Multicultural workplaces in Finland: A melting pot or salad bowl?

The visibility of multiculturalism in linguistic landscape

and the linguistic identities of multicultural employees

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Viime vuosien monikulttuurisuuskasvu ja monikielisyyden kukoistus ovat alkaneet muokata ympäröivää maailmaa yhä monimuotoisemmaksi, tuoden yhteiskuntaan paljon muutoksia ja haasteita. Muun muassa ideologiat koskien kielenkäyttöä, kulttuurista rikkautta ja kulttuurienvälistä viestintää ovat saaneet osakseen runsaasti keskustelua siitä, miten kansainvälistymisen ja monikulttuuristumisen ilmiöihin vastataan ja mitä tarkalleen merkitsee olla monikulttuurinen. Tähän muutokseen on pyritty vastaamaan niin koulutusmaailman kuin työpaikkakontekstien puolella eri muutoksin ja raportein, tutkien monikulttuurisuuden vaikutusta niin asenteisiin, työskentelymalleihin kuin myös suvaitsevuuteen. Vaikka globaalilla tasolla näitä haasteita on ratkottu vuosikausia, Suomessa näihin asioihin on paneuduttu vasta viimeisen kymmenen vuoden aikana kunnolla. Erinäisiä projekteja on laitettu alulle Suomessa monikulttuurisuuden ymmärtämisen ja näkyvyyden hyväksi varsinkin koulutusmaailman puolella, mutta työpaikkakäytäntöjen sekä monimuotoisuuden hyödyntämisen aspektit työpaikkakonteksteissa ovat vasta alkumetreillä. Työyhteisöjen monikielistyessä ja monikulttuuristuessa nousee yhä tärkeämmäksi sujuvan, interkulturaalisen kommunikaation löytäminen ja yhteisten tavoitteiden ja käytänteiden asettaminen, kuin myös uudenlaiset ongelmanratkaisutavat sekä erilaisten työntekijöiden potentiaalinen tunnistaminen.

Tässä tutkielmassa tutkin kahden suomalaisen, monikulttuurisen työpaikan työntekijöitä ja heidän kielellisiä identiteettejään ja niiden rakentumista kuin myös heidän käsityksistään koskien työpaikan monikulttuurista ja monikielistä kuvaa. Lisänä tutkimuksessa tutkittiin työpaikkojen monikulttuurisuutta visuaalisesta näkökulmasta, tarkastellen fyysistä työympäristöä, fokusoiden siihen, miten eri kielet näkyvät tilassa ja millä tavoin ne rakentavat kieli- ja kulttuurimaisemaa. Tarkoituksena oli nämä kaksi yhdistämällä saada tarkkaa kuvaa siitä, miten käytännössä monikulttuurisuus heijastuu nykypäivän työpaikoista ja millä eri tavoin työntekijöiden monet kieli-identiteetit ja näkemykset vaikuttavat työpaikan ilmeeseen ja käytänteisiin.

Tuloksista kävi ilmi, että työpaikoissa tuettiin monikulttuurisuuden näkyvyyttä monin eri visuaalisin keinoin ja eri kielten käytön kautta. Erilaiset visuaaliset representaatiot olivat vahvasti näkyvillä tiloissa, vaikka kielten asemien ja roolien merkitys vaihteli työpaikkojen välillä, perustuen usein työpaikan aktiviteetteihin ja arvoihin. Työntekijät pitivät yllä ja rakensivat kieli-identiteettejään monipuolisesti niin työpaikalla kuin sen ulkopuolella, tuoden esille varsinkin itseopiskelun, reflektion, avoimuuden ja elämänmittaisen oppimisen tärkeyden. Vaikka heillä oli eriäviä mielipiteitä eri kielten käytöstä ja englannin kielen valta-asemasta, he kokivat kuitenkin englannin kielen tärkeäksi osaksi kommunikaatiota ja työpaikan toimivuutta, vaikka tunnistivat myös tarvetta muille kielivarieteeteille. Tutkimuksen tulokset luovat jatkopohjaa lisätutkimuksille varsinkin työpaikkakonteksteissa.

Asiasanat – Keywords multiculturalism, multilingualism, linguistic identity, linguistic landscape, workplaces

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1 INTRODUCTION

As the world faces globalization on a daily basis and multiculturality spreads throughout, bringing forth the multifaceted nature of different languages and multiculturalism of people in today's society, it has become essential not just to find suitable ways to deal with diversity but to understand deeper the growth and development of these diverse populations and the multiple identities and diverse communicative situations amongst people from various cultural origins and backgrounds. This does not only include the comprehension of multicultural people and their utilized repertoires in their every day, personal lives, but also in their professional lives, especially in multicultural workplace settings. As multiculturalism boosts itself, the growing cultural and linguistic identities, as well as the linguistic landscapes of the workplaces, are worth noticing as they influence greatly the development of intercultural communication and the changing communication dynamics on workplaces. For future work life, it is important to raise awareness on how these matters are structured on workplaces and what influence it has on employees from various, diverse backgrounds. Further, it is essential to build the proficiency of culturally diverse employees to survive and manage themselves effectively in these environments, understanding also the multifaceted potential that employees from various cultural backgrounds bring to the workplace.

   Though it is true that intercultural communication and identity are not new research interests in the academic fields anymore (Scollon and Scollon 1994, Friedman 1994, Campbell and Rew 1999, Novinger 2001, Duszak 2002, Samovar and Porter 2003), there is still room and need for new knowledge to comprehend these issues, especially on the side of different cultures communicating together and from the perspective of diversity on workplace scenarios. Recent decades have shown in research that effective management strategies and better comprehension are needed for varying multicultural working environments when it comes to enhancing multiculturalism and managing workplace dynamics (see Guilherme, Glaser and Méndez García 2010, Means, Mackenzie Davey and Dewe 2015 and Tjosvold and Leung 2016). This need is not only visible globally, but also in the Finnish context where the research on these aspects in work life scenarios seems to be rather scarce. Nonetheless, what makes understanding these notions a challenging task is that despite tens of years of research there still is not a common consensus between different scholars about intercultural communication (Patel, Li and Sooknanan 2011 and Bakić-Mirić 2012) and how it

should be understood or through which lens looked at. Hand in hand with this dilemma goes the rise of different, multifaceted terms and phenomena around identity and multilingualism, both of which have become challenging concepts that are seen in different lights researcher after researcher.

To continue, though linguistic landscapes and the multifaceted essence of linguistic identity are the key focus points of this paper, it needs to be clarified that closely knit together with these processes goes always the entanglement of multilingualism and multiculturalism and their effect on language practices of the workplace. Thus, this paper shall discuss both terms, multiculturalism and multilingualism. The reason for this is that both of these are so intertwined that it is impossible to separate the two when analyzing concepts such as linguistic identity and its construction, linguistic landscape of workplaces and intercultural communication. Both terms are interrelated strongly and aid one another in the understanding of communication and the diversity of different choices made by individuals in various situations. Multilingualism and multiculturalism are thus discussed together in the next sections, overlapping one another. Further, shortly related to this, it is recognized here that the term "multicultural employee" is complex, as it could be defined in several ways and it has arguably subjective nature, but in this paper it is simply utilized as a term for a person who works in clearly detected, wide-ranging, culturally rich environment and amongst culturally diverse workforce where people come from several cultural and racial backgrounds. Further, this person can be seen to interact every day with more than just one language in this heterogenous group, naturally having some dissimilarity in certain traits to others.

Thus, this study examined multicultural workplaces in Finland and their multicultural outlook and multilingual language practices, focusing on both the linguistic landscape of the workplace as well as the linguistic identities of multicultural employees and the impact of English language to these said identities and language practices. The data was collected in early 2019, by the use of qualitative interviews and photographing. Five different multicultural employees were interviewed about the aforementioned aspects and 38 photographs taken from the actual workplace settings. Both of these data samples were collected in the premises of the workplace. The interviews were semi-structured with two different set of questions (multiculturalism and multilingualism in workplace and the linguistic identity) and were audio-recorded for the use of later analysis. The photographs were taken with a digital camera from the premises of the workplace, focusing on the visual representation of the multiculturalism and language use in space. Of these photographs, 10

were chosen for final analysis.

As a method of analysis, the combination of two methods were chosen. For the interviews, content analysis was chosen as it could be easily combined with theme-inspired, information-filled findings and it was a well-suited tool to search for different categories and variations of opinions and views. For the photographs, in other words the linguistic landscape part, ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis was chosen to give a detailed view of the aspects that can be seen in the physical space and what reasons can lie behind different choices of language use. As a support, the photograph part utilized the basic linguistic landscape analysis by Blommaert (2013), reflecting on its illustration of different linguistic landscape characteristics and the role and effect of multiculturalism to space.

From the basis of the above, the aim of this research was to investigate the interplay between multicultural workplaces of Finland and discuss their language practices and the visuality (linguistic landscape) of multiculturalism and multilingualism, focusing on the representation and the dynamics of these affairs. Second, the aim was to illuminate the diversity of linguistic identities that are portrayed and constructed by multicultural employees and to comprehend in detail the role of these identities in their everyday life as well as in professional working life. The main focus was placed on the construction of linguistic identities from the perspective of intercultural communication, general everyday language practices, the role of English in daily communicative situations, the distinction between professional and personal linguistic identity and the effect of multilingualism and diverse workplace on the portrayal of linguistic identity. These aspects was then mirrored on the actual physical linguistic landscape of multicultural workplaces, showcasing the lived reality of multiculturalism and linguistic situation and the alleged dominance of English as a lingua franca. Thus, this study was a three-dimensional research which aimed to provide in-depth and fruitful information of the language dynamics of multicultural workplaces today, comprehend and discuss the variety of linguistic identities utilized by multicultural employees and enlighten the build-up of actual multicultural workplaces in Finland today from their visual, linguistic and cultural point of view.

The reason why this research is important is that the combination of different language patterns and visibility of multiculturalism and multilingualism on physical workspace as well as the linguistic identities of multicultural employees have not been discussed and researched as much as one might consider, especially in Finnish setting. There is a large variety of research considering

the comprehension of identity issues, immigration and general multiculturalism but mostly these are from other fields of sciences or from educational setting, rather than from the point of view of workplaces or potential of linguistic diversity. Further, one finds these aspects usually discussed in length in global settings than in the Scandinavian area. Secondly, to consider the combination presented especially on Finnish soil, it seems that this type of three-dimensional study has not been conducted in Finland with focus on successful intercultural communication, identities of the employees or the visual importance of multiculturalism in multilingual, diverse workspaces. Thus, there is a definite gap for a study such as this, to enhance the understanding of these in culturally rich working environments that are to be the reality of future both locally and globally. This paper thus aspires to provide a starting push for studies such as this in the Finnish context and join the critical discussion of the effect of multiculturalism and multilingualism on subjects such as identity, linguistic landscape and successful intercultural communication management. On a wider extent, it aspires to offer fresh information on the importance of these interests and perhaps even influence the mindsets and schemas of people considering multicultural workplace practices and the diversity and potential of identities utilized by culturally diverse employees.

For future, it is essential to comprehend these in depth and push to achieve better results in workplace dynamics, in-group intercultural communication as well as in the application and understanding of multiple identities of employees to the benefit of workplace management and success. Multicultural workplaces and employees are the reality and challenge of future work life and thus knowledge and research are needed to construct and upgrade culturally enriched work scenarios to their full extent.

2 MULTICULTURAL WORKPLACES

2.1 Multilingualism and multiculturalism in the workplace

2.1.1 The complexity of intercultural communication

As the populations of the world mix and immigration and internationalization becomes in the world as a part of everyday life, it is evident and a knowledgeable fact that workplaces are becoming more diverse and multiethnic by outlook and nature. Internationalization is not only a growing aspect of working life, but also a goal of many firms, considering their growth strategies and competitiveness and intercultural communicativeness. In recent years, researchers have tackled around the issue of culturally rich and linguistically diverse workplaces, acknowledging that numerous obstacles are still ahead, and different problems and other factors affect the effective functioning of multicultural workplaces and intercultural communication. In the upcoming section, the base of the discussion will be on different researches that have dealt with multilingualism and multiculturalism in workplaces from various points of view and discussed the effect of it on general working life dynamics and systems, language choice, maintenance of workspaces, to cite a few. Some few notions shall also be mentioned about the challenging or complex issues of workplaces from the perspective of language practices and multilingualism and multiculturalism. To note, in the next parts, research studies conducted by Angouri will be used on multiple occasions as dominant due to their multifaceted, in-depth outlook on multicultural workplaces and multilingualism. Jo Angouri (Angouri 2013, 2014a, 2014b) has worked numerous times around these matters extensively, taking a deeper look into the structures of effective multicultural working. As her research papers are very closely related to the topics discussed in this paper, they shall provide the main base for the sources used in this work.

Before focusing on the research field of this topic, it is important to discuss the concept of intercultural communication, a challenging phenomenon that surrounds all of the topics and especially multilingualism and multiculturalism represented in this paper. To define intercultural communication, it became logical to choose a viewpoint that does not try to define this phenomenon in just one general way but to describe its nature in a multifaceted manner and support this view with a few exemplary works that show the challenging aspects of intercultural communication with a modern twist. In this manner, intercultural communication is discussed here

by Chen (2017) who emphasizes that intercultural communication is generally a mixture of culture and its relationship with communication: it is a merger and a process which includes making sense, understanding, interpretation of meanings and possibility of different outcomes (Chen 2017:4). In this work intercultural communication is described through "humanity". As culture is far and foremost a dynamic, human-related phenomenon, intercultural communication is also viewed as a process in which communicative practices and models of human behavior and interaction are put vis-à-vis. Since there are so many different cultures and inside them multiple social aspects, the meaning of research is to both understand the similarities but also to recognize and reveal several components and instances which both culture and people produce in various contexts. Thus, Chen (2017:6-7) further describes that intercultural communication is the interest to understand how people build the communication around one another with their vivid cultural backgrounds and how culture affects cultural awareness, let alone taking into consideration the importance of the elimination of undesirable impacts.

This point of view gives a very strong picture of the fact of how challenging and multifaceted phenomenon intercultural communication is. It pictures the fact how also culture has several layers to it. But despite how one would try to simplify this view, understanding its core is challenged by the reason that a phenomenon that has been researched for tens of years has lead into the emergence of competing terms to describe the same idea: polyculturalism, multiculturalism, interculturalism, to cite a few. Thus, it is not uncommon that the debate is very chaotic already around what intercultural communication really stands for and what it means in different situations. Thus, it elevates an important idea: is intercultural communication truly a "phenomenon"?

The problematics in intercultural communication lie also in the main component, meaning the contexts in which it develops and what goals it seeks to fulfill (Dai and Chen 2014:2). What poses also a lot of problematics is the culturally grounded terminology that is strongly related to the field of intercultural communication. Culture affects greatly the process of understanding intercultural communication and its development. Also, closely related to this are the various cultural ideas of what it really means to the "interculturally competent". What some cultures deem as cultural competence in other country, can in other culture be seen as an incompetence (Dai and Chen 2014:3). Looking at from another point of view, Scollon & Scollon (2012) bring a slightly more modern idea about Intercultural Communication (IC) by highlighting that it is rarely the kind of phenomenon that can be bottled into one specific kind of interaction or outcome. From this, Scollon

and Scollon (2012:40) interpret that the complications of this term lie in the fact that so many communicative situations that happen in the world can be interpreted in countless ways. In these situations, the key point is not whether the "intercultural communication" is executed "correctly" or whether "the right choices" are being made because after all the final outcomes of communicative situations are first and foremost dependable on communicative goals rather than cultural aspects.

Somewhat related to this goes also the ideas of Piller (2007) who points out that since cultures communicate together now more than ever before, the problematics of intercultural communication can not be seen from just one point of view, but of many, due to the vast number of research fields disentangling the reality of this matter. Nevertheless, what Piller (2007) highlights in her work is that the main problematic nature of IC lie substantially in the out-dated idea of people "owning" or being equipped with specific language or culture. What makes the matter more challenging is that in most cases these both terms are not given enough space between one another or they are always considered as the main components causing problems in intercultural communication (Piller 2007: 209). Piller (2007) explains that this type of predetermined ownership and people's identification of culture and group membership as unity, causes the increased miscommunication far more often. Related to this comes also the fact that culture is not a one-way route but more a hybrid, complex issue of which essence changes in communication from person to person. Thus, the complexity of intercultural communication cannot be simplified or restricted into considering "language" and "culture" as the only key components because the issues revolving around this matter are far more multifaceted and differences in cultures is rarely the watertight explanation. In addition, communication is frequently affected by linguistic issues, individualistic differences, different social aspects as well as such matters as injustice, inequality and language access (Piller 2007: 211-215.).

2.1.2 Challenges faced in multiculturalism and multilingualism

As discussed earlier, multilingualism and multiculturalism have been the gradually growing trends of work life for several years, strengthening their meaning and importance in the globalizing world. Nevertheless, the rise of internationalization and diversifying work settings are still considered some of the complex issues of work life systems. This reality is discussed by Angouri in several

studies of hers. Angouri (2014a:1) addresses that multilingualism is often affected by several aspects such as language policies, tacit language practices, cultural norms of professional groups as well as the 'chosen' languages of the surrounding community. However, despite these aspects, she highlights that language practices of multilingual workplaces are changing so that nowadays the linguistic landscapes of workplaces are more commonly predominantly circled around other languages than English or other lingua francas. However, though many possibilities of the utilization of different languages might be recognized on workplace scenarios, the reality is often that multilingualism is seen through a narrow lens and languages are used just as basic commodities here and there to bring or add value to communicative situations (Angouri 2014a: 3). Though this might be beneficial to some extent, the lack of coherence in the use of languages can still be tiring when aiming towards successful intercultural communication. In addition, the differences in communication skills and language competences within employees inside a workplace can create unwanted tensions. After all, having a strong hold of both can serve as gate-keeping mechanisms for some to gain power within the workplace and offering thus easier access to certain knowledge (ibid.). Thus, the workplaces should aim for equal networking between employees and negotiation of team belonging.

Related to these matters of multilingualism comes also the multiculturalism of employees, in other words the recognition of cultural aspects in diverse staff and how these can affect the successfulness of communication and workplace dynamics. These matters were examined by Atchley (2016) who discussed Saudi-Arabian-based workforce in a small, multinational organization and the lived realities of employees in multicultural work environment where English language is used, and several cultural competences and other languages clash together on a daily basis. She stated that though linguistic diversity can have its benefits on multicultural working in general, but once one considers organizational structures, the reality is often more negative and linguistic plurality can hinder communication with matters such as usage of unfamiliar vocabulary, varying set of accents, different speech rhythm between speakers and grammatical incorrectness (Atchley 2016: 2). However, what she later found out was that when problems occur in communication between employees, they utilize a variety of tools to understand one another more effectively, especially if there exists competence level differences in language within the employees. Hence, in this situations, the successfulness of communication is reached with the usage of signing, written format of message, body language and facial expressions (Atchley 2016:

86-87). In other words, with different proficiency level employees it becomes evident to use different strategies to build better intercultural communication and getting meanings across, avoiding possible tensions. Further, more solutions were found through having cultural sensitivity towards other employees with various, diverse backgrounds and thus showing openness and understanding to occurring differences (Atchley 2016: 89-90). This reflects thus how employees with several cultures can come across various problematic occasions when communicating with one another daily, facing both multiculturalism and multilingualism issues and solving these matters actively with raising awareness of cultural and social aspects of diverse employees and using different tools of communication. Nonetheless, one should remember that these solutions are not recognised everywhere.

There are however other challenges that might hinder the intercultural communication and the flourishment of multilingualism in a workplace. One of these matters is the problematic nature of introducing a corporate language (in most cases English) to multicultural workplace. According to a study by Lauring and Selmer (2013:1985-1986), even though a corporate language and its usage might aid the mutual comprehension amongst workers of different origins, it can also create spaces of inclusion and exclusion. This means that some individuals with lower proficiency level are immediately in weaker position than others and might have problems getting used to speaking the other language than their native tongue or some other variety. In these cases, it has been reported that many individuals suffer from status loss as well as growing ineffectiveness in their personal working ability (SanAntonio 1988, cited in Lauring and Selmer 2013).

Similar type of ideas was found by Negretti and Garcia-Yeste (2014) who discussed Sweden-based multilingual workplace from the perspective of English language use as lingua franca (ELF) and how generally multilingualism affects socialization, building rapport and language use in a workplace setting. What they discovered in the remarks of employees was that interpersonal communication affects greatly the communication between employees and can cause ineffective communication and problems in sharing information. This became evident especially in informal situations where the choice of language code is more fluid and thus in some cases some people with lower proficiency can be left out of the conversation when code is switched from English to another. This thus turns creating connections and togetherness more difficult (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2014: 102-105.). Furthermore, power and position in a firm can sometimes create differences between language use and connecting. However, though English usage posed some difficulties in

these settings, the employees stated still that one's own attitude towards language use and outside workplace social interactions and social groups are important and influential to the language use in workplace setting, even beneficial. Other languages have an important role in everyday discussions even when English is the natural choice for the communication mostly. The international face of the staff is seen to motivate employees to keep up with varied language use, from the perspective of better networking but also for atmosphere (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2014: 105-109.). Thus, multilingualism can be both negative and positive, depending on context.

