ovennævnte ph.d.-studerende må behandle oplysninger om mig i forbindelse med sin uddannelse på Aarhus Universitet. Mine personoplysninger vil indgå i ovennævnte ph.d.-projekt. Jeg giver samtykke til, at:

- mine oplysninger må behandles i ph.d.-projektet
- mine oplysninger må videregives til Aarhus Universitet og til en eventuel ekstern censor i forbindelse med vejledning og bedømmelse
- mine oplysninger må offentliggøres i anonymiseret form i forbindelse med offentliggørelse af ph.d.-projektet, herunder: afhandlingen, artikler, bøger, konferencepræsentationer, seminaroplæg og undervisning.

Dato:

Navn:

Underskrift:

Samtykket kan til enhver tid trækkes tilbage med virkning for fremtiden. Dette sker via henvendelse til denne mail:

Information til den registrerede

Efter reglerne i persondataforordningen skal den ph.d.-studerende som dataansvarlig informere de registrerede personer om deres rettigheder i forbindelse med behandlingen af oplysningerne. Den ph.d.-studerende registrerer og behandler personoplysninger med hjemmel i persondataforordningens artikel 6, stk. 1, litra a). Følsomme data, dvs. helbredsdata eller data om race eller etnisk oprindelse, politisk, religiøs eller filosofisk overbevisning eller fagforeningsmæssigt tilhørsforhold registreres og behandles med hjemmel i persondataforordningens artikel 9, stk. 2, litra a). Begge regler giver adgang til at behandle oplysninger, når den registrerede har givet udtrykkeligt samtykke.

Behandling og opbevaring

Den ph.d.-studerende behandler personoplysningerne fortroligt. Oplysningerne vil blive opbevaret til 2028, hvor ph.d.-projektet er bedømt og klagefristen i forbindelse med bedømmelsen er udløbet, og hvor den dataansvarlige har haft mulighed for at arbejde videre med data fx i en post.doc.

Videregivelse af oplysninger

Oplysningerne vil ikke blive videregivet til andre medmindre der er givet samtykke hertil.

Dataindsigt

Registrerede personer kan når som helst rette henvendelse til den studerende med henblik på at få kopi af oplysningerne.

Berigtigelse af oplysninger

Hvis den registrerede person mener, at der er registreret forkerte oplysninger, kan man bede den ph.d.-studerende om at berigtige oplysningerne. Det vil sige, at den ph.d.-studerende retter oplysningerne eller noterer, at oplysningerne er forkerte og registrerer de rigtige oplysninger. Den registrerede person har krav på, at den ph.d.-studerende ser bort fra oplysningerne indtil det er afgjort, hvilke oplysninger, der er rigtige.

Tilbagekaldelse af samtykke og sletning af oplysninger

Hvis den ph.d.-studerende har indhentet et samtykke fra den registrerede person til at behandle oplysningerne, vil den registrerede til enhver tid kunne tilbagekalde samtykket. Den ph.d.-studerende kan derfor ikke fortsætte med at behandle oplysningerne efter samtykket er trukket tilbage.

Den registrerede har ret til at få slettet oplysninger, som den studerende har registreret om den pågældende, hvis oplysningerne ikke længere er nødvendige til det formål