2.1.3 Mismatches and contradictory views on diversity

Reflecting to the matters discussed by far, Angouri (2013: 565-566) contradicts the main ideas above by explaining that though diversity offers its benefits to the intercultural communication of different businesses and practices, the growing, challenging linguistic environment is a huge task for several employees to get accustomed to or blend in. Not only does this relate to just communication skills but overall power structures and development opportunities, other social activities and personal wellbeing of individuals. Similarly, according to Gunnarsson (2013), though several workplaces function with a diverse staff and these workplaces can have a different language for official meetings and another for daily tasks, in most bigger workplaces the communication is still pursued through the idea of linguistic unity as the key ingredient. The usage of one unified language in these workplaces function not only as the tool of communication that work force is expected to master but as a symbolic evidence of the organizational unity (Gunnarsson 2013: 164.). Thus, it is crucial to realize how complex interaction is in multicultural and multinational workplaces: how several matters need to be thought if aiming to integrate multilingualism into the everyday practices of workplace sufficiently, benefiting both the management and the needs of the employees. As Guilherme et al. (2010) reflect this, the communication between different group members is never in complete balance and neither do the members have unified way of acting and responding to various matters. The communication is so to say, "ultimately communicative, dialogical, dynamic and dialectical" (Guilherme, Glaser and Méndez-García 2010: 82).

To continue, there exists some other mismatch between researchers about whether the challenges mentioned afore can be acknowledge as completely watertight. To still continue with the work by Angouri (2013:566), she states that in multinational workplaces the management of

linguistic diversity is often worked through the introduction of common working language. However, it should be remembered that monolingualism is not something that commonly happens easily on workplaces that have several cultures embedded in them. It needs to be understood that though very often of global workplaces have several lingua francas as their main languages, used in daily bases as the means of communication, their status does not simplify the reality of communication between employees which remains complex and multifaceted (Angouri 2013). However, Angouri (2014a) states in her other work another thing to take into consideration which is that together with these ideologies goes the aspect that the use of one language in for example policy documents and other discourses might not answer the language needs of the workplaces and might not take into consideration the whole multilingual, linguistic landscape of the workplace that might be built strongly upon regional or global languages (Angouri 2014a: 1-2). This is what is one of the problematic aspects of multilingualism in diverse settings where language practices are put under the magnifying glass: how to successfully carry out multilingualism and introduce other languages to the scenery when the needs of the workers are as diverse as the number of the nationalities present?

Nevertheless, research on multilingual and multicultural workplaces has also shown deeper interest towards diverse language use and its applications through the social aspect of code switching and language fluidity. The perspectives have shifted towards for example finding different language realities in multilingual companies. For example, according to Angouri (2013), a common reality in multinational corporations is that language use is often flexible, meaning that both participants choose the most suitable language by situational awareness, in other words, the best working option for that specific communicative situation. Especially in these cases the multilingualism flourishes and there is room for the use of other languages than just English (Angouri 2013: 564). It is effectively noted in here that these workers construct their multilingualness as "*given reality*" or an "*opportunity*", prefiguring the possible social variables of communication, focusing on the fact that the workplace consists of employees with a variety of different language backgrounds (ibid). However, it must be remembered that using foreign languages in different situations can be also a strain to global teams in their everyday work life if language use comes randomized or too "opportunistic". It can in some cases hinder general performance and management of the teams (Chen, Geluykens and Ju Choi 2006).

Some other researchers have drawn their points towards the common integration of

multilingualism in workplaces in general. Though these works might not state the deeper issues and matters lying under multilingualism in workplace, they stilll present a good overview of the generics of the changing, growing role of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the world. The article of Gunnarsson (2014) for example has dealt with multilingual workplaces in European setting, stating that the expanding market of European union has increased multiple opportunities for different professionals in working life as well as for those who are in search of new paths to employment, considering multilingualism (Gunnarsson 2014: 11). Same kind of ideas are provided by Gröschl (2011) and Kotthoff & Spencer-Oatey (2007) whose works discuss the management of multiculturality in workplace from various aspects, taking into consideration especially the diversity-related challenges that are faced across Europe. Both Gröschl (2011) and Kotthoff and Spencer-Oatey (2007) state clearly that internationalization as well as multiculturality is experienced now on many markets and the different value systems and beliefs of multicultural employees become more and more essential to the workplace scenery. The work of these two shows that there really is a growing need to reach different disciplinary communities and academics to exchange ideas and survival and enhancement methods to better comprehend workplace diversity and how to manage it most successfully as it is quickly becoming the reality of work life everywhere in future.

To conclude, it ought to be remembered that the matters of multilingualism and multiculturalism are heavily connected not to just bigger language varieties but also to the growth of the importance of smaller language varieties alongside them. A very recent study by Van Der Worp (2018) brings us closer to a very important idea of multilingualism and the case of the use of different languages, even smaller minority languages, in workplace scenarios to enhance cultural communication, challenging the notion of the usage of only lingua francas in work context. It is true that many studies have focused their point of view to discussing the role of English as a lingua franca or general multilingualism in workplace scenarios from various angles, but what Van Der Worp (2018) discussed in her research was the use of small minority language, Basque, in workplace context and the type of obstacles and problematics it faces when being in a global work life context, yet proving to be an important part of the dynamics of the workplaces. Why this is an important research to be absorbed into is because it deals with a fact that can be soon be a part of many multicultural workplaces in the world: the fact that one of the working languages of workplaces can be a smaller, regional one, derived from a strong international language and thus supporting

the dominant language choice in communication. These type of language varieties come standing next to the global dominance of English too, to revitalize themselves and to renew the workplace communication practices and tools of intercultural communication (Van der Worp 2018: 353). The participants in Van der Worp's (2018: 362-363) study made it clear that Basque is becoming increasingly common in these workplaces as employees and the population in the area are using Basque in growing numbers and thus the language enters the everyday practices naturally. The participants recognized the needed use of Basque, seeing it as positive for several informal situations, even if Spanish was mainly used as a dominant language code. Though this is a crucial finding and points already towards a small but different development in the face of multilingualism in multicultural workplaces, Van der Worp (2018) highlighted that in many countries the attitudes are still rather negative towards multilingualism. This is due to the ideas of multilingualism affecting internal efficiency and that language management and its need is not yet widely understood in several workplaces and neither are many professionals equipped with knowledge on how to affectively invest on it (Van der Worp 2018: 364). That's why many companies will not opt for multilingual environment even if it would be beneficial for them.

Thus, the use of multiple languages in the various communicative situations of workplaces is still on its way to success and under development, but the possibility of the use of more than one language should not be turned into a problem, but it could be seen more as possible norm of the future, especially if the workplace functions habitually in a bilingual or multilingual way. Moreover, it must be realized that the use of one dominant language might only create more tension than positive atmosphere inside workforce and different units. However, total disposal of for example English is not necessary for future workplaces as it still has important foothold on many activities and dynamics of workplaces. It is a good "starter" language for many multicultural workplaces, providing a good base for the introduction of other language varieties, though the integration of these requires extensive amount of active work, processing, and testing on workplace scenarios. For multilingualism and multiculturalism to flourish, the potential of all employees is needed as well as tightly-knit cooperation.

2.2 Use of English in culturally diverse workplaces

The use of English in multicultural workplaces has been a current, debated topic for several decades

and the discussion of it as a means of communication and a working tool is still far from meeting its conclusion. In the recent years, its complex nature as a lingua franca and as a work language in several global and local settings has raised questions about its role and importance both in educational environments as well as in workplace scenarios and resulted in numerous research studies considering its foothold in various culturally diverse workplaces (see for example Higgins 2009, Negretti and Garcia-Yeste 2014, Lüdi 2013, Kankaanranta, Louhiala-Salminen and Karhunen 2015 and Cogo and Dewey 2012). Especially workplace scenarios have currently gained more interest amongst multiple researchers, focusing on a variety of multilingualism and multiculturalism issues and challenges related to the use of English and also the role and reality of English as a part of everyday communication amongst other languages (see for example Goldstein 1994, Callahan 2005, Mobärg 2012, Lønsmann 2015 and Van Mulken and Hendriks 2015). Hence, the main focus in this section shall be placed on those researches that discuss the use of English especially in strongly culturally diverse workplaces in various manners and how English affects their overall functions and everyday dynamics, mirroring it to general multilingualism and multiculturalism. These exemplary researches presented here shall portray studies mostly studies from global context. The more detailed researches conducted in Finnish context are then presented in the following subsection.

Recent researches have focused on internationalization as well as multilingualism and how both of these can influence multicultural firms and their language practices, especially considering the status of English. A research by Lauring and Selmer (2013: 1985) about linguistic diversity and its effect on English language communication in a workplace studied 489 members of Danish multicultural organizations. It found that linguistic diversity actually has mostly positive connotations on the English language use and communication in the workplace. However, the study did state that variation in languages and speech styles can still in some cases create obstacles for successful everyday communication inside the organization, leading easily into such issues as misunderstanding, miscommunication, inclusion and exclusion.

Related to this, House (2003) has discussed the difference between language use for communication and language use for identification that affects the outcomes of interactions. Though generally English as a lingua franca is considered the main route for communication, the main "tool" of international contexts through which participants enable understanding between one another, it must be noted that communication is often affected by other language varieties too and

individuals' emotional contact to them. Though English is often the main code utilized, individuals often still use their own local varieties to strengthen their messages, insisting on their visibility and importance to their own communicative goals, as a type of counter-attack for the growth of English as a lingua franca (House 2003: 560-561). Thus, as a result, numerous workplaces and their language practices end up with a kind of diglossia in their everyday activities, making English the formal code for communication and local varieties the identification codes (ibid).

Even though the use of English has dominant status amongst many multinational companies, multilingualism is still often the lived everyday experience of these workplaces as these spaces function today in a rather linguistically rich and dynamic manner. By the words of Angouri (2014b), the choice of language is often negotiated in meetings and in other daily practices in more informal manner. The study found out that a variety of linguistic resources are essential for managing different communicative situations amongst employees and their daily practices (Angouri & Miglbauer 2014b: 147). Thus, one could say that the day-to-day role of English language as the key tool of intercultural communication is not necessarily as written in the stone, but it has more fluctuation to it. According to Angouri (2013), employees' realities about language use are not simplistic but more like multifaceted, **flexible** entities, a number of perspectives that constitute the whole comprehension of the multilingualism in workplace dynamics (Angouri 2013: 3, emphasis added).

Reflecting on the above, even if English has its dominant role in workplace setting amongst other languages, it does not necessarily "eat" other languages and their possible flourishment on workplace scenario. Angouri's (2013: 569-570) research showed also that the employees deploy various languages alongside English, even though English is considered the dominant code of workplace communication. In this study the other existing languages, a total of 20 of them, had still importance from the perspective of other functions than just communication. For example, though the language used was English in most parts, the international targets for example could not be reached without the use of other languages than just English. Further, the access to other languages was seen particularly important considering different social situations and other negotiations happening on the workplace. In other words, various small talk and other socializing events really ignited the switch to other language codes in workplace communication and were seen as essential (Angouri 2013). Thus it is noticeable that this seems to be a relevant and repetitive finding considering the usage of English on multicultural workplaces, pointing toward a more

modern, globalized view of language patterns of multicultural workplaces and it also challenges the ideology of English ruling completely over other language codes. It points out the need to understand the complexity of multilingualism and its effect on lingua francas and see the underlying, positive potentials that other, smaller language varieties can have on workplace communication. Thus, it is not uncommon nowadays to relate the changes of the development of English as a lingua franca in workplace communication to globalization (James 2009).

Though the use of English has been researched mostly from the perspective of its role and meaning to the general workplace communication and language practices, there has been some studies, where also the identity aspect has been taken into consideration. For example, in a study conducted in Finnish context, considering the use of English and its relation to one's self-identification, Kärnä (2016) found out that Finnish professionals in an international organization see English more as a lingua franca, in other words, the tool of communication, rather than something that would be an immense part of their personal self-portrait. The language of English was both recognized as a strong resource but also as a matter of insecurity. Nevertheless, an important notion was raised up here about the importance of building one's international self and world citizenship, which was brought up by the participants as an important element when building their images of self. Another identity-related study is by Hlavac (2013) that discussed and examined the continued use of different languages on eight multilinguals in Australia, considering also the role of English in the identities of these people. The findings in this study revealed that utilizing several languages in their everyday life was not negatively affected by English language side, despite its dominance in the country and in general interactions. The participants still self-portrayed themselves as bi- or multicultural due to creation and maintenance of several networks around them and did not feel that the multilingualism in themselves would affect them automatically to specific language use in different situations. They saw their language use as more fluid than stable.

In conclusion, these studies have shown that there clearly exists a large variety of complexities and intriguing notions related to the use of English in workplace settings. Internationalization and globalization and new language trends keep changing the realities of these workplaces, giving more chance for other language varieties to flourish in intercultural communication. However, it must be understood that the trend is not completely yet changing towards the more "multilingual" and "varied" corporate language options on the workplaces, meaning that more than one language could

be strongly seen as workplaces' dominant language. Of course there seems to be some evident changes forthcoming such as dominant lingua francas being challenged by local varieties (see for example Lüdi, Höchle Meier and Yanaprasart 2016), coming alive little by little but for example Angouri (2013) states that considering the amount of languages that are found in multinational companies, it is clearly the easiest choice for the company to just choose one language code to work as the common language of the workplace. This is not because of the lower status of other languages, but to manage the workplace better (Angouri: 2013: 3.). After all, it is a significant dilemma for workplaces to introduce multilingualism alongside English as it would most often require vast amounts of attention put on the dynamics of the workplace, as well as paying attention to the manners in which employees construct and create the language use. However, this change ought to be seen as beneficial and worth grasping as understanding socio-pragmatic competences of employees is key to successful work dynamics in future (Angouri 2013: 574).

2.3 Multiculturalism and multilingualism in Finnish workplaces

Along the years, multiculturalism has started to grow into a big trend and an everyday matter on different workplaces. This phenomenon has reached its roots worldwide, spreading also to the Finnish work life setting. How this has shown especially on the Finnish scene is through the growth of multilingualism and multiculturalism by an increasing spectrum of multicultural employees in Finnish workplaces. According to the Diversity Barometer of 2016, approximately 140 000 immigrant workers were working in Finland in different work settings (Työterveyslaitos, Diversity Barometer 2016). This report showed that the room for multiculturality has grown extensively on Finnish scene, proving the increasing spectrum of diverse employees on workplaces, enabling more culturally rich workforces as well as work conditions. The report indicated that though multiculturalism is a complex matter, cultural richness can be turned into an advantage when its potential is realized and its nature exploited successfully (ibid.).

From the perspective of research and the surrounding society, the need to understand and manage multiculturalism can be seen from the recent introduction of several projects, reports and the new changes of work life and educational spheres, but also from recent statistics considering immigrants in Finland. For example, in 2018, about 7% of Finnish population was immigrants, thus in total 402 619 people (Tilastokeskus, Finnish statistical office 2020). The growth of foreign

citizens living in Finland have thus made the face of several cities more multicultural and diverse. To continue, in recent years different types of reports and guides have been launched in the Ministry of Education and in several other Finnish institutes to aid multiculturally changing schools, work environments and immersion education (See for example projects Osmo2, Monikulttuuristuva Työelämä (Multiculturally enriching work life), Menestyvä Monikulttuurinen Yritys (Successful multicultural company)). Furthermore, the multiculturalism and internationalization has reached the newest core curriculum of secondary and upper secondary schools, placing more importance on building international, cultural competence and understanding and surviving in culturally diverse world population (Opetushallitus, the fundamentals of the National Curriculum of upper secondary school 2016). In addition to this, generally multicultural diversity and multicultural individuals in Finnish society have gained interest amongst researches of all types, discussing matters from integration to the various attitudes of people towards multicultural people and refugees and the challenges faced by multicultural people in Finnish educational contexts (See for example Manninen 2017, Laaksonen 2007 and Ruhanen and Martikainen 2006).

However, though the research done on these matters seems to be dominant in educational spheres, some changes have emerged on workplace scenarios too. For example, multidisciplinary and international teams have become the new ideal of several workplaces and many firms have set their eyes on international markets to grow their profit and diversify their practices. Furthermore, nowadays recruitment processes have become more diverse, taking into consideration the multiculturalization of workplaces and employees. Both seem to have affected workplace practices as at present many workplaces introduce English as one of the work languages amongst Finnish and Swedish.

Though all of the above shows good ground on the recognition of the importance of understanding the multicultural change in Finnish worklife, there is still relatively little research done from the perspective of actual workplaces. If one considers the combination presented in this paper, discussing multiculturalism and multilingualism, linguistic landscapes and linguistic identity of multicultural employees, it seems that research conducted on these matters is rather scarce when one reflects on the Finnish context. In particular, the linguistic landscapes of workplaces and research on multicultural, multilingual employees, especially non-Finnish background employees, has not gained much attention, though some research can be found about linguistic identities and language practices of diverse workplaces. However, usually these studies

have been conducted on higher education level for students or for a few, separate individuals with an ethnic background on otherwise Finnish-dominated workplace or then discussing these matters amongst Finnish natives who work with other language than Finnish. Further, several of these studies have delved with the issues of multicultural, immigrant citizens in Finland and their immersive, bilingual or multilingual education and their integration programs or then employees' feelings towards the dominance of English language use in different workplace settings. Related to these issues, some scholars have given thought thus to the changing role of English in Finnish society and its future prospects and English's role and influence on communication as a type of 'business language' in international company contexts (see for example Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003 and Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta 2012). Last, there has been also few studies on student perceptions on multiculturalism and English's relation to their linguistic identity and general language use and multilingualism (also English) and identification of other professionals or individuals to these matters (See for example Bergroth 2007, Ekola 2016, Mäkiö 2016 and Kuosmanen 2017). Nevertheless, there is evidently room for a research that combines these topics together, such as the focus points in this paper. Due to the ongoing globalization and internationalization of society, there is still a need for research from multiple angles to understand multiculturalism especially in Finland, throughout from the perspectives of general visuality of multiculturalism and its enrichment on workplaces as well as understanding diverse employees and their needs better, considering further the needs of the multicultural, multilingual communities in Finland. It is crucial for future workplaces and their management to comprehend better the change that multilingualism and multiculturalism brings to the language and group dynamics, general atmosphere, utilization of workforce potential and international communication at workplace.

In the upcoming sections, I will go briefly through few key studies that have been conducted on Finnish context, considering multiculturalism, general language use and linguistic identity issues. All of the compiled works also represent ideologies considering the usage of English as a part of their discussion. The focus shall be on those works that have related closest to some of the aspects discussed in this paper. Last, though researches done on multiculturalism and multilingualism in education context shall not be given major focus here, it is unavoidable to not include sources that have these environments and matters entailed in them since, as mentioned afore, these types of studies have been the dominant ones conducted in Finnish scene.

2.3.1 Attitudes on English as a lingua franca in workplace contexts

As presented earlier, studies conducted on Finnish soil have focused a lot on the perceptions of either students or other professionals on English language use, its dominance or its relation to one's identity and everyday life choices. A study by Nokelainen (2013) investigated the attitudes towards the role of English and Finnish in Finnish academic working life, considering especially the views of non-Finnish background employees. The aim of her study was to understand better the attitudes towards language use and describe the type of contexts where English and Finnish are utilized in. The main findings of Nokelainen (2013:40) revealed that the majority of participants expressed that most of the communication in the workplace happens in English, rather than in Finnish. Further, when participants had to discuss specific feelings related to language use, some employees stated that by the deployment of English they felt as if they could create another identity for themselves, to aid the conversation. However, though this was a shared notion amongst several participants, many still considered the competence expectations of work life to be quite demanding from the perspective of language, especially on those who are not native Finnish people (ibid.). Moreover, though English was the main code used on the workplace, many criticized the governing status of English as so called "*dominant language of academic work*", especially from the perspective of academic publishing. They heavily stated English being often the ultimate language to catch attention in work life scene of today (Nokelainen 2013: 46-47.). This study proved well the ongoing dilemma with English language use today: it certainly has its benefits to society, even necessary role, but it still disrupts the march of other language codes.

To contrast with the ideas afore, an interesting study by Hujala (2009) dealt with Finnish employees and their linguistic identities, focusing especially on their perceptions and attitudes towards especially Lingua Franca English – variety. The study was interested in to understand how these matters are build amongst employees in a globally functioning workplace where the primary language is English. The participants felt that English language use could not be restricted into one specific variety as there exists many forms of it in surrounding society. Further, they thus could not see especially lingua franca English as a part of their linguistic identity though using it on a daily basis. Many participants even discussed having negative feelings towards this specific variety due to its complex and multifaceted nature and linguistic basis. Why Hujala's (2009) work is essential to mention here is that it showed the importance of discussing more openly the language

competence of employees in global companies and their needs towards language use as the atmosphere around language use is not necessarily as positive as one might assume. Hujala's (2009) work pointed out that employees in these type of workplaces are also constantly learning to interact with a language in the workplace and thus many challenges are faced.

2.3.2 Linguistic identity and language use in international and institutional contexts

Moving closer to the identity and language matters, there has also been some studies done in Finland about students working in multicultural and international settings. A study by Kärnä (2016) that was mentioned earlier on, examined students working in a multicultural and international student organization, focusing to examine what type of second language identities young Finnish professionals construct in their daily life, shedding light to what multilingualism, English language and identification to these matters mean to them (Kärnä 2016: 32.). The results revealed that English language is a crucial part of one's life when it comes to work life and free time. However, there was a clear consensus shown about the lack of "expressiveness" that English has compared to Finnish language. Thus, English language was seen as a tool for communication rather than actual important factor in self-identification and self-expression (Kärnä 2016: 95).