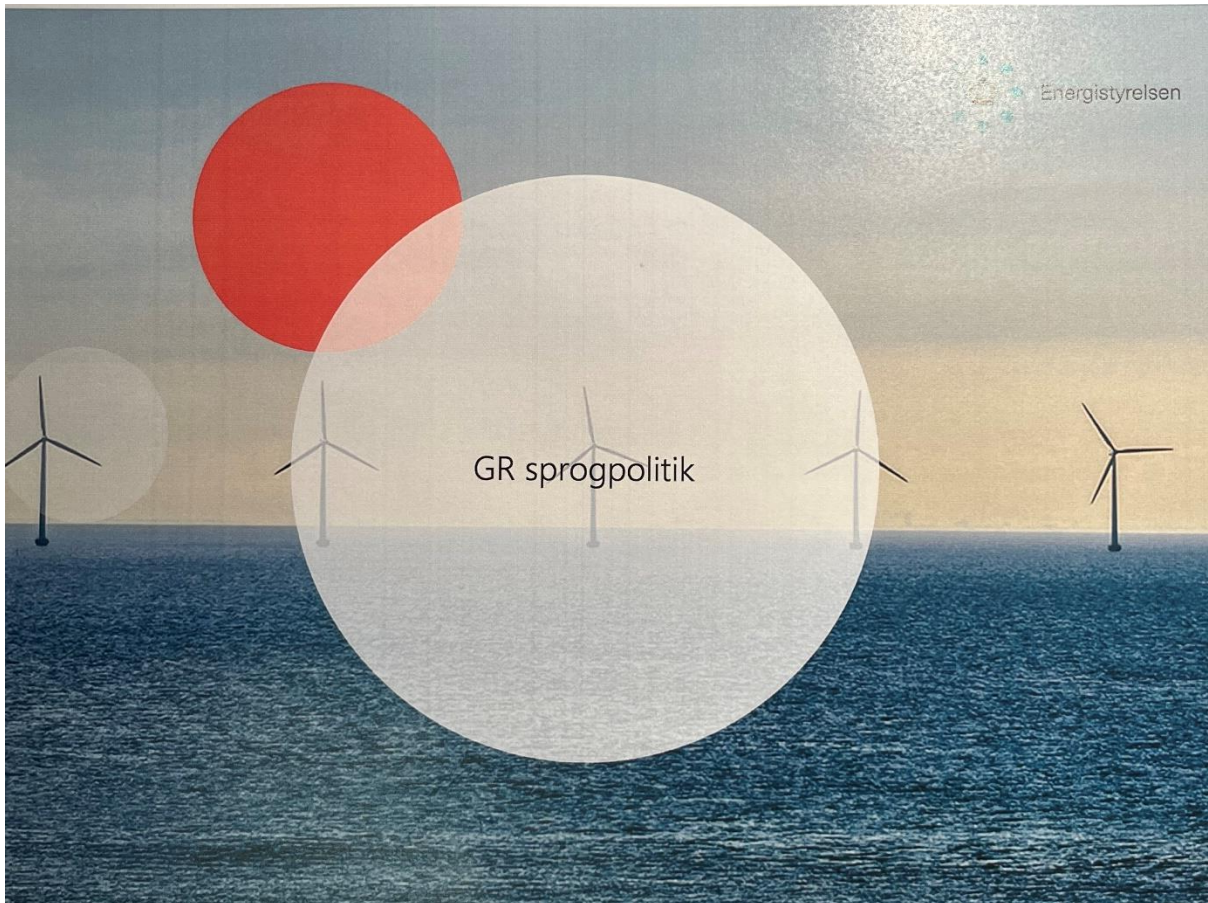
de blev indsamlet til. Oplysningerne skal også slettes, hvis den registrerede tilbagekalder samtykket til behandlingen eller hvis oplysningerne ved en fejl er blevet behandlet ulovligt. Den registrerede har ikke krav på sletning af oplysninger, som er arkiverede efter arkivlovens regler i universitetets arkivsystem.

Klage til Datatilsynet

Registrerede personer kan klage over behandlingen af oplysningerne til Datatilsynet dt@datatilsynet.dk.

Appendix 7.

New language policy.



Udgangspunktet

Grundlæggende principper

- Vi vil gerne tiltrække og fastholde international arbejdskraft i GR
- Vi vil gerne være en attraktiv arbejdsplads og være gode kollegaer, der behandler hinanden med forståelse og respekt
- Vi vil gerne udvikle vores medarbejderes faglige og sproglige kompetencer (dansk, engelsk, andre sprog)
- Alle skal kunne følge med og kunne gøre sig gældende
- Vi anerkender, at det er hårdt at starte på en ny arbejdsplads og samtidigt skulle lære et nyt sprog. Vi vil gerne facilitere og hjælpe. Vi taler åbent om udfordringerne

Vores arbejdssprog i ENS og GR er dansk, fordi:

- Dansk er myndighedssproget, ENS er en del af centraladministrationen
- GR skal være tæt koblet til resten af ENS
- GR ledelsen ønsker ikke, at der er nogle arbejdsopgaver eller funktioner, som en gruppe af medarbejdere bliver udelukket fra (fx direktionsbetjening)
- For mange danskere er et mest trygt og let at tale dansk

Retningslinjer

Følgende gør sig gældende i GR:

- GR ledelsen forventningsafstemmer under jobsamtalen, at arbejds sproget i GR er dansk, og at hvis man ikke er stærk i de danske, skal man ønske at lære det
- GR tilbyder gratis danskundervisning i arbejdstiden
- Det er medarbejderens ansvar at lære dansk, men GR støtter op

Sprogregimer:

- Centermøder og enhedsmøder foregår på dansk som udgangspunkt
- Faglige oplæg i centeret *kan* foregå på engelsk, *hvis* det giver bedst mening for personen, som præsenterer (fx landecase eller fagligt emner, hvor man normalt arbejder på engelsk)
- Alle andre møder er valgfrie domæner. I valgfrie domæner markerer mødeindkaldelsen, om mødet bliver på dansk eller på engelsk, eller det kan aftales, at fx teammøder altid er på hhv. dansk eller engelsk. Pointen er, at man skal vide det på forhånd
- Det er ok at spørge, kommentere og præsentere på engelsk i dansksprogede domæner, men de som kan tale dansk, taler dansk!

Retningslinjer (fortsat)

Vi hjælper hinanden:

- Dagsordener og referater fra møder kan hjælpe
- Tal langsomt og tydeligt og hold nogle korte pauser
- Tjek om samtalepartner er med (er det klart?)
- Hjælp samtalepartner med ord (mener du...?)
- Inviter ind i samtalen (hvad mener du? Kan du sige noget om? Har du nogen spørgsmål?)
- Bed samtalepartner om at gentage (kan du sige det igen? Hvad sagde du før?)
- Vær tydelig og oprigtig, hvis du gerne vil tale dansk (ikke halv joke fx)
- Undgå at 'switch to English' (selvom du gør det af venlighed)

Appendix 8.

Responses to interview invitations.

From: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>

Sent: Monday, October 12, 2020 9:17 AM

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Interview?

Kære [REDACTED]

Jeg er startet i GR nu 😊 Det har været en lidt underlig start, da den har været online, men jeg har tæt kontakt med [REDACTED] og [REDACTED], så det har været fint.

[REDACTED]? Jeg glæder mig til at høre om den!

Du har sikkert enormt travlt for tiden, da du [REDACTED], men jeg vil alligevel spørge dig, om du tror, at du kunne have tid og lyst til, at jeg laver nogle interviews med dig hen over efteråret? Det kunne jeg enormt godt tænke mig.

Bedste hilsner

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern

Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell +45

E-mail chsj@ens.dk

Fra: [REDACTED]

Sendt: 12. oktober 2020 09:57

Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>

Emne: RE: Interview?

Hej Charlotte

Tillykke med din nye stilling i GR!

Det er dejligt at du blev en del af vores team 😊

Jeg glæder mig til at snakke sammen, når du har tid.

Som du kan se i min kalender, er jeg ganske fleksibel denne uge 😊

Bare book mig ;)

Mvh

[REDACTED]

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

[REDACTED]
Fuldmægtig / Advisor
Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation
Mobil / Cell [REDACTED]
E-mail [REDACTED]

From: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>
Sent: Monday, October 12, 2020 10:09 AM
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: SV: Interview?