To continue, though linguistic identity is not most commonly researched topic in Finnish scene, there are few works in Finnish setting that have delved with this issue, but in an educational context. One is a work by Lehtikangas (2017) which dealt with the linguistic identities of Finnish students and especially what English means to them. Though this study focused on students and their perceptions, it is essential to include here as it is one of the very few studies in Finland conducted with the focus on linguistic identities. Lehtikangas (2017) investigated students about their linguistic identity and what kind of repertoires they use, highlighting the perceptions of students about their own multilingualism and how it affects their linguistic identity. What Lehtikangas (2017: 14-16) found was that the students especially highlighted the importance of English in their linguistic identity. Most of the participants considered its effect on their linguistic identity as positive and learning it as beneficial. However, though English was considered important variety, not all considered it to be their strongest language or most important one. It was noticed that all of the participants did not feel comfortable when using other language varieties than Finnish, though recognizing them all to be somewhat part of their linguistic identity. They discussed of a type of

frustration and fear when speaking those varieties not strongest to themselves (Lehtikangas 2017). What was interesting also in this study was that though having several years of studying languages behind and using other varieties than just Finnish in their daily life, majority of the participants did not consider themselves multilinguals and found it hard to relate to multilingualism generally (Lehtikangas 2017: 17-18).

Another similar type of study was conducted by Peijonen (2016) who investigated the role of English in the linguistic identities of English majors, reflecting on the personal ideas of the students on the role of multilingualism in their life as well as how English language is represented as a part of their linguistic identity (Peijonen 2016: 8). Peijonen found that that though all the students considered themselves as proficient English speakers and characterized themselves as multilinguals, they did not want to sincerely call themselves multilingual because they did not feel to have their linguistic competence to be on the same level as that of native English speakers (Peijonen 2016: 10). Multilingualism was considered a state where one is supposed to speak at least two or three languages fluently or by birth. When reflecting on the construction of linguistic identities, all the participants stated English as an important, even pervasive part of their daily life; they felt English to have an intrinsic role in who they are or how they see themselves. In other words seeing it as something that they have "grown" into. Nevertheless, it became evident that most participants still referred Finnish to be the top variety to them due to its motherlanguage status, but English was seen as a very close linguistic choice next to it (Peijonen 2016: 11-13).

In conclusion, the main researches discussed here show the dominance of studies on the educational spheres in Finnish scene, showing the scarcity of studies conducted on workplace employees in singular workplaces or in more multicultural work settings. As adressed afore, it also seems that recently the focus has been more in the understanding of the role of English in these research instances rather than focusing on in-depth portrayal of identities or discussing multiculturalism or multicultural, non-Finnish employees in detail. Thus, there is definitely more need on studies of the kind that is researched in this paper, especially that of non-Finnish employees and linguistic landscape. Further, these exemplary studies bring the notion that in the future there ought to be more focus placed on the challenges of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Finnish workplaces, giving thought and interest to the comprehension of other language varieties than just English and Finnish in these work settings. After all, Finland, along with other countries in the world too, are facing year by year more multicultural and international flows in workplaces and

the increase of foreign employees becoming a norm and thus more research is needed to manage these changes and their complexities.

3 IDENTITY IN MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM

3.1 Identity construction of multilinguals

Throughout the years, research on identity has seen interests shifting from one end to the other, offering information on various ideas of the construction, development and complexity of identity. In the recent years, however, it could be said that the discussion has turned towards different "new types" of identities, creating interest amongst researchers and other professionals. For example, fresh terms such as linguistic identity and multicultural identity and generally the role of languages in multicultural and multilingual identification have started to emerge in the field. In depth, researchers have begun to wonder the complex relationship between language use and identity, paying attention to the variety of ways in which multicultural people deploy languages and construct their lived reality with languages and their different linguistic selves (see for example Benet-Martinez and Hong 2014, Wei 2011, Lê and Le 2011 and Preece 2016). However, there is room for understanding these identities better, especially linguistic identity, that still seems to be somewhat under-research area amongst identity studies.

In this section, the purpose is to investigate how identity, especially linguistic and multicultural, is portrayed on the field of science and how identity is constructed and utilized by multicultural people in different settings, through different angles. The aim is to understand the essence of these new phenomena of identity and represent different ideologies from the field, simultaneously taking into consideration the closeness of these matters to both multilingualism, multiculturalism and intercultural communication. As this paper focuses predominantly on workplace scenarios, research concerning identity related issues in various multicultural work settings is highlighted. But before delving into these, the concept of identity and linguistic identity will be addressed.

3.1.1 The flexible nature of identity

As it is commonly known, portrayal of multiculturalism and multilingualism are both complex processes when it comes to effective communication. Even though communication is to a great extent a vast part of understanding all of these, the colourful, vivid identities of different people affect how communicative situations are built and constructed. Nowadays, the research field has

developed so far that one cannot possibly talk about identity in one specific manner, as there exists a great number of different "types" of identities and their definitions along the way. Of these multiple definitions, recently terms such as linguistic identity and multicultural identity have stepped up in many contexts. These relatively new perspectives of identity have challenged researchers to think multiculturalism and multilingualism from new angles and ponder how do identity-laden choices in general affect the intercultural communication and how the choices utilized by different people have an impact on communicative situations.

Considering this complexity and multiformity of the understanding of identity-related issues, choosing one key term for identity research is somewhat challenging. However, for this work and its purposes, the term for linguistic identity is the closest and most-fitting option to understand how linguistic features relate to identity construction and representation. Nonetheless, some scholars have also related to the same matters by regularly using the term "linguistic capital" by Pierre Bourdieu (1986) which has been one of the key terms used in the field. Though this term is very multifaceted and popular way of defining language and identity together, one must understand that it more relates to the "mastery" of languages and the embodied cultural capital that comes alongside them. This means that linguistic capital serves as a self-representation and a means of communication that is acquitted from the national culture. Though this work in itself is interested in the multicultural individuals language identity and its construction and representation, the ideology is still more behind the linguistic identity part as this work wishes not to see the use and representation of languages just as a choice of "picking from national culture" but as a part of one's personality, interests and linguistic repertoire choices that can be affected by other factors than just cultural heritage or specific cultural background.

Before delving deeper to the definition of linguistic identity, it needs to be clarified briefly what is meant by identity. As there are multiple character-defining aspects to understand identity and endless definitions available, I shall here focus only on one definition that I find a sufficient one, considering the aim of this research: a more multifaceted view of the complexity of identity. I shall thus use here the ideas of Hall (1999) about identity.

Hall, Lehtonen and Herkman (1999) define in book *Identiteetti*, that one can discuss identity from three different angles. Hall et al. (1999:21- 22) speak about identity in the lights of three subjects (enlightment, sociological, postmodern). With the first of these, they define identity as a "center" which has developed for the human since the beginning of his being and inside which

there exists a core, where things such as individual wit, consciousness and ability and performance are restored. From the sociological point of view is then to portray that the identity of an individual builds through the cooperative action of his or her surroundings, in other words, the individual mirrors his own inner, real self to those identities and cultural worlds that reflect themselves from outside. This viewpoint understands human as an interactive being that communicates with the outside word, through which one merges his inner self and values with these outer influences and his personal views. From this one approaches the third part, which leads closer to a bit more modern view. Hall et al. (1999) describe this postmodern state as such where identity is not solid nor abiding, but it is under constant change and alters itself constantly, as one is surrounded by culture and communication. This means also that identity thus changes alongside life span. Identifications change constantly on an individual and thus the idea of gaining a complete, consistent identity is impossibility (Hall et al. 1999: 23). With this broad definition one can thus state that identity is a multifaceted, challenging and variable component in person, which rarely can be explained one-sidedly.

To move now towards the idea of *linguistic* identity (Edwards 2012), it must be at first noted that the understanding of this term and what it actually stands for in full, is under construction and still a somewhat unclear concept. What makes defining this difficult is, as mentioned afore, is the emergence of several closely related terms such as cultural identity (Lê and Le 2011) and multicultural identity (Yampolsky, Amiot and Sablonnière 2013) in some cases even ethnic identity, all of which are in their entirety one way or another interrelated to the understanding of linguistic identity, all including in them the aspect of language.

However, to take one stance into understanding linguistic identity is to simply to look at it by separating the two parts of it. Language that generally stands for one's way to communicate thoughts and feelings, their way of being and behavior and expressing unique characters of one group is simply related to identity which is a fluid part of individual that constantly builds throughout life and can be characterized as a set of different qualities that "make" a person. As Gonzáles Iglesias (2016) describes it, these are related to one another and also form the idea of linguistic identity. However, related to this she talks about different types of identity, all of which direct one's identity build-up. She mentions these types to be master (the part of one's ethnicity and gender), interactional (one's roles in communicative situations with people), personal (the rational side, way to talk and behave with others) and relational (the relationship that person enacts

and which can change situationally depending on with whom one is interacting with). All of these traits or types can then fluctuate between different individuals, considering different roles for different times and different situations (Gonzáles Iglesias 2016, paragraph 1, 2 and 3).

However, Edwards (2009) makes a clear notion that understanding identity and language is not just about having different language competencies but also about individuals relating various symbolic aspects and subjectivity to it. In other words, there are several relationships between language and identity matters inside an individual, and the representation and reality of them can vary when different languages are attached (Edwards 2009: 248). However, Edwards (2009) notes still that belonging to different language groups does not necessarily mean having increased variations of identities. In here comes an important notion about the fluidity and complexity of identity matters. Though language and identity are matters of attachment, it still might mean different things to different people, how do they identify with various categories and what does it mean to them to identify with more than one linguistic community (Edwards 2009: 250). Then again Djenar, Mahboob and Cruickshank (2015) propose that individual's identity, including languages, can also be understood through membership of different communities in which individuals attach to their practices by doing things in specific ways and utilizing language in a manner that fits with the "experts" of that community (Djenar et al. 2015: 18). In this manner, the identities are not only created by one's performance in these situations but also by the aid of other people's relation to them when one is communicating with them. In a sense, what "you" consists of is dependable of contexts, purposes and different modes of representation. The complexity emerges as individuals situate themselves in various ways to communication, offering information of themselves by selecting different categories of factors (age, sex, gender, culture), group membership (social) and other identifications (ethnicity, professional, young versus old etc.) (Blommaert 2005: 203-204).

3.1.2 The intricacy of the construction and negotiation of identity in communication

Several researchers have approached the identity aspect from various angles, taking into consideration both the ways in which multicultural individuals make use of their identities and simultaneously construct new and reflect on different representations of languages. A rather recent study by Ho and Bauder (2012: 281) dealt with the idea of identity capital, considering the role of

identity capital among adult workers from various language backgrounds, in multicultural working environment in Canada, Ontario. Their study illustrated that the use and function of identity matters are visible especially in communicative situations among clients, colleagues, supervisors and other workplace-related events. In other words, the use of identity capital of individuals come alive best in situations where body language is utilized, when methods of communication are tried out and when the employees aim towards finding connecting aspects in their work. Identity capital is thus not just a personal aspect, but also strategically used component (Ho and Bauder 2012). Ho and Bauder (2012: 281-282) point identity matters as an important part of work life and its effectiveness, not just for their importance on the successfulness of communication, but also for it being an important key element of successful customer treatment as well as the functionality of services in multicultural workplace.

Other interesting views are presented in the book by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) where they discuss by the help of several essays the negotiation aspect in identity-related issues, concerning multicultural people all over the world. The combined works discussed an idea that is a common reality of multilingualism when considering multilingual individuals: the preference of some identities over others in different spaces and negotiated language use that can either hinder or benefit communication. These works made clear that some multicultural communities favor other languages over others and thus pose difficulties for some individuals to claim rights to specific identifications that they reflect with and make them in return turn against the favored ones. These matters affect communication greatly and can thus create obstacles for successful intercultural communication and portrayal of individualistic repertoires, leading to situational differences where power status and rights of speakers are affected (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004:3-4.).

Even though these researches already show that there is some interest towards the in-depth outlook of employee identities, there exists still some researches that bring different nuances about identity matters, also linguistic, discussing both multilingualism and identity issues. For example, Clark (2009) in his book *Multilingualism, citizenship, and identity: Voices of youth and symbolic investments in an urban, globalized world* examines discourses and interconnections between globalization, multilingualism and identity. What Clark (2009) makes clear in this important work that there usually exists link between globalization, multilingualism and identity and how multilinguals invest in their identities on everyday basis: multilingualism and its relation to

citizenship are crucially significant to the development of individuals' linguistic repertoires (Clark 2009: 2-3). Why this work is crucial to mention is that Clark (2009) truly brings forth the idea why some representations of language and identity mean something more to different people and how these people challenge discourses of language in their lives. Thus, this work reflects that most often there exists a lot of tensions, ambiguities and even contradictions on how individuals within diverse contexts construct their multiple identities and linguistic practices and make new self-identifications (Clark 2009: 3). Furthermore, according to Clark (2009), the investments on different identities are always heavily linked on individuals' social representations of themselves and their realities, the influence of other people's views on their linguistic identity investments as well as their own agency and input on how they reproduce, rebuild, refine and re-imagine their multilingual selves in various situations and environments (Clark 2009: 144).

3.1.3 Problems and possibilities of identity construction in culturally diverse settings

Standing out of the general workplace scenarios, it ought to be noted that there are studies where identity construction and language use have been investigated in educational spheres, but which discuss multilingualism and language use and identification in an interesting way. For example, a study by Gu (2011) investigated how in a multilingual university, Hong Kong based and mainland China based students discussed and reflected their different language positions and constructions of their identities. How this is especially interesting is that it did not only focus on how the individuals themselves constructed their identities and made choices between them but how these multilinguals also dealt with languages and their identification between others, in every day communicative situations with other people (Gu 2011:17). What Gu (2011:23) found was that language choices as well as different social factors affect the communication and group dynamics greatly. For example, the use of different linguistic varieties or representation of different cultural identities can create a certain distance between different groups of people when it comes to communication and identity-display.

Further, in this study multiple participants addressed that the use of specific language created more distance or lack of intimacy between the speakers. For example, some students felt uncomfortable to talk about some social activities or cultural matters together if the other person identified with another language variety than the other (Gu 2011: 23). They made clear distinction

between each other by the use of specific language or dialect and the identity portrayed with it. Instead of acknowledging and accepting the possible differences and working on them, the communicative events easily turned into situations where social exclusion and stereotypes emerged (Gu 2011: 23-24.). Gu (2011) makes thus an interesting notion here, pointing out that communication is very often linked with the perspective of identity and tied to the varieties that one chooses to reflect to. Thus, differences between individuals on language use or different communicative tools can create a lot of mismatch and tension between people.

However, some studies have talked also about the effect of cultural knowledge related to identity matters. An interesting overview has been studied by Fitzsimmons (2017) which investigated relationships between multicultural employee identity patterns and personal, social and task outcomes. The study results indicated that those with more cultural identities have more social capital and higher levels of intercultural skills than those with fewer identities (Fitzsimmons 2017:63). Similar kind of ideas were discussed by Dai and Chen (2014), stating that the more "knowledged" one is in his or her intercultural communication, the richer, resource-wise and creative one is to balance and manage the spectrum of one's identities (Dai and Chen 2014: 2). These both thus give an idea how important identities can be for communicating effectively, especially when it comes to multicultural setting and diverse group of people. It further suggests and implies the idea that there is potential and advantages in the integration of multicultural employees with multiple cultural identities to workforce and global and multicultural firms. According to Fitzsimmons (2017), this factor allows these individuals to import various capabilities and skills into the multicultural firm, raising potentiality, and are thus an asset to the business (Fitzsimmons 2017: 64, cited in Barner-Rasmussen, Ehrnrooth, Koveshnikov and Mäkelä 2014).

However, sometimes successful integration of multilingualism and employees with a variety of identity displays on workplaces does not function as planned and different types of issues are faced. Even though many organizations are used to having diverse work staff inside them, sometimes the colourful diversity of employees with all possible talents and languages is a challenge for organizations. Thus, there emerges often problematic issues considering the relationship between workforce diversity, identity matters and organizational structures. It has been acknowledged in research that most organizations act on a spontaneous note and might not necessarily know how to welcome all types of differences between employees, especially when discussing individuality-laden factors such as identity. This is what for example Kothoff and Spencer-Oatey (2007) point

out as especially problematic issue. As one point, in recruiting tasks as even though one might be admitted into the workforce and recognized as different (for example by the aspect of language) and be accepted as who they are, they might not still be included into the kind of "normal" community of the firm (Kotthoff and Spencer-Oatey 2007: 9). This is what especially makes integration of multilingualism and multicultural people with multiple identities a critical and complex issue: the question of belonging into a community or falling into some specific category. This easily is the flipside of multilingualism in culturally diverse workplaces and without proper management a possible place for exclusion. In some cases, this has led into some companies putting the societal changes aside, matters resulting in discrimination (Guilherme et al. 2010: 77). Hence, identity construction is a complex matter that requires attention when facing challenges in intercultural communication in multicultural firms and companies, as it is often the case that several identities are fought in these spaces, all searching for their acceptance and place in the daily activities of multicultural work. After all, contestation of identities is not just a matter of presenting multilingualism and multiculturalism but also about focusing on one's wellbeing. As Yampolsky, Amiot and Sablonnière (2013) state, managing one's identities and integrating them within themselves effectively can often predict good well-being and result in better narrative coherence. Thus, multicultural workplaces should be interested in understanding these multifaceted processes of identity for better communication.

3.2 Multiculturalism and multilingualism and linguistic identity

Identity processes are complex issues that surround the understanding of one's self in numerous ways. As already pointed in section 3.1, identity has been researched in multiple ways for tens of years, taking its place in several fields, finding its route also to sociolinguistics and other language related sciences. This is no coincidence as especially last decades have introduced a lot of ideas about identity and language issues and their inseparable link, trying to further find better explanations to the ways in which people use specific languages in various ways and opt for different linguistic choices in different situations and construct multiple representations with them, accessing and showing multiple linguistic, personal repertoires. In addition, the ongoing debate about what constitutes as fundamentals of intercultural communication and cross-cultural communication and its successfulness between people bring even closer the importance of discussing, identity, especially linguistic side of it, to the understanding of these complex matters.

Thus, in the recent years, the term linguistic identity has begun to receive more attention amongst scholars (See for example Anchimbe 2007, De Fina, Ikizoglu and Wegner 2017 and Dervin and Risager 2015). Since identity is heavily linked with one's self-identification with different matters and one's way to behave and communicate in various situations, it is crucial for future work on intercultural communication and growing internationalization of world to delve into its constitution better and understand its multifaceted nature, finding more solutions to challenges faced by all the more diverse populations.

3.2.1 Complex usage and versatility of identity in varied contexts

Once we move the focus towards professional life and discuss matters such as linguistic identity and its relation to cultural matters and multiculturalism and multilingualism, it has to be noted that the various linguistic identities that multilingual employees have are often far more versatile than what might be assumed. Nevertheless, though the versatility of identities and cultural knowledge is most often seen as fruitful and as an asset or benefit, the access to multiple identifications, languages, and the power of outer linguistic influences can greatly affect the interplay of languages and the utilization of one's linguistic identities. This idea was tackled by Siemund (2013) whose study investigated the processes of selfing and othering by speakers of non-standard variety of Dutch. These speakers were young men who identified themselves strongly as Surinamese though having limited proficiency in their own cultural language, Sranan. In here, Siemund (2013) approached from various angles the identification processes and their multilingual identities related to this. Siemund (2013) noticed that many of these young men mashed together all their multi-leveled identities to aid the construction processes of selfing and othering, when working around such issues as language, race and place (Siemund 2013: 129). Though having access to both their Surinamese-influenced Dutch and Sranan, the changing use and proficiency of both languages resulted in the fact that the linguistic capital of these young male speakers was rather limited. Also, social factors such as the use of popular, mashed, urban linguistic codes and their own variety, seemed to affect greatly the linguistic choices made by these speakers (Siemund 2013: 134-135). This is a very interesting study as sometimes the access and possibility for many languages, even the clash of them, can actually hinder and change the identification in the L1 language of the speakers.

Considering similar type of multilingual aspects and linguistic identity as the study by Siemund (2013), a study by Lamoreux (2012) proves to be another excellent research to capture the complex essence of linguistic identity of multilinguals whose linguistic variety is that of two or more languages on a daily basis. Lamoreux's (2012) study brings into the light an intriguing viewpoint about owning multiple linguistic identities in a multicultural setting. Lamoureux (2012) highlights that sometimes, even when one is surrounded by multicultural people and surroundings, showing one's variety of linguistic identities and being accepted with them is not as simplistic as one might imagine. Lamoreux (2012) discussed in her paper how French, first-language secondary school students in multicultural Ontario, Canada, struggled to affirm their linguistic identity in their new academic and social communities. She discussed that as these students have experienced a lifetime of seamlessly crossing over and back between their two linguistic realities, they actually do not have any experience of their linguistic identity contested by their fellow classmates or figures of authority in new academic settings. Due to this, many of these individuals are unprepared for the social exclusion that comes with their own usage of two different language realities. This is an interesting study to consider because it envisages a bit more negative, thought-provoking idea about the reality of some multilinguals and what they might face in their culturally diverse environments.