Tak [REDACTED]! Jeg er også glad for, at jeg er blevet en del af teamet 😊

Jeg vil gerne booke dig i morgen, men vil høre dig, om du foretrækker kl. 13.00 eller 16.00?
Jeg vil også høre dig, om jeg eventuelt kan møde dig et sted fysisk, da jeg gerne vil optage interviewet, hvis det er ok med dig?! Er der fx en cafe i nærheden af, hvor du bor?

Jeg vedhæfter et skriftligt samtykke, hvor du kan læse om anonymitet mv.

Bedste hilsner

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern
Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation
Mobil / Cell +45
E-mail chsj@ens.dk

Fra: [REDACTED]
Sendt: 12. oktober 2020 10:42
Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>
Emne: RE: Interview?

Hej Charlotte
Du må gerne optage mødet.
Du vil bare bruge det til din forskning, ikke?
Eller vil du vise optagelsen til bosserne? J
Mvh
[REDACTED]

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

[REDACTED]
Fuldmægtig / Advisor
Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation
Mobil / Cell [REDACTED]
E-mail [REDACTED]

From: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chs@ens.dk>

Date: 9 November 2020 at 10.50.29 CET

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: Interview

Dear [REDACTED]

I am Charlotte, the new "employee" in GR 😊 I am in GR because I am doing a PhD project about high-skilled international employees in multinational workplaces in DK. My focus is on language and social interaction and challenges due to the issues.

In this regard, I would like to ask you if you could be interested in a conversation-interview with me about your experience as a "newcomer" in GR?

You will be anonymous, of course, and you can always ask me to delete the interview or parts of it (please see the attached consent form).

I look forward to hearing from you.

Best wishes,

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern
Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell +45
E-mail chs@ens.dk



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Fra: [REDACTED]
Sendt: 9. november 2020 14:59
Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>
Emne: Re: Interview about your start in GR?

Hi Charlotte,

Sure, I would like to help. I think my experiences should be helpful and match with what you are looking for.

Just let me know what shall I do.

Kind Regards,
[REDACTED]

From: Charlotte Sun Jensen
Sent: 09 November 2020 08:39:02
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: SV: Interview?

Dear [REDACTED]

I am very pleased to hear that.

What do you think about meeting after the meeting with the "China-team" on Wednesday? I could set up a skype meeting from 12.00-13.00 or 13.00-14.00 with the title: [REDACTED]

Best wishes,

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen
Praktikant / Intern
Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation
Mobil / Cell +45
E-mail chsj@ens.dk

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vi behandler dine personoplysninger på vores hjemmeside <https://ens.dk/om-os/energistyrelsens-behandling-af-personoplysninger>

From: [REDACTED]
Sent: 09 November 2020 20:40:36
To: Charlotte Sun Jensen
Subject: Re: Interview?

Dear Charlotte,

12-13 works.

Kind Regards,
[REDACTED]

Fra: [REDACTED]
Sendt: 11. november 2020 12:03
Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>
Emne: Re: Interview?

Hi Charlotte,

I am still trying to connect my skype...but seems the wifi in the room is too bad. Maybe we could try Pexip instead?

Kind Regards,
[REDACTED]

From: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>
Date: 11 November 2020 at 12.04.48 CET
To: [REDACTED]
Subject: SV: Interview?

Of course! Could you send me an invitation? I don't know how it works 😊

Best,

Charlotte

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern

Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell +45

E-mail chs@ens.dk

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Fra: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chs@ens.dk>

Sendt: 11. januar 2021 09:48

Til: [REDACTED]

Emne: Interviewsamtale?

Kære [REDACTED]

Jeg håber, at du er kommet godt ind i det nye år! Det var spændende at være med til jeres årlige opstart af [REDACTED] teamet i sidste uge.