To continue, though different types of singular identity-laden researches exist to consider and understand the complexity of language, identity and society, it needs to be mentioned that similar kind of studies have been conducted in a more extensive manner also. For example, an extensive study by Vihman and Praakli (2013) consisted of 12 united essays concerning issues around linguistic identity and its negotiation on European soil. They discussed how the mobility and external changes of society have led to the emergence of varied national identities and more vivid representations of the meaning of language use. Why this was especially important source is that it actually looked at these aspects from the perspective of several multilingual communities, also taking into consideration minority groups in languages. The essays portrayed matters such as the interplay of identities and language in Catalonian, Estonian, Karelian, Estonian-Russian and Irish minorities, as well as providing linguistic awareness on these varieties and discussing the importance of language choice and identities in language policy, self-representation, belonging and multilingualism.

Another work with a similar extensivity was a study collection by De Fina et al. (2017) which highlighted the complexities and insights of super-diversity and multilingualism matters. In its

compilation of essays such things as language and social identity, expansion of linguistic identities, multilingual interactions, multilingual competence, citizenship sociolinguistics and new ideologies of diversity were discussed from various viewpoints. These compilations show very interesting and fresh information on the narratives of multicultural people in their everyday lives, the changing nature of communication in all contexts of life and reconceptualizing its essence and importance on the associations between languages and different social groups and identities. Furthermore, these essays take into consideration the "era" of physical space and its relation and significance to the understanding of multilingualism, multiculturalism and also varieties of identities expressed and portrayed in the world. Close to this goes also the compilation of essays by Nortier and Svendsen (2015) who bring a modern point of view to the understanding of multiculturalism and multilingualism and identity issues, focusing on issues related to language, youth and identity in 21st century in urban spaces. This was a crucial compilation of works to be recognized as it deals with a variety of topics of identity construction, identity ideologies, language practices and interaction positionings, voiced ethnicity and multilingual youth, to cite a few, from the perspective of young multilinguals in today's world.

3.2.2 Multiculturalism and its relation to identity - some perplexities

To move lastly towards the issue of multiculturalism in the aspect of identity, it is essential to recognize that as well as the term of linguistic identity has gained a growing interest amongst researchers, very closely alongside it moves another new concept of (multi)cultural identity which is seen also an important part of the ways in which an individual chooses his or her social groups and ways of communication. Though the focus of this study is not precisely on the term multicultural identity itself, it is inevitable to include it here as it is oftentimes related to the understanding of linguistic identity usage too. Thus, I shall conclude here shortly some studies that have also touched upon these issues on identity.

As one reflects on identity, it is important to remember that culture always comes hand in hand with its processes. Hence, the research field has recently started to discuss the complexity of different terminology, introducing also the idea of multicultural identity. For example Benet-Martinez and Hong (2014) discuss this, pointing out that this term is also challenging to grasp because several individuals build their own social identity to resemble that of a mosaic which then

reflects all their culturally diverse experiences, knowledge and relationships with other people. This interpretation is close that of Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) in their book, but Benet-Martinez and Hong (2014: 12) emphasise that multiculturalism can be understood as more than just recognising differences between cultures but also as acquiring intercultural knowledge from others. They mention the idea of a "multicultural mind" with which individuals navigate their path in society from one social situation to another, exploiting the experiences they have collected from various cultures (Benet-Martinez and Hong 2014). Even though this view is sensible, one cannot avoid here the reality that there still is confusion about the reasons through which multicultural people choose their approaches to different situations. Related to this, Hong (2016) brings forth a trend of the "mobilization" of people and the increase of social groups which drive forward the development of multicultural identity. Everyone can build themselves a more nuanced and enriched multicultural self by the use of their own attitudes and beliefs and thus the social groups of society multiply and diversify. This idea is considered "the new boom" in the field of multicultural identity: it is not thought anymore that only the dominant cultural identities of an individual control his or hers competencies, but more important is in full to cherish numerous diverse identifications (Hong 2016:49). Thus, according to Hong (2016), multifaceted nature of one's identity is a richness, not a chaotic state.

Thus, according to the many perspectives mentioned in this section, it is crucial to realize that defining one's linguistic identity or any type of identity itself is challenging as several multicultural and multilingual people come across different cultural systems and stereotypes and simplifications that have been created in the society and which have also become increasingly common in the understanding of different behaviors. From the perspective of identity, simplifications do not only lead to errors in analyses, but also confirmed beliefs drive people closer to the point where there is even more difficult to recognize "real situations of intercultural communication" and define their genuineness. As reported by Gu (2011), these matters as well as linguistic barriers divide people apart nowadays even stronger and can create social exclusion between people at their worst.

4 LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES

4.1 The fluid character of linguistic landscape

Linguistic landscape studies (LLS), compared to many other fields of science, is relatively new research field in our society (Landry and Bourhis 1997). However, to date many scholars have delved into this area deeper to create a better understanding around of the essence of this phenomenon, offering many views on both the role and importance of physical space in understanding language use and social behavior as well as seeing how multilingualism or the lack of it, language use, selection and practices are built and constructed in the physical environment of different types of spaces. Thus, one could say that this field of science is substantially blooming with several perspectives and new aspirations. Nevertheless, the interest towards linguistic landscapes has not only stayed in its own research area, but also been the interest of other fields such as psychology, sociolinguistics and anthropology. The studies in these and linguistic landscape have been constructing and understanding the lived reality of physical spaces where languages and the diversity of people both affect one another in continuous change.

In this part, I shall provide an overview of few main studies of linguistic landscapes, focusing on well-known, pioneering examples from this research field today. All of these are represented here to build a clear, general picture about the type of matters that are discussed often in this field and how fluid the nature of understanding linguistic landscape is. There exist several noteworthy researches with multiple angles to discussing linguistic landscapes but only these few shall be given attention here. In the subsequent part, more highlight shall be placed on sources considering multilingualism and multiculturalism in linguistic landscape and the challenges faced in multicultural environments.

Before starting to discuss the main researches on this field, the fundamentals of linguistic landscape shall be discussed how this term is realized in the field today. During the years the growing interest towards this research area has resulted into the emergence of several lenses through which one can look at the term "linguistic landscape". Hence, it ought to be fore mentioned here that there exist also other terms than linguistic landscape, to discuss various linguistic issues of different physical environments, for example linguistic ecology, linguistic market, linguistic mosaic, to cite a few. The choice of terminology can vary greatly and be influenced by the context

of the research.

When defining this term, I want to state here the very first notion where the term Linguistic Landscape was used, as a starting point, describing briefly the essence of linguistic landscape:

"*Linguistic landscape refers to the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory or region. It is proposed that the linguistic landscape may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory.*" (Landry and Bourhis 1997)

This was the first study where the term emerged, which then started a wave of other studies to occur, pointing out their views of the term itself and creating new ideas. Some of the most well-known and pioneering definitions have been given by Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Blommaert (2013), both of which have discussed linguistic landscapes in great detail in their works. For example, according to Blommaert (2013), linguistic landscape is understood through the different representations of written language that are visibly captured in the public spaces (Blommaert 2013: 1). To describe this better, it means that physical space can have a variety of different roles and aspects to it, varying from social, cultural and political, allowing the space itself to for example "*enable, trigger, invite, even police certain types of social behavior*" (ibid.).

From another perspective, Scollon and Scollon (2003) have discussed linguistic landscape issues through the introduction of the term called called *Geosemiotics* which basically stands for "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and our actions in the material world" (Scollon & Scollon 2003:2). Through this, they have discussed that the study of linguistic landscapes as well as understanding it, revolves a lot around aspects such as emplacement, indexicality, interactional order, code preferences and visual semiotics. What Scollon and Scollon (2003) mean by this is that linguistic landscape or linguistic landscape research is how signs, structures and people's actions produce different discourses of language use in physical space (ibid.).

To start with the researches, I shall continue to discuss the main studies. As the main ones, I shall focus on the pioneering works from this field: **Scollon and Scollon (2003), Blommaert (2013) and Blackwood and Woldemariam (2016)** in this section. It has to be noted that all of these main works have taken very different stances to understanding language use in relation to linguistic landscapes, all of them deploying various aspects of identity, diversity and society

matters into the picture. Nevertheless, amongst the scholars on this field, these research studies can be described as the backbone of other linguistic landscape researches since they were one of the very first extensive researches conducted on linguistic landscapes, especially asserting the reality of the complex nature of this field and also its terminology: they all formulate the important essence and nature of linguistic landscapes: the fluidity of its analysis, the complexity of choices often behind language use and several approaches that can be taken.

The works by **Scollon and Scollon (2003)** have been considered for years as some of the leading examples in understanding linguistic landscapes, especially from the way to extensively interpret signs and how languages are constructed in them in the real world. Their book *Discourses in place: language in the material* world (2003) introduced the idea that it is impossible to comprehend different visual signs and public texts in space without taking into consideration the social and physical worlds that are interconnected to them. What made this work especially important was that it contributed to giving a sort of "set of guidelines", different thematic words, through which one can understand and approach linguistic landscape aspects and find the meanings behind the usage of different symbols and languages. In their work, Scollon and Scollon (2003) introduced thus a new term alongside linguistic landscape, called Geosemiotics, which combined understanding the complexity and unity of textual and visual elements of space and the social, multilingual reality around it. In their approach of Geosemiotics, they discussed that one can understand signs and language use through the help of two different sets of semiotic tools: visual and place semiotics. With visual semiotics they referred to the interaction order of images and signs (what happens when the spectator views the sign) and indexicality of them to different symbols and meanings (cultural suggestions, universal meanings). In addition to this, they referred to place semiotics in which they introduced terms such as emplacement, code preference, inscription and various discourses in time and space that help to define the physical elements of a given sign. Why this work was especially important to the field of linguistic landscapes is that it provided a very extensive analysis of understanding visual signs, providing a shareable methodology tool for it. Further, the work of Scollon and Scollon (2003) drew on a variety of examples all the way from China to Austria and North America, thus providing a fruitful and very versatile overview of varying language use on different types of multilingual areas.

Blommaert (2013) in his book Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: chronicles of complexity has delved not just into the various multiculturalism and multilingualism

aspects that linguistic landscapes usually have, but also understanding superdiversity of various physical spaces and how in very complex ways history of the place, community and languages are tightly knit together in physical environment. The book of Blommaert (2013) was a pioneering work considering superdiversity and in his work he took the approach of an innovative linguistic landscaping, demonstrating through multilingual signs how one can understand and document the histories and linguistic emergencies of the space, the complexity of various languages used in space and understanding the social phenomena behind the use of different languages. He contributed with his work to the sociolinguistic nature of linguistic landscapes, addressing chaos and complexity theory when discussing the various structures of social life that came alive in physical spaces. Blommaert (2013) realized that linguistic landscapes have a lot to do with other fields of sciences such as anthropology, urban studies and geography, and thus including the ideologies of these into his own work. Compared to the researchers before him who had taken a look at the multilingualism and multiculturalism of the space from the quantitative point of view, Blommaert was one of the first to pay attention the qualitative aspect of multilingual signs, analyzing and interpreting language use through ethnographic lens. He understood the dynamic and diagnostic nature of linguistic landscapes and the reasons behind language use in space, and thus focused more on explaining and interpreting the social change linguistic landscapes can represent, rather than just counting in number the different languages occurring in physical environment.

Considering that this paper focuses on linguistic identities of multicultural employees as well as the linguistic landscape of workplace, the work by **Blackwood and Woldemariam (2016)** proved to be a very illustrative example that integrated the topics of this paper very well together. Blackwood and Woldemariam (2016) discussed linguistic landscape with special focus placed on negotiation and contestation of identities. What made this especially relevant source is that it explored these issues from all over the world, considering North America, Africa, Europe and Asia, presenting works of respected, experienced scholars of Linguistic Landscape research field. Furthermore, it was the very first volume to ever compile tightly together linguistic landscape studies and identity matters. To give a brief overview, this work took a look at for example political and economic dimensions of identity constructions in the linguistic landscape, different types of contestation of identities in linguistic landscapes, negotiating regional and national identities, negotiating collective identities and focusing on various types of identity construction. To share some of the notions from this collection of research-leading articles on linguistic landscape and

identities, the studies dealt with the economical stance of identities shown in space in areas where language matters are heavily policed, thus making it difficult to belong, build community and build identifications. These matters brought to the surface the link that exists often between semiotic landscapes and the politics of the places, offering a view that multi-semiotic, linguistic ways enable a route to capture the essence of citizenship in a public space. Close to this, the volume introduced the visuality of urban identities through street art, which oftentimes allows the introduction of new linguistic norms in spaces. From this the book moved to understanding how often the contrast is huge between lived reality and the visual aspects of the space. Blackwood and Woldemariam (2016) discussed how many multicultural cities are shown as monolingual though the reality is surrounded by multilingualism and immigration from various directions. The book thoroughly introduced ideas about how linguistic landscape can be seen as the "arena" for protesting and contesting the multiple nature of identities of people, revealing different relationships between individuals, groups and languages, providing a base also for a variety of influential social acts. Hence, in summary, this work was really remarkable collection of understanding language choice in linguistic landscapes through identity from various viewpoints, comprehending the lived reality of visuality, vitality and plurality of languages in different spaces.

4.2 Multilingualism aspect in linguistic landscape

Recent years the linguistic landscape research has been rather varied considering the type of spaces researched and a variety of focus points that have been of key interest in the field. To generally discuss these interests, many scholars have researched different school and cityscapes, considering the language practices that shows in those environments, envisaging the variety of them, their visibility and roles, the challenges they pose to the surrounding society and their functions (see for example Szabó 2018, Laihonen and Szabó 2017, Blackwood and Tufi 2015, Shohamy, Ben Rafael and Barni 2010 and Gorter 2006). At first, the linguistic landscape research begun as scholars using more quantitative methods, counting the number of different signs and languages found in the space and thus investigating the language practices. However, nowadays the move has been towards more qualitative researches where not only the instances of language use is considered, but where attention is more thoroughly paid on the reasons and choices behind different languages uses and codes of preference and the representation of multilingualism, choice of placement, historical

background of signs, to cite a few. Since the populations of the world have mixed together and created more multilingual and multicultural communities, this has also resulted in the emergence of various linguistic landscapes researches that delve into the issues of multilingual environments.

In the upcoming section, I shall present an overview of few studies that have dealt with linguistic landscape matters through multilingualism and multiculturalism, delving to the various angles considering the reality of multiple languages utilized in space, the challenges of multicultural cities and the influence of language choice, status of language, diversity of population and different social phenomena to physical environment. Further, inside these studies I shall also briefly highlight those researches where especially English communication has been put under inspection.

To begin, several studies of linguistic landscapes have recently been focusing on taking notions on specific cities, investigating their language practices and the reality of multilingualism in everyday life. For example, a study by Backhaus (2007) focused on the multilingualism in grand city of Tokyo, taking a comprehensive approach to investigating language use on signs, discussing the urban multilingualism of today by reflecting on the multilingual physical environment of several railway stations and their surroundings. Backhaus (2007) collected in total 2444 multilingual signs in the research, focusing on categories such as languages contained, combination patterns, differences between official and non-official signs, availability of translation, visibility of the multilingual nature of the sign, to cite a few (Backhaus 2007: 2). What he found out was that the strength of multilingualism changed between stations as for example going to further away located stations, the number of multilingual signs decreased greatly (Backhaus 2007: 70). Though in most of the cases many signs where produced with the local Kanji or Kana characters in Japanese, there were still 14 other languages found from the 2444 instances. These languages were for example English, Korean, French, and Portuguese. English had the highest occurrence of them all, which made it thus a dominant variety. What was interesting about this was that though several hundred signs were produced with Japanese Kanji or Kana, there were still more frequent instances of signs with English than signs with Kanji or Kana (Backhaus 2007: 71-72). Further, there seemed to be varying differences considering the code preference of languages and their emplacement. Though the author clarified the city to be mostly shaped by the community itself, several signs and their languages were still chosen by government officials, very often focusing more on the outer, foreign languages than the ones important to Japan itself (Backhaus 2007: 81).

A similar kind of study was conducted by Tang (2018), which also took a deeper look into the

physical environment of a multilingual place, showcasing the complexities of multilingualism in the globally changing and multiculturally enriching world. Tang (2018) in his work explored the linguistic landscape in Singapore and especially from perspective of the dominance of English in a culturally diverse country. A main notion of this is study was that according to Tang (2018: 1) in Singapore where there are several ethnicities and four distinctively recognized languages, English seems to rule over these in many aspects, such as in bilingual education, multiple campaigns and media. Though all these languages should be in equal position in the country, English dominates roughly the scene, and not just from the aforementioned points but also from the point of view of linguistic landscape of everyday public spaces (Tang 2018). What Tang (2018) did here was that he collected his data by exploring the train stations in Singapore. He investigated the whole scenario from the main general outlook of the station as well as the other services provided in the space, such as ticket sale offices, vending machines, fast-food stores and so on. He collected visual information from the Circle Line trains and their line, as the route that covers not only busy places and central areas, but also more distant residential areas and parks (Tang 2018:7). What he found out was that unexpectedly the use of only one language in the signs was very common. He noted that 95 per cent of these signs had firstly English language in them, showing the ultimate dominance of its usage. Considering a city like this which has three other recognized language varieties, the percentages of these were only few percent per language (Tang 2018:9). The most common pattern found in the area was the combination of English language with some of the local language, English still being the one mentioned at the top of these signs. Tang (2018) thus concluded that English seemed to radically stamp on all the other three languages, thus painting an image of Singapore being monolingual rather than multilingual city (Tang 2018:10).

These ideas definitely speak for themselves about the code preference of English and even its possible killer nature, even so called "English language imperialism". Though some differing views have been presented earlier, this source still points out very clearly that there is a substantial need to critically inspect the multifaceted role of English, not only as the tool enhancing communication and linguistic landscapes, but also what its dominance role can cause for smaller language minorities and how the use of English can seriously hinder the cultural richness of the space with its internationally adopted status. This type of research is thus very noteworthy.

Lastly, one can find multiple different type of researches concerning several multilingual spaces, concerning various challenges of multilingualism and multiculturalism, also taking stance

on the importance of the use of English. For example, Takhtarova, Kalegina and Yarullina (2015) examined in their paper the linguistic landscapes of Paris, Berlin, and Kazan from the perspective of English language affecting the international communication in these cities. What they emphasized in this study was that most European cities are highly affected by globalization and thus also the role of English in linguistic landscapes becomes more prevalent. However, in cities like the aforementioned, the cultural heritage plays a significant role and thus the linguistic landscape and the language use is affected by the interplay of these two codes. Another study conducted by Vettorel and Franceschi (2013) focused on the written formation of English in the linguistic landscape of cities and towns in Northern Italy, Veneto and noticed similar findings like that of Takhtarova, Kalegina and Yarullina (2015), pointing that Italy as a country has also strong visibility of English language in its landscapes, especially with its role as a lingua franca. However, their data showed that English has still a very hybrid nature in several linguistic levels, both in orthography to word-formation, seen also as the pervasive, modern code of today in linguistic practices.

To summarize, it needs to be understood that in global or local contexts, it might not be as predetermined and clear-cut what way and why different languages are deployed and structured in space before looking into them more thoroughly, but it is oftentimes the case that specific reasons direct the language use and sometimes the utility of multiple languages in specific way can have both negative and positive aspects to the linguistic landscape. Even sometimes the reality might be the complete opposite to what the actual physical linguistic landscape shows. Nevertheless, the research field of linguistic landscapes is still fairly young and as mentioned earlier on, the field is flooded with new research dilemmas constantly, offering a great number of new studies to answer and investigate the complex nature of language use in physical space all around the globe. This has naturally resulted in the emergence of modern viewpoints to communication in space as well as into the increase of new terminology. To give a brief example, lately some researchers have started to question the reliability of language in space and whether the multifaceted nature of visible language in space is always beneficial. This was brought up in the fresh study of Poplavskaia (2019) which captured in several Russian linguistic landscapes a phenomenon called "pseudo-multicultural identity", meaning that in large number of signs of several enterprises and establishments there existed a lot of misleading, even grammatically incorrect inscriptions of language which suggested a false cultural reality of the surrounding space. Poplavskaia (2019)

study revealed that such linguistically incorrect use of language created stereotypical views around the space and its users, disrupting thus the communication happening in the space. This meant that the makers of these signs clearly neglected on purpose the structure, grammar and meaning of language and some designations and thus creating wrong image of the community, resulting in a reflection of inadequacy. This came alive also with signs where code switching was used and foreign language information given. Poplavskaia's (2019) study thus shows the negative impact that varied language use, even conducted changes in local language use, can create in a physical environment, influencing people's mindsets, directing them to wrong conclusions. From here we can see that linguistic landscape truly holds in itself a lot of challenging notions still, confusing us and our knowledge of language use as we know it. Hence, one can see here the spark of new ideologies being ignited by these types of studies, confirming the need to critically assess language reality and trustworthiness in various spaces, especially those of multicultural nature.

5 THE PRESENT STUDY

5.1 Research questions and aims

The aim of this research was to discover how multiculturality and multilingualism is portrayed and represented in todays' Finnish multicultural workplaces and how do the employees of these workplaces construct their linguistic identities among diverse workforce. The main focus being the said identities, the study aims to discuss in detail the construction of linguistic identities from the perspective of everyday language practices of the workplace, everyday intercultural communication, the role of professional and personal side of identity in language choice and the reality of workplace dynamics. Furthermore, the perspective of different languages used in space and multiculturalism portrayed in workplace setting will be taken into consideration. All of the above is reflected through the perceptions of the employees themselves. Alongside this as a supporting part, this study aims to provide fresh look to the multicultural workplaces in Finland from the linguistic landscape point of view, considering how multiculturality is visually shown in the physical working environment. In this part, the discussion is centered around multicultural workplaces' linguistic, multilingual outlook, paying attention to the utilized languages and their role in the space, language dynamics, code preferences and cultural richness and other visual representations of multiculturalism in space.

On a bigger scale, this study wishes to shed light on the variety of linguistic identities that the multicultural and multilingual employees possess and how greatly these identities, according to the perceptions of the employees, can affect both the communication and dynamicity of the workplace as well as its language practices and atmosphere around them. Further, it aspires to display how visual, physical aspects of working environment have a great importance on the successfulness of communication as well as how the visuality of cultural aspects can reflect strongly the principles and activities of the workplace.

The three-dimensional nature of this study is worth conducting research on as numerous of studies of similar type have been conducted on a global level but the emergence of them in Finnish soil is scarce. To date, the research on these interests is quite faint in Finland in workplace scenarios, the study of linguistic landscape in particular. Thus, this study aspires to provide new insights to these affairs, inviting other scholars to understand and detect multiculturalism and

employee identities more effectively in workplace scenarios, realizing the important link that exists between multicultural employee identities, group dynamicity, language choices chosen by employees and the workplace itself and the management of diverse workforce.

Hence, considering these aims, the research questions were chosen as below and divided into two main questions, followed by elaborate sub questions:

1) How are languages represented in a multicultural working environment?

1.1 Is there a specific pattern or position of languages shown clearly in the linguistic landscape of the space?

1.2 How are multilingualism and multiculturalism supported in the physical space and what are the attitudes towards them?

2) How do the participants construct their linguistic identities in a multicultural workplace?

2.1 Do the participants make a distinction between their personal and professional linguistic identities? If yes, how are these portrayed and do the two have connections between one another?

2.2 According to the perceptions of the employees, how does English as a lingua franca affect their linguistic identities?

To explain the choices and the basis behind the research questions, as languages are discussed in multicultural, also multilingual, working environment, it is important to pay attention to whether different languages are emplaced in a specific way or if there are some rules or codes to how different languages are represented in space. This means that whether by the representation of language or their order in space one can affect the ways we perceive language use, its dominance or even create a specific picture of the society or community surrounding the space and its function. Also, it is crucial to see whether different codes exist in the space in different ways, as singular or in groups, with visual aids or not, with specific emplacement or not, to understand whether there is an interplay between languages or between various visual representations and their possible meanings. Through this is easier to analyse whether multiculturalism or multiple languages are "present" in the space and what type of choices are made about their use, both visually and textually. However, these analyses alone are not enough to necessarily create a cohesive idea of

the all-around multiculturalism and multilingualism, or even the use of languages, of the space, as it is commonly known that the society and people around affect it strongly too. Thus, it is important to also discuss the in-depth views of the active users and employees, in this case sometimes referred to as the main "audience" of the space, to see whether there arises something different or even surprising about the space and use of languages that is not necessarily easily seen with the eye of someone new to the space. There often lies different connections, reasons, outer influences or even historical or societal aspects in the portrayal of languages that might require further knowledge of the area or space, in order to be understood. Furthermore, the language plurality does not necessary tell about the equality of languages or that only positive attitudes are expressed by the people viewing this space and using it. Thus, it is important to highlight the visible but also hidden meanings of language use in space and why certain aspects are shown as they are shown to the viewer.

Second, as there exists languages in different forms in the physical workspace, it must not be forgotten that the users of the space, in this case dominantly employees, bring also a versatile set of their own linguistic identities to the workspace, further affecting the reality of languages and multiculturalism and multilingualism in the workplace. Though it might seem to some that the linguistic identities of employees are not crucial a matter, they are actually highly important to comprehend and recognise, considering the intercultural communication and group dynamics that happens in the workplace daily. It is crucial for the employees and the managers to recognise that one's linguistic self has an impact on the way one behaves, interacts and communicates in various situations, meetings and other social events. Thus, this paper focuses on highlighting the multiplicity and existence of linguistic identities of employees and how these identities reflect their ways to be, behave and express themselves and also how they build communication. As we are discussing workplaces, it must be noted that one can have two very different selves when it comes to language and behaviour and hence this study recognizes the difference of professional linguistic identity and personal linguistic identity. The distinction between the two is discussed and presented in the study to bring further depth to better comprehend the roles of the two in communicative situations, realizing also the choices that are made between switching to one way of interaction to another and what ignites these changes in behaviour and communication and whether one can actually pinpoint a small or a big difference.

Related to this is the construction of the identities which goes together with the portrayal of

different sides of linguistic identity. The idea is to shed light to the ways in which many employees promote their linguistic identities, enhance their linguistic knowledge and better their communication. Though these might seem somewhat personal information, they are also part of the portrayal of the linguistic identity in workplace communication too and might be important information to managing successful intercultural communication amongst employees of different origins. To understand the underlying reasons behind language use, it is needed to research the perceptions and the views of the employees themselves to these matters.

Lastly, related to both main research questions, it is inevitable to include some analysis of the use of lingua franca language, English, which is an integral part of the communication in multicultural workplaces in the world at present. As the use of English as a lingua franca in multicultural workplaces is considered, it is necessary to critically contemplate not just the role of English but further the role of different languages alongside it and how the variety of constructed linguistic identities as well as language choices in the multicultural working setting challenge our in-grown ideologies of the dominance of English language and its usage. This study thus aims to provide somewhat fresh, different insight to the ultimate dominance of English language on multicultural workplaces and the way it can affect the language practices as well as the employees of the multicultural workforce. Especially focusing on the perceptions of the employees who are surrounded by this language use daily, it is crucial to see how the alleged dominance of English affects them and their identities and whether these notions can actually reveal some completely new ideas about the advantages and disadvantages of English as a lingua franca in culturally diverse work environments.

5.2 Workplaces and participants

The participants of this study were five adult employees, from two different multicultural workplaces and locations in Finland. All the employees were from different cultural origins, but the two interviewed managers were native Finnish people. However, both Finnish managers had a lot of international training and work behind and had lived abroad too. The first workplace was located in Southern Finland, a public sector workplace (later workplace 1) which was a part of a bigger international workplace. It had 27 staff members which included 17 different nationalities, ranging from Brazilian to Polish to English and Philippine, to cite a few. Of this workplace I had the chance to interview the Finnish female boss, one Indian female employee and one Spanish male

employee. The second workplace was located in Central Finland, a young, public corporation (later workplace 2). The place had innumerable varieties of cultures represented in the staff due to the constantly changing multicultural employees (most volunteered) and as it was a meeting spot for people from various cultural origins on a daily basis. Thus, it was impossible to conclude the permanent number of specific cultures or nationalities of the users and employees. From this workplace I had a chance to interview the Finnish female boss as well as a Philippine female employee.

The workplaces were chosen on the basis of finding as vivid as possible workforce diversity and heavily multicultural workforce, in other words, choosing workplaces that preferably had multicultural workers as either a majority or more than one third of the staff. Furthermore, an important factor was that these workplaces marketed their multiculturalism and the multilingual or multicultural background of their employees and the working environment itself, along with its activities, in their webpages or in brochures. Thus, the idea was to contact workplaces that gave strongly the notion of their workplace being a multicultural and multilingual one.

Lastly, somewhat important factor was to find multicultural workplaces where I could get a chance to interview both the bosses as well as the employees, in order to reflect between the two about the topics discussed in this paper and thus deepen the knowledge of understanding these matters. After searching for these workplaces and finding two suitable ones which were willing to take part in this research, the privacy notices and consent forms were sent to the participants and taken care of in the early January 2019 before the data collection. The research was conducted and completed in the midway of the same month. All the data collections, both photographing and interviews, were conducted in the actual workspace locations.

5.3 Data selection and collection

The data collection for this research was conducted in the early January of 2019 and was compiled in two different ways; taking photographs of the physical working environment and interviewing the users (in this case employees and bosses) of the given space. The first part consisted of taking photographs of the researched workplace, focusing on the linguistic landscape characteristics, taking pictures of signs, walls, posters and other visual, multicultural representations of the space. This was a suitable method to investigate the visual matters as it is a commonly used method

amongst linguistic landscape studies. Further, the visual data was chosen to give an in-depth look to the multilingualism and code preferences of the space from the point of view of languages and also to give an important comparison point to the interview data. Interview data worked as a good reflection, mirroring the actual visual outlook with the attitudes and thoughts presented also by the employees about the multicultural working space. The whole idea of multilingualism and multiculturalism was captured by the comparison of both, as they both supported the analysis and findings of each other. The documentation of both was crucial to understand the complexity of the topic choice.

Considering still the picture part, in total 38 different photographs were taken from the actual physical working spaces, considering the aspects mentioned above. All the photographs were taken with a digital camera and in both workplaces the managers were present at the time of conducting photograph data. Of the whole visual data, 10 photographs which captured the essence of the research ideas the best were used for the final analysis, supporting and mirroring them also to the interview data. Further, these photographs were also selected on the basis of the most important findings, showcasing both the visual as well textual representation of multiculturalism and multilingualism.

The second part was conducting semi-structured interviews, where the five participants were interviewed about their linguistic identities in a multicultural environment and the way in which they construct and represent these identities in their everyday life, both personal and professional. The three employee participants were selected randomly, according to the resources of the workplace and the timing of their schedules and capability of these employees to take part in the suggested day. However, when choosing the workplaces in general, the main aim was to get the bosses and the employees from the same workplace, minimum being to interview one boss and at least one multicultural employee per workplace. The first section of the interview focused on the thoughts and opinions of the employees on general multiculturalism and language practices of the workplace as well as the role of English language. The second part focused specifically on the description of the linguistic identities and their construction and utilization by the employees. The interviews were conducted both in Finnish and English, according to the choice of the participant (see interview questions in Appendix). Interviews were audio-recorded for research purposes and writing process. All the data was collected in the premises of the workplaces.

As mentioned earlier, both of these data parts were chosen together in order to answer the

research questions as prolifically as possible and also to support each other in the writing process of the analysis section: finding practical, visual information and justification of the language use, choices and representation from the workplace itself and combining and reflecting it with the identities represented and possessed by the employees and their general thoughts on the multiculturalism of the workplace. Also, the ways in which the research ideas were linked by the employees themselves in their answers was taken into consideration.

Since discussing any type of identity and culture-related issues is rather complex and multifaceted, I considered interviews to be more fruitful way of gaining information about the participants rather than using a typical questionnaire (Brinkmann 2013). It allowed them the freedom of expression and more space to explain themselves, their ideas and opinions in a more nuanced, but also relaxed manner. This was also the reason why the interview was conducted in a semi-structured way since it allowed reflection and more freedom to the discussion itself in order to make the conduction of data more conversation-type, avoiding too much formality. This was especially important when discussing personal issues such as identity. To conclude, semi-structuring ensured the possibility of other themes that are linked to the discussed topics to arise. This granted also the researcher to see the possible emotional contact to the discussed matters; how do these people express their identities and whether there emerge some interesting, even sentimental viewpoints to the matters.

5.4 Methods of analysis

The choice for the method of analysis for this study was challenging due to the three-dimensional content of the study, which was to collect information about the visibility of multilingualism (language practices) and multiculturalism of workplace in the linguistic landscape, discuss English as a lingua franca as a part of the workplace dynamics and language use and shed light to the construction of linguistic identities of employees of different cultural origins. Especially problematic issue was the manner in which to combine successfully together the photographic data method (linguistic landscape) and the interview data method so that they would support one another and be a coherent combination. Further, with the choice of linguistic landscape analysis method it was a challenge to find a suitable tool that would not confuse the research idea with inclusive methods, where the participants would have played a part in choosing the photographs taken or the

participants giving information or reasons for the visual elements of the space, as this was not the case in this study.

Thus, this study settled on to utilize a mixture of two different methods of analysis, theme-centered content-analysis and ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis, last of which took some support of the analysis utilized by Blommaert (2013) in his book *Ethnography, superdiversity and linguistic landscapes: Chronicles of complexity*. Both of these are qualitative approaches to analyze data and can be used for various types of data samples, which thus helped to carry out the research aims of this paper.

Content analysis (Krippendorff 2019) was used as the main method for the interview data samples since it could be easily combined with theme-based findings and it enabled having answers to questions of who, why, how and what. In other words, as this study aspired to bring alive fresh knowledge about the linguistic identities of employees and the general multilingualism and multiculturalism of the workplaces, it was a suitable way to search for the emergence of specific variables, themes and different variations in opinions. In practice this was conducted by creating rough categories based on the research questions and inside them smaller categories, for example for-against-views in opinions, striking and contradictory opinions from the mass, findings relating to views on previous research, boss versus employee-settings, to cite a few. Through this method, the heavily infromation-filled data was more easily and clearly worked through, building a bigger image of the contents of the answers. The reason why this study decided to utilize interviews instead of questionnaire was that discussing topics such as identity, a questionnaire might have left out some of the nuances that employees could have better expressed face to face. Furthermore, since the set of questions were rather varied and consisted a lot of reflection on various aspects of identity construction, interviews proved a more versatile option to gain in-depth information on these matters from participants. It allowed them more freedom of speech and the conversation-type of interview enabled the possibility of other related matters to arise and perhaps even more detailed opinions to surface that might not otherwise come alive in questionnaire. Giving the interviewees time and unlimited space to answer to questions that relate to identity, a topic that is not black and white, enabled more fruitful answers and also seeing the emotional contact and reflection to different aspects related to identity's construction, usage and portrayal.

For the photograph part, ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis (ELLA) (Blommaert and Maly 2014) was chosen as it is considered a versatile method that contributes well

to the essence of linguistic landscape studies globally, capturing the reality of urban multilingualism. This method and its qualitative nature took into consideration in an elaborate manner the analysis of language from multiple angles, such as language use (e.g. belonging and conduct), social landscape, semiotics and written language visibility. In addition, since one of the goals of this study was to provide an in-depth look at the research interests, also linguistic landscape, Blommaert and Maly (2014) provided especially good pick for the analysis as they saw linguistic landscape in a more multifaceted manner; not just as a remote objective part of multilingualism and multiculturalism in space but as a powerful actor and index of varied social behavior. They recognized that signs have dimensions both in history, in present as well as in future, all of which include various interpretations and meanings, creating a web of norms around people and society, in language use as well as in membership, belonging, usage and conduct. (Blommaert and Maly 2014: 3-4.) Thus, this analysis tool was a detailed and suitable option for the purpose of the study, as the point was to collect qualitative data rather than just basic quantitative analysis of counting languages and representations of culture in space, a tool which has been used a lot in the past amongst linguistic landscape studies. Alongside this, the visual analysis was combined with Blommaert (2013) and his basic linguistic landscape analysis of images as his work illustrated in better magnitude the linguistic landscape characteristics and their role and their effect on the general multiculturalism of the space and why some aspects can be chosen in a specific way.

Lastly, it ought to be noted that the idea of the analysis part was not to list all possible, watertight aspects, findings and interpretations of the photographs considering the multiculturalism and the physical framework, but rather to focus on the most noteworthy notions. This same applied to the interpretation of the interview data and its aspects. This paper focused on the most notable and important findings, adding some flavor with distinct examples to when needed. Thus, the major part of the content of the analysis was crafted through the multiplicity of the views of the participants as well as the support of the method tools. Author's own observations were given some space in the analysis but the focus was kept dominantly in the voices of the participants as the leading point of this research was to bring forth the important observations and thoughts expressed by multicultural employees on these research matters.

5.5 Ethical questions

This research was conducted in accordance with the Jyväskylä university ethics committee, providing the responsible usage of the gathered data and its storage. The whole data was conducted and handled in a respectful manner, processing the identities of the participants as well as the workplaces with care. Both data samples were used for academic purposes only. The names of the participants and workplaces were anonymized, according to the wishes of the workplace. Detailed consent forms and privacy notices were sent to participants beforehand and then later signed by the participants and discussed through with the researcher at the time of data collection. These consent forms included permissions both for the photographs and the interviews. At any time, the research subject had the right to cancel his or her participation as the processing of personal data was based on consent.

Considering the visual data, any too identifying or sensitive information about the signs or the people using the space (for example display of names, personal information, identifying number codes or addresses) were not visible or used in the photograph data. Also, photographs of people or the products made by underage users were not taken as the key focus was only on the general physical aspects of the space, language code preferences and other general, visual representations of multiculturalism and multilingualism. With the permission of the workplaces, the photographs used for data analysis were added into the findings section of the thesis in their original form.

With the interview part and its analysis, the names and any other identifying information was not included when analyzing and writing down the findings. However, in the collection stage some the basic personal information (name, age, nationality, workplace status) was inquired only to differentiate between the audio-recorded clips later on. However, when writing down the analysis, only the nationalities, gender and the status, "employee/boss", was utilized to distinguish between found results and different opinions and also to create comparisons between the two when needed. Though the idea was not to draw attention to these matters, they brought more depth to the analysis itself, providing a basis and perhaps needed understanding of some of the matters discussed by the employees.

The pictures and audio recorded interviews were kept on a private working station in the University of Jyväskylä, to which only the researcher had the access to. The data was kept in this station as long as the research was ongoing, after which it was destroyed, archived for a set period

of time or given back to the workplace for their own use or disposal. The research resulted in a thesis publication that was saved to the digital library database of the University of Jyväskylä (JYX). The subjects were kept informed about thesis progress and the completion of the whole thesis. The participants had a chance to access the thesis in its final form.

6 FINDINGS

Based on the data, the findings of this study were sectioned into four main categories according to the research questions, in conjunction with an introductory, brief comparison of the two workplaces. These main categories were 6.2 General visibility and support of multiculturalism and multilingualism in linguistic landscape, 6.3 Linguistic identities constructed by multicultural employees, 6.4 Distinction between professional and personal linguistic identity and 6.5. English as a lingua franca – perspective of linguistic identities and workplace communication. Some of these sections were divided into smaller subsections to clarify the analysis and contents of the findings.

6.1 Comparison of two multicultural workplaces

To compare the two workplaces together, it could be noticed that there were both differences and similarities between their visuality considering multiculturalism and multilingualism in linguistic landscape and the general language practices of the workplace. Though several languages were visible in both spaces, the way in which these were represent, placed or emphasized varied.

Considering workplace 1, the public sector workplace with 17 nationalities present, it could be seen that the visuality of multiculturalism based heavily on different color representations and the dynamic combination of pictures as well as posters and creations of users on the walls, all of which came in big numbers. Further, other visual symbols of cultures were rather multiple in all the spaces as for example Russian matryoshka dolls or different flags of different countries were present in the rooms, accompanied by a variety of color representations of different cultures. Furthermore, to show the unity and variety of multicultural people in the space, most of the works done by users of the space were placed on the walls clearly for everyone to see and view. These works were also dominantly located in the corridors, entrance hall, lunchroom and in the shared activity rooms. There thus seemed to be an important linkage between colors, placement and languages.

From general overview, it seemed that this workplace had quite a balanced amount of both visual and textual elements supporting multiculturalism and multilingualism. Though the picture-text combination was a dominant and repetitive element especially on informative signs, both formal, informal and decorative, it was noticeable that the everyday visual representations of

multiculturalism and multilingualism were heavily showcased by the usage of different signs, universally understood pictures or creations of the users of the space. All these were apparent in the space and colors were used most of the time to strengthen the visuality of different images and signs. Moreover, a lot of written language was used in different signs and brochures: especially once one entered the activity rooms of the space, the visuality of multiculturalism strengthened significantly as these rooms were filled with even more posters and brochures, world map carpets, various country flag pictures and written, colourful day to day schedules. Thus, it could be clearly seen that people of different origins utilized these spaces.

Considering the status of different codes of languages, in this workplace it was especially notable that Finnish came dominantly first in all signs and informative notices. Some more English dominance could be seen in the activity and teaching rooms, but this was mostly due to the purpose of the given space: for example especially in these rooms the users were taught English and thus the information there was only in English, not in Finnish. Interesting point to realize was that the more informal the sign was, the more the code preference would be English. In the more formal signs, Finnish was almost always the code preference, written invariably on top first and then English below it. This was especially the case in bureaucratic things, such as papers and informative guides from the city. Considering locations, the more informative, formal brochures with Finnish (and sometimes with other languages) were placed on the corridors or the main hall and lunch area, but the informal ones were present also in some activity rooms but this was not a dominant element to be found in all rooms and spaces. An intriguing and unexpected finding was though the lack of multilingualism and other codes in this space. I expected to find several notions of other languages in the space, especially since the boss of the workplace described the work staff to consist of 17 nationalities and described the city to be one of the most multicultural ones in Finland, with several tens of languages existing all around and being used. Though the main function of the workplace was in education and the main activities were carried out in English, I was still surprised to find so few instances of other languages than English and Finnish, being visible. The ones that could be detected were in the corridors and hall area majorly, present dominantly in some informative brochures about the city and its services and these languages were either Arabic or Hindi. There were some few instances of Russian and Swedish too, but often the language changed quickly in the next brochures to either Finnish or English again. Thus, the visibility of multilingualism was not as strong as one could assume.