Som du jo ved, er jeg i gang med en undersøgelse af, hvordan det er at være international medarbejder på en arbejdsplads i DK, og hvordan det er at være en arbejdsplads i DK med internationale medarbejdere med særligt fokus på kulturmøder, sproglig interaktion og sprogvalg. I denne forbindelse vil jeg høre dig, om du kunne have tid og lyst til en interviewsamtale (som man kalder det) med mig? Jeg vil nemlig meget gerne tale med dig om: 1) Hvem du er/din egen vej ind i GR og sprogvalg. 2) Hvordan det var at arbejde i GR, da du var ansat første gang. 3) Hvilke overvejelser du gør dig som landeteamleder i forhold til onboarding af nye medarbejdere i dit team.

Det er ikke et klassisk struktureret journalistisk interview. Du kan helt selv bestemme, hvor meget du har lyst til at fortælle, og om der evt. er andre ting, som du gerne vil fortælle om.

Bedste hilsner

Charlotte

Charlotte Sun Jensen

Praktikant / Intern

Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell +45

E-mail chs@ens.dk



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Energistyrelsen er ansvarlig for behandlingen af de personoplysninger, vi modtager om dig. Du kan læse mere om, hvordan vi behandler dine personoplysninger på vores hjemmeside <https://ens.dk/om-os/energistyrelsens-behandling-af-personoplysninger>

Fra: [REDACTED]

Sendt: 11. januar 2021 09:52

Til: Charlotte Sun Jensen <chsj@ens.dk>

Emne: SV: Interviewsamtale?

Kære Charlotte,

Det er helt fint. Du booker bare i min kalender.

Dbh,

[REDACTED]

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

[REDACTED]

Specialkonsulent / Special Advisor

Center for global rådgivning / Centre for Global Cooperation

Mobil / Cell [REDACTED]

E-mail [REDACTED]



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Appendix 9.

Employment periods for non-native Danish-speakers

Start of employment period

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Winter	Alexandra Leo Hannah	Fen	Pietro Carl	Wenjie Oscar Maria David Emilio	
Spring	Laurent	Jorge	Valentina Peter		Luca Agustin Juan
Summer	Krista	Delphine Mariana	Simon	Sofia Bertram	Annika
Fall		Alice		(Charlotte)	

End of employment period

	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Winter				Hannah	
Spring					
Summer					Emilio Jorge Laurent Mariana
Fall				Wenjie Delphine Alexandra	Leo Maria (Charlotte)

Appendix 10.

Transcription conventions.

Transcription conventions

- ... A pause of more than two seconds
- / The sequence is interrupted by another speaker
- <> Overlap
- xxx Lack of identification of single words or expressions
- [] Comments in the text
- (...) Ellipse

Although my transcriptions are based on speech language, I use a standard orthography (commas, periods, question marks, exclamation marks, etc.) to increase readability.

Appendix 11.

Dispensation for extra pages.

Kære Charlotte

Hermed bekræftelse på at der er givet dispensation for 30 ekstra sider i afhandlingen, som dermed må fylde 280 normalsider (á 2400 tegn).

Du må gerne vedlægge dette bilag i de formelle dokumenter som indleveres med afhandlingen.

Med venlig hilsen / Best regards

Minna Elo

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Appendix 12.

Specification of empirical material on one primary informant.

I have carefully registered interviews, Sproghjælp and my meeting observations in Global Cooperation/The Danish Energy Agency (c.f. the methodology chapter in this thesis) during my intensive fieldwork period. This includes the type of interviews, names of the exact meetings, the start and end time, the number of participants for each meeting and the names of the participants. One exception is the Friday morning meetings in Global Cooperation, as the number of participants is usually around 50 and since the meetings are not recorded, I could not register everyone as I was simultaneously writing notes on what was going on. During these meetings, I partially registered the non-native Danish speaking participants and noted their speech turns and other kinds of interactions such as whispering with a colleague or writing in the chat if the meeting is online. My recordings also enable a partial reconstruction of the participants, but in the online meetings, it is only those who specifically speak or write in the chat. Another exception is the Director General's series of House meetings for the entire organisation, as there are between 300-400 participants. I have compared these records of meeting attendance with each individual employee's period in the organisation and then calculated the number of observation hours for the individual employee. If the employees left the meeting early or arrived later, it is usually not included in the calculations. I also do not consider if a meeting ends a little earlier or later (approx. 15 min.) than the scheduled meeting time. In contrast to interviews and Sproghjælp, where it is quite easy to keep track on the individual employee's participation time, parts of the total calculation of my meeting observations are thus based on an estimate. I will now show an example of a count of my empirical material on one single employee, Leo. I highlight him, as he is the employee for which I have the most observations in situ and therefore best illustrates the variety of meeting types, etc. I compile the number of interviews and observations of Leo in hours instead of the number of recordings in the final overview of each employee, as it is my time with the employees that counts.