Moving to the other workplace location, workplace 2, the public organization with varying multicultural workers and innumerable amount of cultures, the striking similarity to the previous workplace was especially the amount of strong color representations used in the space. The colors were visible especially in different images and brochures in the space and in the works of the users of the space. Compared to workplace 1, this workplace made more use of colors throughout the premises, by using them also in general room decorations, such as in wall paints, curtains, carpets, world maps and so on. It is hard to say whether these colors were chosen to create more multicultural "feel" to the space but at least to the author they created that vision immediately. Further, slightly different and more dominant matter compared to the other workplace was that this workplace had extensively more visual representations in the form of different cultural objects. For example, in all the activity rooms and lunch area one could find different cultural symbols from a variety of cultures that the employees and the users of the space had brought in there. For example, Chinese peace symbol decorations were hanging in the rooms, Russian teapots were on tables, Japanese soft toys were placed on the couches and Indian incense stands could be found from some corners of the rooms. These cultural objects were various especially in the activity rooms, but they were not found as much in the hallways.

Though in these rooms the diversity of cultures were presented and supported with a variety of objects, colors and informative brochures and magazines discussing world cultures, a notable difference compared to workplace 1 was that some rooms were decorated more based on the dominant cultural group that used the space. The interviewed Filippino employee noted that this workplace had a large, dominant variety of people from Arabic-speaking countries and thus one of the rooms was decorated in heavily Persian style, having objects, handicrafts, fabrics and ornaments that are integral to the lifestyle of these people from these countries. Hence, in this room the colors definitely had cultural meaning behind them and one could see more varied language use in this space, not just English or Finnish. However, though this room had a specific cultural style and several activities held in the space were directed to Arabic speaking people, the space was used by all other users too, despite their country of origin and thus in some parts of the room there existed the aforementioned, other cultural objects. The boss confirmed that the dominantly one-way styled, singular room did not make other people feel unincluded or uncomfortable, as the style was visible and meant as a theme of the room, not as a "rule" of who should enter the space. Everyone seemed to be welcomed to come as they are, and this essence showed in many

encouraging notes on the walls and in "no discrimination zone" signs.

As the other workplace, there existed also a vast variety of the multilingualism and multiculturalism in this workplace and these were supported by several types of different brochures, magazines, world maps, country flags and multilingual signs that were present in the spaces. These had variety of cultures and languages presented in them, ranging from Finnish to Swedish to Arabic to Indian to Russia and Thai and so on. Furthermore, the works and projects of the users of the space were presented on the walls, alongside with colourful images and other cultural symbols. Similarly, like workplace 1, also in this space there was several text-picture combination signs and informative notes, but there was a clear difference in the multilingualism of the signs. This workplace had more variety in language codes used in signs, offering frequently others than just dominant Finnish or English. The placement of them was also that of a wider range than in workplace 1 as they were found both in the activity rooms as well as on the corridors and message boards, clearly placed and visible for all users of the space.

Considering the language practices and the language codes from visual point of view, it became evident in this workplace that Finnish is the dominant first code of the spaces, both in informative signs, formal signs and a variety of brochures. However, this was to be expected as the main function of this workplace was to promote itself as a Finnish multicultural workplace, teaching mostly Finnish to culturally diverse people with various ethnicities in Finland and providing them a diverse meeting spot to meet people of various origins. Thus, Finnish was often placed on top in signs and then English and then other varieties, such as Arabic, Thai, Hindi, Russian and so on. However, as mentioned earlier, strongly different from workplace 1 was that there existed also signs without Finnish or English at all and these were easily noticed in the space. One could also detect magazines with only one language used in them, varying from some having only English, some only Arabic or some with just Russian. Thus, the multilingualism of the space seemed clearer and the various language codes could be found both in formal and informal instances. This showed that there is definitely fluidity in the multilingualism and its visuality in the workplaces, promoting multiple varieties.

6.2 General visibility and support of multiculturalism and multilingualism in linguistic landscape

The first research question dealt with two different matters: the visibility and the support of the multiculturalism and multilingualism in the actual physical working space and the representation of languages in linguistic landscape, concerning whether they had some specific positioning or pattern to them. In upcoming sections, I shall describe the linguistic landscape of the workplaces based on the photographs taken and the different views and perceptions mentioned by the employees about multiculturalism and multilingualism.

6.2.1 The support of multiculturalism in space

As it is often discussed, usually the multiculturality of the workplace does not just rest solely on the language practices of the workplace or the diversity of the staff, but oftentimes the actual physical space can reveal more information on the reality of the languages, their positioning as well as the reality of their everyday utilization. Considering the two workplaces where the photographs were taken, the main finding was that the actual multiculturality of the workplace was supported through not just language elements or language codes visible in the space, but also strongly with color representations and other visual elements such as world maps, artworks made by the users of the space, different cultural objects, informative brochures and posters. It was evident in the space physically but also found in the remarks of the employees that the visuality of multiculturalism and multilingualism in physical form are highly essential to the workplace and its activities (see figures 1, 2 and 3). When the employees were asked about the ways in which multilingualism is supported and whether some activities or actions play a role in the portrayal of multiculturalism, they stated that the construction of multiculturality is strongly affected by the users of the space. All of the employees and bosses reported that the visuality and the outlooks of the spaces reflect much the wishes of the users and the actual activities and events that take place in the workplace itself in big numbers constitute a massive amount of the support of multiculturalism and multilingualism in the workplace. This was explained as thus by one employee:

(1) *Yes we try to have this year clock and we try to celebrate the most important happening around the world. Now we are going into Chinese new year, we usually try to have St. Patrick's day and they all wear green, things like that. But of course, since it is certainly demanding, we could always have more and better. We invite parents to come and tell about their nationality, their language…they have slideshows and all kinds of stuff. We invite parents, celebrate a lot of parties around the world but…I think there is always room for more, a little bit better, but we definitely go through as much as we can. We go through all the countries, celebrations, happenings, so that they (users of the space) see that there are things beyond Finland. And we have in our group this thing called "the star of the week" where each child is the star of the week once a week. And that child presents his or hers nationalities and in a poster they bring where they are coming from and where the parents are coming from.* (Spanish male employee)

(Figure 1. World map carpet in activity room)

As an author of this work, this finding was easy to detect in several spaces as the unified works of the users of the space were clearly placed throughout the workplace setting, with a large variety. With some artworks, if one viewed them closer, one could see different languages and different styles appearing in their outlooks, strenghtening the idea of several multicultural people taking part in the creation of the visual elements. Furthermore, though auditive elements and observing group activities was not part of this data and analysis, it was unavoidable to come across some activities taking place in the scenery when conducting the photographic data. Thus, I noticed en passant how few users of the space and employees were building together colourful artworks, showing thus that multiculturalism of space is truly built in collaboration.

(Figure 2. World map wall print in activity room)

(Figure 3. Persian room decorations)

To continue, from the use of visual symbols and representations in space, the strong use of colors could be seen in both workplaces (see figures 1 and 3) as the colors were used to especially support the idea of different cultural varieties and the general activity usage of the room. Also, what was noticeable in workplace 2 was that some specific cultural colors and symbols where

brought to specific rooms, either due to the theme of the room or due to the majority of the users of the space or just as markers of different cultural varieties present (See figures 3 and 4). Some examples of these types of things and objects were for example Chinese cultural symbols, Russian Matryoshka dolls, Japanese-originated toys and Indian incense stands. Nevertheless, it ought to be remembered that these cultural items and representations were merely placed in some areas, not used for example dominantly as a repetitive element in all the rooms and spaces of the workplace. This means thus that they were used as just mere representations of multicultural people using the spaces, not to single out some other cultural varieties or inviting just one culture's people in. The employees stated that the idea lies more in the promotion of the fact that "this is a multicultural workplace" or "multicultural meeting spot", instead of that some specific people are only invited to the spaces. As many world maps, brochures, notes and posters showed, the elements were used to create the idea of a multicultural community in the given space (See especially figures 1, 2, 5 and 6)

As a thought, however, Blommaert (2013) discusses in his book that though usually colors and shapes co-occur and interact with each other in the same space, different elements may still appear to have different operations in the given space. For example, Blommaert (2013) gives an example how a sign with both written and visual design can have different semiotic scopes to it. In most cases visual designs are generally understood by all as they are universal, but written representations might not be understandable to all, depending on the language codes present. For example, if the sign has text only in Finnish, it excludes the users with no competence in Finnish. In this way, the visual and written formation of the sign might reach different audiences and semiotic scopes (Blommaert 2013: 42-43.). However, it should be noted here too that sometimes the audience of the signs are also influenced by authorities, which can restrict the social dynamics of languages in space (Blommaert and Maly 2014: 3). As viewing the spaces, I noticed this to be the case with some of the signs in especially workplace 1 where there was more instances of signs where only two main languages were used dominantly or some formal signs with only Finnish language occuring in them despite the multicultural nature of the workplace and plurality of linguistic codes. These signs were received from the municipality itself and thus were compiled in a specific manner, thus not necessarily offering more room for other language varieties or visual representations as an aid. Thus one ought to take into consideration that the "exclusion" of other varieties is not necessarily always in the hands of the employees and bosses, when considering the

portrayal of multilingualism and multiculturalism. To exemplify, this workplace being a public sector originated workplace, the visuality of multiculturalism and multilingualism in signs were thus affected partly by external regulations.

Nevertheless, gladly this was not a continual case in either of the workplaces as a rule, as dominantly most language codes used in the workplace were present in the signs alongside proper visual aids. However, if one thinks about the workplace 2 that had changing variety of workers and nationalities and their number and diversity that changes yearly, either by multiplying or decreasing, it becomes evident that some audiences are not necessarily reached with the signs or the signs and representations can not evolve as quickly as the workforce does. However, if workplace has more than 10 different languages in it, it is perhaps impossible to incorporate all of them into each sign, to make it practical for the users. However, as an outsider viewing the space, it appeared to me as more positive and welcoming to see several codes still scattered around with visual aids than for example viewing just the notions of a few separate languages. The multiplicity might be problematic sometimes, but once there is coherence to it, it enriches the space.
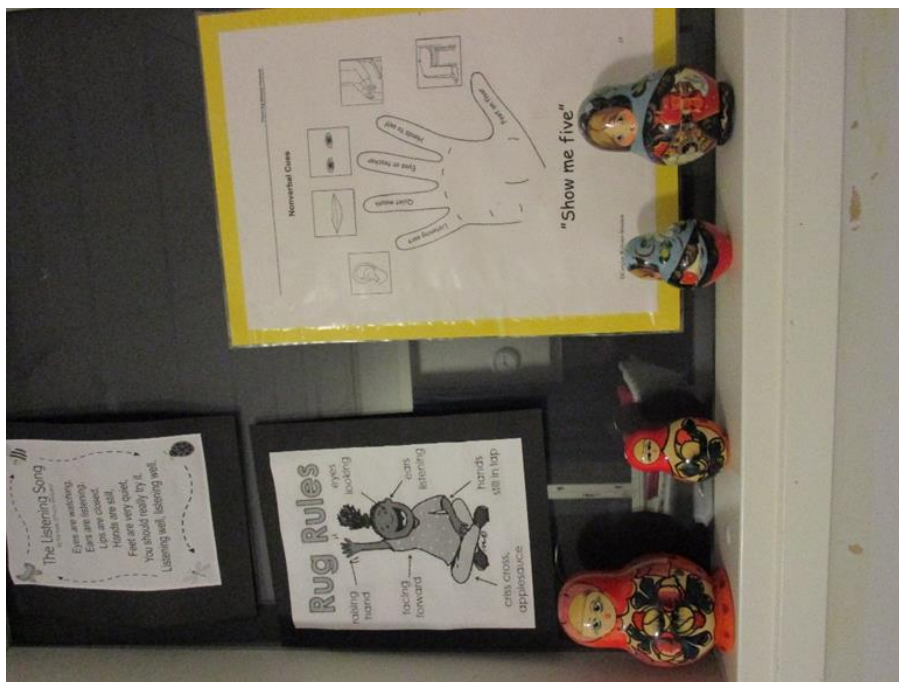
(Figure 4. Russian matryoshka dolls and English posters)

An interesting contrast to the matters above was that some rooms of the workplaces had a specific "cultural" aim in them, considering their outlooks and usage. For example, in workplace

2, one room called "Persian room" (see figure 3) was decorated and colored to reflect Indian and Persian cultures. This room did not exclude other cultural groups as its main idea but was designed to show the large number of users of this area in the workplace. Nevertheless, in other rooms the cultural aspects and multiculturalism was again varied and more numerous, showcasing diversity. Though it might seem that this could bring the idea of one cultural code to be "preferred" over another and that one room themed with one cultural variety would make other cultural varieties experience possible exclusion, one of the employees stated that all people of the space use this room and find no discomfort for its general outlooks, especially as in the same room appears other cultural symbols too. What this proves is that though we might find some representations of multiculturalism stronger than others in some instances, it should be the flexible attitude towards the support of multiculturalism in general that individuals should embrace.

(Figure 5. Formal informative brochure, multiple languages)

As said earlier, it could be found from the remarks of all the employees that the vast amount of multiculturalism and multilingualism surrounds the space and it is seen as a highly positive and an important factor. This view was not only shared by the employees, but also the bosses of the workplace. Closely related to these were the positive views for the support of multicultural identities, even the usage of other less dominant language varieties, in daily communicative

situations:

> (2) *So, there are then some families who have same languages as me (Indian), Indian language Hindi or then Philippine, so then they are speaking, they are exchanging things in their own language. So, there is nothing like "no no no", and we also follow this that it is also good for the children to hear all different kind of languages which are spoken here. Because we feel that whatever they hear, something stays in their mind you know, one word, two words – it enriches everyone here. But not only languages but the different accents here. When I hear some Spanish person speaking English to me, it takes me some time to understand him what he is saying. But these children who are so young and they are…we are having people from Asia, America...all over the world and they are exposed to all these different accents. So, it is very easy for them. I work in 4-5 years old group and I see that whoever comes to our group with different accent, the children right away understands everything although for me it takes time. So, they are enriched with so much knowledge around them.* (Indian female employee)

This notion was important as it shed light to the fact that the various multicultural identities and various languages that are deployed by the users of the space are seen as important and enriching to the space and to the visual representation of multiculturalism. In a sense, it proves an important point that even if a language is not the dominant one in space, its visibility and usage in some instances can still be important to the workforce and daily communicative situations (see for example Angouri 2013).

(Figure 6. Finnish brochure with all cultural festive days of the world)

6.2.2 Patterns of languages visualizing diversity

To move closer to the position, visibility and pattern of languages, the most interesting notion found was that though we are discussing very multicultural workplaces with consistency of people from several nationalities in this work, it was interesting to view that most of the times the code preference was Finnish instead of English, both in the language practices as well as in the actual physical space in the form of signs. This became clear especially from the notions of employees. Surely one realizes that the study focused on multicultural workplaces in *Finland*, but nevertheless, considering some few other studies who have delved with English language on workplace and found English as one of the most dominant languages usually (see studies in section 2.3), this was a differing type of finding. English was seen as having a strong standing and foothold in the space itself, but more as a useful tool for workplace communication, but not necessarily as the "dominant" language of the space. The boss of workplace 2 stated quite effectively that though many multicultural workplaces would not survive without English and it is always an advantage in the activities and practices of the workplace, many other languages actually can be even more useful for the workplace, such as Persian, Spanish, Russian and Arabic. This is understandable as the case is that Finland has many foreigners coming in here from these countries. This aspect was visible in the physical environment as in many brochures and signs, these languages were sometimes mentioned even before Finnish or English (See figures 7 and 8).

(Figure 7. Multilingual informative sign in activity room)

Another thing that was reflected for several times especially in the interviews was that in a multicultural workplace there is a lot of flexibility considering language use. Though usually some corporate language or everyday language is usually predetermined, there is still flexibility with for example code-switching and what languages are used in different social situations. In this sense, all employees mentioned situational awareness of language use, which affects the communicative situations greatly and through which the employees act accordingly. Though of course some codes were preferred over others in specific situations, such as important staff meetings, in these too there was some flexibility in language use, depending on the context of information, the different cultural members taking part in the meeting and used materials. How the boss of the workplace 1 further explained this was that the common goal is that all feel included language-wise in communicative situations and thus language use can be flexible in meetings and when discussing important work policy matters as it is sometimes the case that some materials are not produced "multi-linguistically", in other words, with several language codes.

(Figure 8. Informative brochure with Finnish and Arabic)

However, to make here a note of comparison, it was interesting between these two workplaces that as workplace 2 supported various codes in their signs and activities, such as Finnish, English, Thai, Russian and Arabic, workplace 1 had only very few instances of other languages visible in their signs than Finnish or English. In other words, though having 17 nationalities present in the staff already and one being able to see the rich diversity occupying the space, the workplace 1 did not support multiculturalism as strongly in visual elements in a linguistic way, in written form, as when comparing to workplace 2. Workplace 2 had prominently more focus on written visualizations of the various language varieties, accompanied with the other strong multicultural visual elements. I found this rather interesting though it is only a tiny aspect of multiculturalism, but it is still a strong evidence of the differences of these workplaces and their practices. While the other one focuses on the full picture of written and visual, the other one lacks somewhat in the written side, which is interesting as the workplace 1 is that of public sector multicultural workplace. However, this could be interpreted as mentioned afore, that the workplace perhaps receives some guidelines from the municipality about the visibility of languages in signs. However, one must remember here that language use is above all dynamic. As Blommaert and Maly (2014) discuss it, what one perceives in the space today, might not be visible there in future or can be altered in time (Blommaert and Maly 2014: 9).

(Figure 9. Multilingual text-image sign in activity room)

To continue, it was also an intriguing factor that though on several instances the workplace 2 emphasized Finnish being utterly important alongside English, even at times stronger, it still was not utterly dominating code in all signs and visuals. However, one should always remember here that all signs are interpreted differently, based on the competences and experiences in life that people have gathered during the years. Also, the social positioning of people in a space can affect strongly the interpretation of signs. If we consider for example workplace 2, which seems to be dominated by the Finnish language usage mostly though having many other codes visible too, one must remember that each sign tells a story about the one who produced it (indexicality). Thus, as this workplace promotes itself as a multicultural center that offers teaching Finnish mostly, it can be seen that the Finnish dominated signs entail the main function of this space, in other words, engaging viewers to the idea of what kind of action takes place in the space (Blommaert 2013: 43-44.). Nevertheless, multiple signs often cross over one another and overlap, but it does not mean that the choices placed on the codes are random (Blommaert 2013: 46). Thus as a researcher, it might be difficult sometimes to comprehend whether some signs are placed in specific places as a rule or as spontaneous and whether some signs and their visual representation have endured longer time than other signs in the space. The visuality and its meanings, to detect the reality of the representation might require longer times of inspection and delving into the social structures of the workplace.

Lastly, one could note here that these workplaces did not function with all the possible

languages visible, but portrayed one language as the variety that represents specific communicative actions as primary. For example, the boss of the workplace 1 mentioned that English in their workplace has a "special" positioning in a sense that when staff members talk with each other, the discussions happen dominantly in English and the same applies when other users are around in activities. She made a very clear note on the importance of a common language:

(3) *Henkilökunta puhuu keskenään englantia niin paljon kuin mahdollista ja lasten kuullen puhutaan Englantia. Niissä tilanteissa missä on yksikin englannin kielen, tai, hm, sanotaan muu kuin suomea puhuva henkilö paikalla, niin pyritään käyttämään englantia. Mut periaatteessa muita kieliä me ei puhuta täällä kuin suomea ja englantia. Mut muuten meillä ei ole tarvetta niinku periaatteessa osata muuta kieltä..mut et mun omasta kielitaidosta ni jonkun verran tietysti just ruotsia ja sit vähä saksaa ja ehkä vähän venäjää mutta ei oo niinku tarpeen osata kun englantia ja suomea. – Siis se on (muiden kielten näkyminen)…Sitä saattaa olla mutta se niinku se periaate on juuri tämä, et, et se on niinku tämmönen työmoraalikin, että käytetään sellaista kieltä, mitä kaikki ymmärtää. Ja silloin se on niinku meidän kohdalla englanti koska kaikki ei välttämättä puhu suomea. Ja meidän kokoukset käydään suomeksi ja englanniksi. Ja sitten myöskin kaikki kehittämisillat, kehittämispäivät, meidän koulutukset, niin paljon englanniksi kun se vain on mahdollista.* (Suomalainen naispomo)

The staff uses English here as much as possible and in the company of children, English is being used. In those occasions when there is even one English-speaking, or let's say, any other than a Finnish-speaking person present, the goal is to use English as first always. But otherwise, we don't use other languages here than Finnish and English. In here we don't really have a need to know other languages…but from my own linguistic background, of course some bit of Swedish and German perhaps a little and a bit of Russian. – Well it is (the visibility of other languages) … there may be some of it, but the principle is just, just that it is a sort of work morale, that we use that type of language that everybody understands. Thus in our case it is English because not everyone necessarily speaks Finnish. And our meetings operate too in Finnish and English. All development project days and eves, our trainings, all as much as possible in English. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish to English by Kati Nappa)

Though this was the main guideline thinking of the boss, she still noted that this does not mean that multiculturalism or the variety of other languages is somehow neglected or seen as negative. She emphasized that though the position and role of English is strong, it is positive richness that the nature of the representation of languages on space, as well as the identities of employees, is multifaceted. Of course, one must understand that reflecting this kind of ideologies can be challenging and time-consuming from the perspective of management but it is a huge bonus if employees have diverse cultural understanding as it can enrich communication and build bridges of understanding between different people. This is thus a crucial insight from the manager of the workplace, which makes one think also how important and influential it can be what the

administration thinks of the use of multiple languages and what is the general attitude towards multilingualism. These kind of attitudes can truly work as highly important factors in boosting and developing intercultural communication too and abridging the gap between different languages and their statuses.

(Figure 10. English posters with colors and wordplay)

6.3 Linguistic identities constructed by multicultural employees

The preceding research question, which was also the focus point of this study, dealt with the construction of linguistic identities of multicultural employees in a multicultural work setting. Though this was the main second question and had also two sub questions in it, due to the extensive and nuanced results on the sub question parts, I placed all the findings of research question two in different sections with their own headings (6.3, 6.4 and 6.5) to make better clarification. Thus, this section 6.3, shall only discuss the construction side of the linguistic identity.

To begin, considering the general overview of the construction of linguistic identities by employees revealed that multicultural employees are remarkably active on a daily basis considering the construction as well as the maintenance of their linguistic identities. When being asked of whether they construct their linguistic identity in a specific way, for example by enhancing their competence or taking part in some activities, both inside and outside workplace, all the employees,

including the bosses, saw it essential and beneficial for their everyday life, both professional and personal, to take good care of their linguistic identities on multiple different ways. What became surprisingly positive theme amongst employees was that they stated to have very active cultural groups both inside and outside workplace. Many discussed that during a workday they could talk with people from similar cultural group as themselves and thus get to exchange ideas in their own language too and outside workplace, many had specific events or hobbies they attended to and in which they could see other people from similar cultural group too. To those who had children of their own, reflected strongly that meeting with the family was an important part of keeping up with one's national identity too.

Thus according to these notions, all the participants expressed to feel welcomed and respected in the workplace with their multiple identities, but also they could rely on people from their own nation for other type of personal, everyday life support. This kind of support was seen as highly important as it would keep one's closest linguistic identity, mother tongue, at an active level and giving them comfort, even relaxation, after utilizing for example English all day at work. This finding was further strengthened by all, specifying that the place where they live in is surrounded by strong multicultural community where they get to meet people of same cultural origin and background weekly and thus construct their linguistic identity routinely.

Another factor that came up on multiple occasions and was explained in different lights, was the importance of self-education. Most employees mentioned this to be especially important on the workplace setting, in other words, developing one's multilingualism by learning from others and from the daily activities of workplace. Several employees reflected that the different cultural theme days and events had a grand role in the maintenance and build-up of one's cultural awareness and knowledge. However, the construction of one's linguistic identity was not seen to be restricted to only on workplace context, but also expanded to personal life and free time activities. For example, the boss of the workplace 1 described that she recognizes the importance of keeping up one's linguistic identity development and linguistic competence by reading current literature of the working field as well as work of fiction. Related to this she mentioned also how hobby and interest-related matters further affect one's linguistic identity construction. Going to movies and theatre and travelling were seen as key alternatives and possibilities for the maintenance and construction. Similar notions where found in the remarks of all participants of study, showing common ground on the beneficiality of the multiform nature of linguistic identity construction.

Nevertheless, even though rarely such things as grammar and correct or "perfect" maintenance of linguistic competence was mentioned, it came evident in few remarks that learning from others as well as generally paying attention to language matters and one's own competence to use language were seen as useful, even as a necessary part of constructing and developing one's linguistic self both inside and outside workplace. According to many participants, following and learning from matters related to grammar was a fruitful way to also educate oneself and develop as a user of a language. These aspects were interestingly pointed out by a Spanish male employee as thus:

> (4) *About Spanish, I play in a Spanish team of football, I have this community there, but I doubt they would enhance my language...to be honest, no offence to them (laughs). But I think I am the one focusing on the proper grammar in my language and if people do make mistakes that I know they do.. I know they are. I don't usually correct it but I keep myself on the same, on the right track so I can then teach my daughter the right Spanish. So I think it's my own self enhancement, I want to construct and I want to build up a better language every day. – But in English, when I speak with native English people, I try to pay as much attention as possible to right grammar. I try to pay attention the language and I try read also, I have this Merriam Websters dictionary that I check whenever I have doubt. And I try for lifelong learning in both languages. If our academy of languages changes in Spanish, I want to know what they have done.* (Spanish male employee)

Continuing from these findings, the employees summarized all together that for multicultural work life lifelong learning is essential and the very root of enhanced and successful workplace communication and dynamics. It was recognized as a highly needed aspect in work especially for one's personal growth and enriching one's linguistic identity as well as cultural identity. For example in workplace 1, this was emphasized in practice. Instead of spreading negativity towards any employee's competence level for example in English or other cultural matters, the focus was put more importantly on learning each day something new through daily activities and information shared between employees and users of the space. Hence, the effort concentrated around upgrading the competences of the whole workforce in languages and cultural understanding by different theme days, courses and other related events and education of staff. This was a valuable finding as oftentimes the solution to several workplace matters and decrease of negative atmosphere is simply working together towards a common goal, putting aside differences and competencies and just focusing on the enhancement of the whole workforce as a whole, as unity, by cooperating together (Snider 2014: 152).

To proceed, another important finding was that the relevance of the workplace choice and its

practices truly matter, related to the construction of one's multilingual self and identity. Several employees stated that they chose the workplace also based on its practices and what they have to offer, in other words, to be able to work in a place where they can keep up their language development and multilingual self and build their linguistic identities. This is why multicultural workplace was a natural choice for many of employees. However, this was not just stated by the employees, but also by the bosses, one of which especially stated that the workplace activities and tasks and being part of the community is the biggest part of her linguistic identity construction. This was reinforced rather eloquently in her response:

(5) *No oikeestaan ehkä täytyy sanoa, että vahvimmin (kieli-identiteetin rakentaminen)…hmm, tai mä koen, että se tulee tässä työn ohessa, et osittain ehkä… mä oon oikeestaan kokenut, että ne aika luontevasti, jos mä nyt mietin, niinku ehkä nyt vahvimmin vaikka sitä suomea ja englantia nyt pääasiassa, niin nää muut on niinku nyt toistaseks jäänyt vähä taka-alalle. Välillä on ollut ajatuksia ja vähä niitäki välillä aktivoinut mut tällä hetkellä ei oo siihen ollut niinku aikaa eikä resursseja. Mut niin siis olen kokenut, että tää nyt tänhetkinen työrooli on niin monipuolinen että tässä koko ajan tulee ikäänku uusia avauksia ja uusia niinku alueita, mitä ottaa haltuun, kun jotka osa on esimerkiksi englannin kielellä. Niin se on oikeesti aika luontevasti kehittynyt sitä kautta. Esimerksi nyt meillä on yks semmone kansainvälinen projekti, missä me ollaan mukana ja nyt on esimerkiksi sitä käyny läpi, projektisuunnitelmaa ja muuta ja tietysti näihin aina liittyen siellä tulee aina sitä ammattisanastoa ja niiku hankesanastoa ja kaikkee muuta sellaista. Et vaikka se nyt ei oo niinku sinällään uusi asia, nää kansainväliset hankkeet ja nää, mut nää on niinku uusia ikäänkuin uudenlaisia yhteistyökuvioita ja kaikkia muita. Et niinku tällä hetkellä en oo, en oo tehnyt semmosta mitää extra eforttia sen suhteen, että millä sit vielä esimerkiksi niinku vapaa-ajalla siis osallistuisin johonkin, joo… koen, että tällä hetkellä tulee ihan ikäänku riittävästi, et ei ole sillee stabiili-tila sillai työ, että aina käytäs samat asiat. Vaan se siinä, että koko ajan tulee niinku uudenlaisia, kaikenlaisia yhteistyötä ja verkostoja.* (Suomalainen naispomo)

Well I must say that perhaps the strongest (constructing one's linguistic identity)…hmm…I feel that it comes alongside this work…partly yea, I have actually found that it has come naturally (alongside work) if I think about now Finnish and English, but yea the other languages have for now stayed in the background. I have had some thought sometimes on activating them too but at the moment I haven't had the time or resources for it. But yeah, I have felt kinda that my present work role is so multifaceted that I here continuously come across new areas and openers what to then take over, of which some are in English. So it has quite naturally developed alongside then. For example, now we have this one international project we take part in and I have gone through it a lot now, project plans and of course other things and of course related to these there always comes professional vocabulary and yea project-related vocabulary and all other of the same sort. So even though it is not exactly a new thing as itself, these international projects and so, but these are so to say kinda new collaboration schemes and all others like it. So lately I have not, have not done any extra effort for it that on my free time I would take part in something…yes. I feel that at the moment there comes enough things kinda, so the work is not so to say "stable mode" that all the same things would be constantly done over and over again. So it is that there constantly emerges new collaborations and all sorts of networks. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish to English by Kati Nappa)

This was a crucial finding for this research, clearly showing that multicultural work environment itself can also be a strong indicator of linguistic identity construction, perhaps even offering more to the maintenance and enhancement of multiple identities one possesses than what for example monolingual or monocultural workplace could offer. Thus, the way in which the participants here described the constitution of their linguistic identity through construction, multiple resources and maintenance in truth shows that multicultural people do benefit both from strong cultural, accepting community around them as well as a workplace that offers challenges and various cultural communication stimulus through various different types of events and activities when building effective, diverse linguistic identities and developing them. In conclusion, various multilingual resources can further result in even more nuanced identity endeavours and aspirations (Blommaert & Maly 2014). However, it should be noted that the accepting and encouraging atmosphere that seemed to be the reality in these workplaces towards several linguistic identities and their build-up, is not sadly the lived reality of all workplaces globally or locally. Several workplaces, even those with less multicultural outlooks too, are still taking their first steps in just understanding that there exists a large variety of linguistic identities and other identities in one person and that recognizing these is a crucial matter for an effective, diverse workplace. Thus, it should be noted that new strategies are still needed to understand the multiplicity of linguistic identities and more encouragement directed to administration too to recognise the existence of these identities and offer the workforce chances to work with them and develop them too. Thus, to find solutions to these challenges, both managers and employees ought to learn to be continuously open and flexible towards various values and identities they come across in culturally diverse organizations (Castaneda & Bateh 2013).

6.4 Distinction between professional and personal linguistic identity

The first sub question of the second research question discussed the idea of professional and personal linguistic identity more in-depth and whether the multicultural employees in a multicultural workplace make a clear distinction between these two when they consider their everyday life and work life. This question was included in the research to provide better specificity to the understanding of linguistic identity as a whole, alongisde its construction, as after all the participants in this research were employees of a workplace. The in-depth definitions of

professional linguistic identity and personal linguistic identity can be found from the interview question set (See Appendix 1).

On a general note, there seemed to be a lot of varying degrees of whether the employees made a distinction between their professional and personal identity or not. This was notable when employees were asked whether they deployed both identities on the workplace or whether they separated their professional and personal linguistic identity clearly from each other in daily communication. Some employees discussed these identities as a type of "*mash-up*", meaning that both the identities mix together on a daily basis while some others could tell that there was a very clear line to be drawn in between the personal linguistic identity and professional linguistic identity. Though these employees could notice the slight overlap of the two linguistic identities, especially in the workplace scenario, they would still separate them as two different identities utilized. They noted that the portrayal of identity is heavily linked to the situation they are in or the person to whom they are talking to. Though in both workplaces one could say they worked clearly there with their "personality" and own "self", there were still quite major differences between how strongly different employees felt about the distinction of these two identities in their lives.

Another related, interesting finding was that especially the bosses of the workplaces embraced the thought of different identities they have in themselves, especially when switching between languages and how they corporate these on the workplace scene:

(6) *Kyllä oon sitä mieltä, että se muuttuu jonkin verran (oma persoona kielen mukana). Se et kun mä mietin, että mä esimiehenä sit myöskin perehdytän jonkun verran henkilökuntaa ja koulutan ja kehitetään yhdessä eteenpäin ni välillä jotkut asiat on helpompaa myös käydä sillä ikään kuin kolmannella kielellä, joka meille on se englanti vaik se ei ole äidinkieli osalle eikä se ole esim mulle äidinkieli. Niin silloin siitä tulee vähän sellainen ulkokohtaisempi, mutta sitten taas toisaalta englantilaiseen kieliperinteeseen ja käyttämiseen kuuluu niinku aika paljon kohteliaisuussanat mitä suomesta puuttuu ja tietyllä tavalla myöskin se semmonen, vaikka mä sanonkin tässä kohtaa ulkokohtainen, sitten taas toisaalta siinä on sellaista henkilökohtaisuutta enemmän. Et suomessa käytetään hyvin harvoin ihmisen etunimeä, mutta sitten englannissa se tulee hyvin luontevasti ja automaattisesti. Ja juuri se, se kohtelias puheenparsi, että tuota…hmm…huomaan sen esim niinku siitä, että jos joku ulkopuolinen on kiinnittänyt siihen huomioo, on ajatellut ehkä, että onko se jotenkin "keinotekoista". Mut sitä se ei ole vaan se on erilaista. Se on todellakin ja se on mielenkiintoista.* (Suomalainen naispomo)

Yes, I do think it changes to an extent (one's own personality with language). If I think so, that I myself as a boss I also brief our staff somewhat and educate and we develop things forward together, so sometimes some things are easier to go through with the sort of "third" language which to us is English, though it is not mother tongue to some and it is for example not a mother tongue to me. So, there it becomes somewhat "objective" but then again specific politeness words that

don't exist in Finnish language, apply to basic, traditional English communication and thus in a sense, though I say "objective" here, it has then again a bit more personal tone. So in Finland we use the first name of people so rarely, but then again in English it comes very naturally and automatically. And just that, the polite dialect, is, er,… I notice it for example from that when some outside has paid attention to it, he or she might have thought that is it somehow "artificial". But that it is not, it is just different. It is so and that's why it is interesting. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish to English by Kati Nappa)

Though this does not necessarily indicate strongly a distinction between professional and personal linguistic identity, it does bring the notion that language choice affects different behavioral patterns and possible routes through which communication is then pursued. To say differently, one could say that through different linguistic identities the employees apply different tools to different situations, according to the need and specifics of that communicative event.

Going back to mentioning the idea of "working with a personality", it rose up as a strong theme that the linguistic identity of one's own persona in a multicultural workplace was considered as "something with which you work here", deploying both personal and professional aspects of one's identity. This was emphasized as crucial as it makes one's linguistic self more enriched and colorful, strengthening one's worldview and understanding of other cultural people. This was presented fruitfully in two different remarks, by a boss and an employee:

(7) **B:** *Ei oo, kyllä ne menee tosi vahvasti limittäin (henkilökohtainen ja ammatillinen kieliminä). Joo, tää oikeestaan tää meidän, noh voiko sanoa työkenttä, tai ainakin työyhteisö on sellainen, että se ikäänku antaa mahdollisuuden ja se on semmonen vahvuuskin, että täällä tehdään töitä omalla persoonalla ja se myös kuuluu ihan osana siinä työhön. Että jos me niinku halutaan vahvistaa toisten ihmisten myös niinku identiteettiä ja sitä, että löytää paikkansa täältä Suomesta ja meidän yhteisöstä ni mä koen, et se myös niinku jotenki se semmonen, mikä kuuluu myös meille, ni itse, tottakai siinä on eri tasoja, minkä verran itsestään antaa; jokainen työntekijä tekee itse sen päätöksen ikäänkun et millä tavalla niinku, et minkälainen se niinku työminä on. Mutta kyllä me siis tehdään töitä ja itse teen töitä tosi vahvasti sillä ihan omalla ja samalla persoonalla, mikä on myös niinku muissa yhteyksissä ja myös vapaa-ajalla samanlainen.* (Suomalainen naisspomo)

No, they are not separate, my personal and professional linguistic identity strongly overlap each other, yes. Sure, actually in this…well can you say our "work field", but at least our work community is like so that it kinda gives a possibility, and it is a kind of strength too, that we work here with our own persona and it also belongs to the work as a part. That if we also want to strengthen the identity of other people and that one finds their place here in Finland and Finnish society, I feel that it is also kind of, what also belongs to us, that one, of course there are different levels to it, but what amount one gives of themselves; each employee makes the decision themselves what the "professional me" is like. But yes we do work and at least I do strongly work with my own and same persona, which is similar both in other contexts and on my free time. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish to English by Kati Nappa)

(8) **E:** *Though my closest linguistic identity is Hindi, that is me, that is also what I bring to the work even when I'm speaking English. English is only used for communication, who I am is what I am, the self doesn't change while I speak English or while I speak Hindi. Individuality stays with you.*
(Indian female employee)

On the other end, as mentioned afore, some employees felt they have two distinctive selves, the professional and personal, especially when it comes to language choice. One of them stated that this is especially notable when it comes to showing emotionality or stronger body language related to some language. However, this was also the case with showing more reserved nature when utilizing other language than one's mother tongue:

(9) *I think I have a clear distinction between my work life me and personal me. Because when you talk about work life, so the whole of my life, whole day that I am here, all hours, I am with Finnish, and I have a mix language that I use with Finnish and English. But I, I emphasize more on Finnish because I communicate with Finnish people, but I have some more difficulties in writing. For speaking I can do it but for writing it's different. – But when I go out of this workplace, I have a different, especially if I meet my fellow filippinos. We, our language we speak is more emotional, it comes out more alive in action, ah, because usually filippinos speak in sign language too but the filippinos here have then lots of different dialects but we have one common dialect which is Tagalog so we speak in Tagalog and we express ourselves in that way. But I cannot express here in our workplace. So, It's, ah, I have these three languages, it depends (identity) who I am with. If I am with group of Finnish, I speak in Finnish and English is also, I use it depending on the situation. – I have to mention one thing here, it depends on the culture. Because for example the language that we use in the Philippines is always with polite way, in Tagalog. When sometimes it is affecting, like, for example, when I came here to Finland, I usually used the polite way, "te", I said always that "te". And they said that you are too polite (laughs hard), so the culture sometimes also affects.*
(Filippino female employee)

Somewhat related to this finding, in many remarks of the employees it became evident that between the distinction of professional and personal identity, the employees realized also a sort of distinction related to formality and sort of laid-back use of language when discussing one's linguistic identity. What was meant by this was that some employees recognized themselves to be far more relaxed and their "normal self" when they were outside the workplace, speaking with their native tongue. Then once entering the workplace, some employees recognized slight pressure and anxiousness when switching to different language code(s) than that of their own. This was explained through a sort of "emotional value" of different languages. This meaning that language use meant also an "emphasis" change to them and in this situation to most people the usage of other codes than their closest one carried far less meaning or genuineness in the interaction than their preferred code. This is why some employees might feel slight dislike or even reluctance when

speaking with the their less preferred code as they might imagine it does not add enough "meaning" or their true self and idea to the forwarded message. This was explained by one of the employees through a great example:

> (10) *Now that I have a daughter, I speak to her in Spanish, Spanish is my everything, it is "what I am", it is me: how I feel, how I think, how I act, my real me. Spanish is what I am and I think because in my area we have this dialect, you can call it, that what I am. So I am Spanish and it is my identity, how I feel and what I am proud of. I will give you an example, I always use the same. If I say "I love you" to someone in English, I know what it means because I know that "I love you" is "I love you", but it does not really feel "strong" for me. But if I say "Te quiero" which is the Spanish way that is like "oh my goodness I'm saying that", so that represents everything for me. Spanish is my, my language that makes me happy, that I can make jokes and feel free myself. – English I have, what has become, is what I more put as my "work" language, as I of course speak English to my partners. It is basically the language I interact with and I work with whereas Spanish is the language I feel with. My emotional language as it is, as I use it for, and when I talk to my daughter in Spanish, I MEAN it in a very deep and thoughtful way.* (Spanish male employee)

Continuing still from the emotional value of languages, what became clear was that having an emotional contact to some languages is considerably important and even beneficial in a few workplace related aspects. For example, the same Spanish employee stated that when working with especially children, if something bad happens on the workplace or someone gets hurt, then employees who have similar language with the child, for example, Spanish, in those situations switch to the same language code, to better relate to the situation of the child, supporting him or her in that situation when emotions are heavily on the surface. Similar kind of matter was pointed out by the other boss of the workplace when dealing with new multicultural users of the space and their situation and needs. She pointed out the importance of the emotional value of languages (see for example Foolen 2012) and the importance of visibly showing their diversity. In other words, how discussing what languages one speaks is a better starter than asking for one's nationality and it can reveal interesting things about a person. She stated the importance of this as thus:

> (11) *Kyllä ehdottomasti nähdään positiivisena (kieli-identiteettien määrä ja niiden näyttäminen työpaikalla), se tulee jo sillä tavalla aika vahvasti esiin jo, että melkein ensimmäiset kysymykset kun meille esimerkiksi uusi ihminen tulee ensimmäistä kertaa käymään ni hyvin usein me aloetaan keskustelu sillä, että "mitä kieliä puhut". Se on meillä ihan semmonen tietoinen valinta, me pyritään välttämään semmosta aina sitä, että vaikka "mistä tulet", "minkämaalainen olet", et se on kans vähän sellainen identiteettirasite, että kun moni voi olla ulkonäöstä riippumatta syntynyt kantasuomalainen täällä ja muuta tahansa mut sillä tavalla ei tehdä sellaisia ennakkoasetelmia siitä, että jonkun ulkonäön tai jonkun muun taustan perusteella. Ja myös sit se, että halutaan vahvistaa sitä ajatusta, että ihminen saa tulla semmoisena, kun on ja tuoda itse itsestään mitä hän haluaa. Et me oltais aina mahdollisimman paljon puhtaalta pöydältä, otettas aina ihminen kohdattais ihmisenä. --- Ja yks sellainen tähän liittyvä asia, mikä helposti täällä saattaa vähän*

unohtua on, että meillä puhutaan usein vaikka meidän viranomais, niinku esimerkiks, tai näissä jos mietitään, siis erilaisia määritelmiä, miten ihmisiä vaikka nyt lokeroidaan, vaikka et on luku- ja kirjoitustaidoton ihminen… niin helposti tulee niinku tietynlainen kuva ihmisestä vaikka joka ei sit oikeen niinku vaikka osaa mitään ja ihminen saattaa oikeasti puhua kymmentä eri kieltä. Et siks jotenkin meillä saattaa vähä helposti unohtua, että se että ihminen ei puhu meidän, ei pysty niinku kirjoita meidän aakkosia tai puhu suomea, ni ei tarkoita sitä, etteikö hänellä olisi ihan mielettömän monipuolinen kieliosaamistausta. (Suomalainen naispomo)

It is definitely seen as positive (the amount of linguistic identities and portraying them) because it comes strongly alive by that the very first questions when a new person comes to visit us for the first time, very often we start the conversation with "what languages do you speak". It is here a conscious choice, that we try to avoid that sort of "where you come from" or "what is your nationality" because it can be a kind of "identity burden" because one can be a native Finnish person despite of outlooks and born here or any other way, but so in that sense we won't then make some presumptions based on outlooks or some background. And also that we want to strengthen the idea that a person can come here as they are and bring those parts of himself or herself that he or she wants. That we would encounter people completely from a clean slate, take people as they are.— One thing related to this, something that one might forget here sometimes, is that in here when we talk about authority contexts, for example, or if we think, when giving different definitions how people are categorized, like for example illiterate person… then easily you get a specific image of a person who can't like, well do anything but the person could actually still speak 10 different languages. That sometimes we might easily forget that just because a person does not speak, does not write with our alphabet or speak Finnish, does not mean he or she cannot have an incredibly multifaceted language competence background. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish to English by Kati Nappa)

To conclude, from these remarks presented in this part one can clearly see how multifaceted and complex matter one's linguistic identity is and how oftentimes different communicative situations, even personal values and emotions, influence the constitution, utilization and portrayal of these identities. For example, in challenging situations sometimes the multiplicity of the different linguistic identities present can really be an advantage to the situation as some might be able to relate to some matters with an outer, extensive knowledge that is gained through their other linguistic identities and the vivid experiences embedded in them. Thus one could say that the portrayal and fluidity of one's linguistic identity "sides" is needed for better communication amongst a workforce of multicultural origin.