Leo: Winter (+ exact month) 2017 – summer (+ exact month) 2021 = Approx. 11 months of observation. It is his approx. 4-5 years in the organisation.

Extraordinary: My mentor from December 2020 – September 2021.

Empirical material:

- 5 interviews: 30 min. – 1 hour = 4 hours (5 recorded).
- 1 focus group interview: 2,5 hours = 2.5 hours (1 recorded)
- 1 focus group interview/workshop: 2.5 hours = 2.5 hours (1 recorded)
- 15 observations/conversations: Mentor meetings: 1 hour = 15 hours (0 recorded)
- 7 observations: Sproghjælp: 45 min. = 5 hours (0 recorded)

- 28 observations: Friday morning meeting: 1 hour = 28 hours (9 recorded)
- 15 observations: Section meeting: 30 min. = 7 hours (9 recorded)
- 9 observations: ATX team meeting: 1 hour = 9 hours (5 recorded)
- 1 observation: ATX seminar at Hotel Radisson 2 days = 20 hours (0 recorded)
- 10 observations: Ethiopia meeting: 45 min. = 8 hours (6 recorded)
- 1 observations: Ethiopia meeting special: 5.5 hours = 5.5 hours (0 recorded)
- 2 observations: Mexico: 30 min. = 1 hour (0 occupied)
- 1 observation: Mexico meeting at the home of the department manager = 6 hours (0 recorded)
- 1 observation: India team meeting in the department manager's garden = 6 hours (0 recorded)
- 1 observation: District heating group: 1 hour = 1 hour (0 recorded)
- 4 observations: Professional discipline discussion: 1.5 hours = 6 hours (0 recorded)
- 13 observations: House meeting: 30 min. = 7 hours (0 recorded)

- 5 observations: Presentation of new employees: 30 min. = 2.5 hours (0 recorded)
- 1 observation: Charlotte's presentation for Global Cooperation: 1 hour = 1 hour (1 recorded)
- 1 observation: Charlotte's "see you again cake": 1 hour = 1 hour (0 recorded)
- 1 observation: Leo's goodbye cake: 1 hour = 1 hour (0 recorded)

9 hours of interview with Leo and 9 hours of recording

15 hours of conversations with Leo and 0 hours of recording

5 hours of Sproghjælp with Leo and 0 hours of recording

110 hours of observation of Leo and 25.5 hours of recording in which he is included.

Everything took place during my intensive period in Global Cooperation from October 2020 – September 2021 and during his period.

N.B. not included:

- Things organised in the workplace (= included in the job/salary): Kahoot, shared lunch, lunches alone, morning coffee, parties, fun, picnic, drinks on the rooftop, goodbye cake (with the exception of others than me and the person in question), etc., Christmas lunch, summer party etc. I do not count with each individual participant, but I count it in my own accounts.
- Things arranged outside the workplace (= not included in the job/salary): beers in parks, cafes, parties, walk and talks, etc. I do not count it either with the individual participants or in my own accounts.

N.B. moderation:

- I combine individual interviews and focus and pair interviews in the total count, and I distinguish between them and Sproghjælp and other meetings as I am with the participant alone or with a few others in the interviews and Sproghjælp. I have more time to speak with the individual employee. Since there are only three participants in the Ethiopia team-meetings

in addition to myself, it could also have been included, but I have chosen to collect all meetings in one category.