Further, considering especially workplace scenarios and professional identity side which is perhaps more under-research area than that of its personal side, it seems evident that situational awareness plays also a great part in communication in different situations. In several cases there is actually a lot beneficial sides to the workforce having a diverse face, when considering identities, especially when their potential is realized. Thus, it should not be underestimated how important these identities and their colors are to the whole intercultural communication as well as to general

workplace dynamics.

6.5 English as a lingua franca – perspective of linguistic identities and workplace communication

The last research question focused on the role of English in multicultural workplace and the perceptions and attitudes that it draws out in multicultural employees as a lingua franca and whether their linguistic identities are affected by it. Though the results presented by far have been of key interest of this study and the main focus of this study, it has to be noted that results gathered in this section were remarkably fruitful and beneficial to the understanding of the other findings, though this part was considered a more minor aspect of this paper. The results here had a big influence on the other findings when analyzing and aiming to understand them. Especially the role of English and the reactions towards it revealed a lot of interesting information about the linguistic reality of multicultural workplaces and their language practices. It also showed that there are a lot of varying views considering the benefits and hindrances of English as a dominant lingua franca.

Starting from English's role in multicultural workplaces and how it is generally viewed as a part of their lived reality, all the employees saw English as not the type of dominant language of the workplace or "eating out" other language varieties, but more as a strong support to the everyday activities of the workplace. They did not want to discuss English as a dominant language but more as a tool of communication for the everyday language practices, as mentioned earlier. The participants did recognize English to be the working language of the workplace on several occasions, the language through which most of the activities and meetings are produced, but the employees did not state English as a "corporate" language which would have been ultimately chosen for the workplace, as a rule. This was an important finding for me, as several other works in the previous sections of this study have mentioned that for many workplaces English is easily the ultimate common ruling language of the workplace for all the communication that happens in the workplace and the main language code for the intercultural communication and daily activities. Some studies have also suggested a bit differently that the management of workforce usually requires the introduction of a corporate language: not just from the point of view of management issues but also from the point of view of the wellbeing of the workers and the general atmosphere (See Angouri 2013, 2014).

As slightly mentioned in other sections earlier, one participant pointed out that though English is an advantage to the workplace and has a lot of importance in everyday linguistic situations and practices, it still is not the most important language that one needs to survive with the work. But according to this employee, who was also the boss of the workplace, pointed it out strongly that languages such as Russian, Persian and Arabic are becoming the languages which are more useful and needed in the multicultural workplace setting and can greatly benefit the intercultural communication that happens between people in everyday activities:

(12) *Usein ihmiset yllättyy, että ehkä oletus usein on, että englanti olis se sellainen yleinen niinku kieli se englannin rooli ei oo oikeastaan meillä niin vahva kun vois ajatella koska tulee paljon ihmisiä maista ja meillä käy myös kenellä ei oo sit sitä englantia. Et ku mennää Euroopan ulkopuolelle niinki lähelle ku Venäjälle esimerkiks, Thaimaa, monet Afrikan maat, ei nyt en halua yleistää, mutta tälleen niinku usein vaikka tietyltä alueilta tulevat ni se ei oo ollenkaa välttämättä se englanti se kakkoskieli. - - Tunnistan kyllä heti kummaltakin puolelta eli etuja mutta myös ikäänkun sellaisia haasteita. Etu ehdottomasti, jos mietittäis et jos meillä ei englantia käytettäis ollenkaa, se ois se toinen vaihtoehto, niin kyllähän se montaa tilannetta tota vaikeuttais meidän työyhteisössä et kyllä se ehdottomasti niinku yhtenä ikäänku, vähän niinku vois sanoa et olis mikä tahansa lisäkieli tai lisäkieliä käytössä ni kyllä se tietenkin se laajentaa sitä meidän mahdollisuutta kommunikointiin tiettyjen ihmisten osalta mutta ehdottomasti meillä ei oo semmonen kieli, mikä olis sillä tavalla dominoiva. Ja me esimerksi, meillä on usein vaikka haasteita sillä tavalla ollu et jos meillä ihmiset kysyy harjoittelua tai muuta jolla ei oo vaikka yhtä suomen kieltä niin meidän työyhteisö voi olla haastava paikka myös toimia vain englannin kielellä. -- Mun työkielenä, jos mä voisin itselleni kielitaidon valita ni mä melkeen sanoisin, että espanja tai persia tai arabia. vois olla niinku tässä työympäristössä mulle melkeinpä jopa hyödyllisempiä kieliä ku englanti. Mut se, että on mitä tahansa kieliä ni on lähtökohtaisesti positiivinen asia, ku et on vaa tällane monokulttuuri, et puhutaan vaan yhtä kieltä.* (Suomalainen naispomo)

People often get surprised that the presumption often is that English would be the so called general language, but the role of English isn't actually as strong here as one could think because there comes a lot of people from different countries and in here visits people who do not then have that English. That as we go beyond Europe, as close as to Russia for example, Thailand, several African countries, I mean I do not want to generalize now, but like oftentimes those coming from specific areas, English is not necessarily there the second language. – I really do recognize both positive sides, so benefits but also kind of challenges. The benefit is definitely that if we thought that we did not use English at all here, that would be the other choice, so it would definitely make several situations harder for us in this work community that it is definitely as one kind of, as one could say of whatever additional language or languages, so it of course expands our possibility for communication but only for some part of people here. But definitely here it is not that kind of language that would be in a sense dominant. And we for example, we often have challenges in a way that if people ask for practical training or something else and they do not have any Finnish language, then this work community can be a bit challenging to work with just English. – With my work language, if I could now choose myself a language competence, I would really say that Spanish or Persian or Arabic could kinda be more useful languages to me in this work environment than English. But, having whatever several languages, is still principally a positive thing than having some monoculture that we speak just one language. (Finnish female boss, translated from Finnish

to English by Kati Nappa)

The idea that the boss of the workplace brought up here unquestionably challenges the common ideology of the role of English as the ultimate dominant language used in a multicultural workplace. Though it is not possible to make some grander suggestions or overgeneralizations of just one person's comment, this can still be seen as a point towards a different ideology of English language's importance amongst other language codes. However, one must note that in this workplace, Finnish had a clear standing over English, as the workplace itself promoted the importance of learning Finnish for those multicultural people who use the space. The strengthening of Finnish language on these people was an important goal in the activities of the workplace and thus English at many times was not the main chosen variety for communication. Nevertheless, the linguistic variety was clearer in this workplace's linguistic landscape as in many signs there were Thai, Arabic, Russian or other varieties used.

Moving towards the various, even somewhat contradictory findings considering the use of English, it was intriguing to come across the type of "two morals" of English use in the answers of the employees. Though many stated the importance of English as clear and discussed that English language had positive attributes to the languages used generally on the workplace, many still stated, even in the same sentence, several negatives aspirations towards the dominance of English language. What is meant here is that just after stating the positive sides of English, many employees still harshly criticized the role of English right after. One could say there is perhaps some controversy to the idea whether the employees really approved of the English dominance or not or whether the positive sides carried so much importance to the general language practices and general workplace dynamics. Furthermore, it is possible to see that the personal views or the personal linguistic identities of the employees might have wanted to surface here, especially if the English language use in the workplace ignites some negative thoughts that they generally face in their everyday lives outside the workplace. The clash of whether English is positive or negative, was rather descriptively put in this sense by one of the employees:

(13) *English as a benefit or hindrance to the workplace...that is a tricky one. But I think it depends a little on the country that you're looking. For example, as a Finnish society, I think you use English as a tool to expand, to expand your resources. And like you said, English is very dominant for example in Europe, you learn it to be able to expand. And nowadays, people think that with English you go everywhere. So I have the feeling that education in general has narrowed their views too much into English and a little bit like neglecting languages that are growing a lot like German or*

Spanish. For example, we (Spanish) are the second largest in the world! But then many are like "Spanish...ehh". But yes...could be that in certain levels it is true that English has like overshadowed all the languages. England and all. They are so powerful. But they were smart enough to expand the languages long time ago, things that for example Spain is doing nowadays, putting academies all over Europe to invite the people to learn the language...psssh, English done it years ago. So, it is also how easy the access to the language is. English, there is access everyone, school is all English English English. So, it could be that English has a little bit overtaken everything and I personally think that for example. Spanish as the second largest should be reinforced as well because with it you could go anywhere too. (Spanish male employee)

This response of the employee shows clear back-and-forth controversy towards the English language dominance and its usage and that it truly raises a lot of emotions to the surface for many multicultural people, considering their own linguistic selves. Considering the connection between English and the linguistic identities of employees, both bosses and employees highlighted that language and identity are always strongly connected to behavior and thus some mentioned not feeling their "fullest" selves when employing English language. Due to this fact many felt rather passionately about English and saw it sometimes hindering their own national or linguistic self and their being on the workplace. This can be related to the findings in previous part, about the emotional contact affecting language use and relation.

Lastly, though not a repeated theme amongst the participants, one participant pointed out an important fact about Finnish workplaces after discussing the importance of English to several workplaces. Though this person mentioned being content in her present workplace and being able to work there due to use of English language, thus giving her a place where she can be understood and gain a living, she mentioned clearly that this is not the case in many workplaces in Finland due to language problems. For example, so many multicultural workplaces in Finland still rely heavily on strong understanding of Finnish and expect brilliant command of it from multicultural employees and it thus limits the possibilities and poses challenges for many employees of different cultural origin. These matters were reflected thus by one employee, reflecting English language importance to these problematics:

(14) *I think that English language in this workplace, it unites us. We all come from so many different continents, so many different parts of the world here so we have one common language by which we are communicating together, working together, understanding each other, dealing with each other. So in that way I would say it has its positive side. I do not understand what is the negativity about it or is there any negative point about it. I only see it as positive, as worldwide also. It is good that, I know that English is a dominating language, it is good that at least there is one language in the world which most of the population of this world speaks. So, it is easy to kinda if you move from*

one country to another, at least there is one language. Also, we have here people or then families who do not have any language, no Finnish or not English also but then at least in English they can say "yes, no, thank you". (Indian female employee)

(15) *There one more thing I would like to add here is that at this workplace, even though English is dominating here but it is not, in other parts of Finland it is not like that, in other workplaces it is not like that. For example me, I am qualified with a professional teacher's education, I have that degree but my problem is that how many professional colleges are here which are in English? You can just count them with just your fingertips, right... So those are my only chances to get work as a teacher in professional schools like applied sciences and other professional colleges here. If there is one language which is like spoken all around the world, thinking that it is one common language to interact with the rest of the world, then I do not think there's anything wrong or anything negative about it. Sometimes our chances here are reduced because of language problems...I speak good Finnish, but it is not up to that level that I can teach adults.* (Indian female employee)

Though this finding was only mentioned by one, I found it substantially important as I believe it considers the reality of Finnish workplaces very thoroughly and their language practices and what challenges are faced by multicultural people in these settings. Further, it shows that also in Finland, intercultural communication and multilingualism in multicultural workplaces is still under construction and requires future inspection, recognition and research, especially from the perspective of multicultural employees' needs.

To conclude, on the basis of the listed findings it can be noted that English language certainly raises up different emotions and views inbetween different multicultural people and there is a variety of attitudes towards its usage, its usefulness and its status amongst other language codes. The fluctuating degree of these mindsets truly point out that the discussion about the global dominance of English in multicultural places has not yet reached its end and there is still more to learn about the utilization of it, considering the different trends of future such as increasing multiculturalism, rise of local languages, internationalisation of work dynamics, focus on language competences of employees, to cite a few. To think about especially this last one, Angouri (2013) reminds us of the growing notion of several modern day workplaces: the fact about about "language" gaps that might occur between employees. What this means is that some employees might have better competence in the workplace's languages than others and thus this can have influence on the successfulness of the workplace. It can hinder the dynamics of the workplaces and thus these matters should be closely looked upon in future, understanding the ways in which employees deploy different languages (Angouri 2013: 574.).

7 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to investigate the linguistic identities of multicultural employees in multicultural workplaces, envisage and capture the visibility of multiculturalism and multilingualism in physical workspace (linguistic landscape) and discuss the role and representation of different languages, including English as a lingua franca, in the language patterns and choices of the workplace, considering the daily communication dynamics. The aim was to show how in a number of ways multiculturalism and multilingualism is dealt with in Finnish multicultural workplaces and what kind of benefits but also challenges a diverse workplace faces when language practices, intercultural communication and multiple identifications possessed by employees of various origins are considered. Thus, in this study the focus was placed on not just the physical space and its attributes but also on the portrayal and importance of the linguistic identities of multicultural employees, both from the perspective of professional and personal side of identity. With the physical working environment, the aim was to provide a fresh look into the visual appearance of multicultural workplaces and how the different elements of the space build multiculturalism and multilingualism. The focus points were different cultural symbols, signs, visibility languages, cultural richness and other visual representations. With the linguistic identities side of research, the main idea was to set light to the multiplicity of these identities within multicultural employees and understand the variety of ways in which these identities are portrayed, constructed and maintained by the employees. Along with this, the reflections and perceptions of multicultural employees on the everyday language practices, the use and role of English and general work dynamics were discussed.

Thus, in relation to above aspects, the research questions were presented as thus:

Table 1. Research questions and their sub questions

Research question	Sub question 1	Sub question 2
1) How are languages represented in a multicultural	**1.1** Is there a specific pattern or position of languages	**1.2** How are multilingualism and multiculturalism

working environment?	shown in the linguistic landscape of the space?	supported in the physical space and what are the attitudes towards them?
2) How do the participants construct their linguistic identities in a multicultural workplace?	**2.1** Do the participants make a distinction between their personal and professional linguistic identities? If yes, how are these described and do the two have connections between one another?	**2.2** According to the perceptions of the employees, how does English as a lingua franca affect their linguistic identities?

Considering data and methods, this study was carried out with two different samples of data and it was also analyzed with two different methods. The data was collected by taking photographs of the linguistic landscape and also interviewing five different employees about their linguistic identities. In the visual, photograph part the focus was placed on different linguistic landscape characteristics like code preference, emplacement but also on different visual representations found in signs, walls and posters, showing the language use in space. In total 38 photographs were taken and 10 of them was chosen for final analysis. In the interviews, the participants were asked of their views and thoughts on the general multilingualism and multiculturalism in the workplace, the use and role of English and the ways of construction, maintenance and portrayal of linguistic identities, both professional and personal. Five hour long interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and the ideas gathered from these were reflected to the linguistic landscape data. Thus, both of the data samples supported one another in the analysis section. Considering the methods, for this study theme-centered content-analysis and ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis were used combined together to make sense of the multifaceted, qualitative data. Content analysis allowed answers to several questions such as who, what, how, why and was suitable tool when discussing large amounts of information-full data with themes and variations in views. For photographs, the use of ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis with the help of Blommaert (2013) was chosen as it helped to include into analysis the understanding of language use, social landscape, semiotics, written language visibility and so on. This was a suitable tool for qualitative data with photographs where inclusive methods were not used. Blommaert (2013)

functioned as a side help with this to further comprehend and illustrate the basic linguistic landscape characteristics and the effect of these to the visuality of multiculturalism and multilingualism.

Reflecting on the most important findings of this study, the results showed that the different multicultural employees recognized themselves and also others to have a variety of different linguistic identities when working amongst this type of workplace and workforce and they portrayed these identities in multiple ways, depending much on the occasion and the people they were interacting with. Though many pointed out that they identify with different language varieties in various manners, there were rather varying, nuanced answers considering the distinction between one's professional linguistic identity and personal linguistic identity and how they made sense of the flux between the two. For example, to some the two proved to be almost inseparable as to some others there were clear differences in the language use when switching between these identities. Some employees stated to feel more relaxed on their free time when using languages relating to their personal identities whereas then on workplace, they found themselves being in a different "mode". Some employees on the contrary did not make strong distinction between the language use either from professional or personal level, but they stated that depending on the language, some elements might be added or excluded in different situations with different people. However, according to the interviewees themselves, it was notable that the distinction between the two (if one recognized it), became especially evident when changing from one's own mother tongue to using English at the workplace scenario. From many notions, the employees higlighted that their general being and way to communicate, even behaviour changes to slightly different, even turns to more polite one when communicating with English than with for example their mothertongue. Nevertheless, they saw the importance of both linguistic identity sides to their everyday life. Towards differences in language use, many still reflected that this kind of job is done with one's personality and the spectrum of linguistic identities and their utilization is fluid, adapting to situations at hand and the needs of them.

From the perspective of the construction of linguistic identity, it was noticeable that all the participants found it to be an important part of their everyday life. Most would especially in their free time do a lot of reading and self-education to help keep their linguistic identities up-to-date and developing. The activities would range from cultural activities to various pastime activities and to travelling and watching movies. To some participants, this would mean also taking part in some

language courses and other events arranged in their hometown area. Considering workplace environment, some employees described it as essential to talk and communicate freely and often with colleagues of diverse backgrounds and also native English speakers to keep their linguistic selves enriched with knowledge. All participants considered the work scenery as the type which enabled one to learn each day something new from others in the daily activities and thus keeping their linguistic selves constantly influenced and "under construction", developing day after day.

To discuss the way in which multiculturalism and multilingualism was represented in linguistic landscape, there were several matters that reflected the reality of these two. For example, the diversity was represented through the placement of different multicultural brochures and posters on the walls of workplace, world maps and the works of the users of the space. Also, the usage of distinct colors and various cultural symbols were presented clearly in the physical space. It showed that the main idea was more in the general representation of different multiple cultures at a space and showcasing the lived reality of a diverse community, rather than focusing on the representation of some specific community or "dominant" cultural group of the space. In addition, the employees and the users of the space themselves contributed the overall multiculturalism of the space, describing how a large number of cultural events take place in the landscape and how multinational groups are the everyday part of the workdays and different practices.

From the perspective of multilingualism, it became evident that English and Finnish were the main dominant language codes used in the space and were most visible at first look, but the placement and code preference of the two varied between spaces, depending on either the usage or the activities happening in the space or due to specific location of the space in the building. However, a notable aspect in the representation of the languages were the main purpose of the workplace and its function. The other workplace marketed itself as an English-speaking and teaching environment for multicultural people and thus on many instances the first dominant language code in different signs and posters were English. However, the other workplace marketed itself on its sites and event brochures as a multicultural meeting spot for people from various cultures and offering them especially courses and help with Finnish. Thus, in this space the dominant code was often first Finnish and then English. Hence, one could say that the pattern of visible language use was closely related to the main function of the space.

When illustrating both workplaces and considering linguistic diversity, there were some other language codes available in both that could be reflected to the variety of the users of the space, but

the difference between the two workplaces was distinctive from the visibility of these markers. In the multicultural meeting spot the language variety was larger and more visually represented than in the other and other language varieties could be spotted from several signs and brochures more often. In the other, public sector workplace, only in some few instances could one see other language varieties being present but even when these were visible, they were few in number and did not seem to have a strong foothold in the space. To portray it better, in the multicultural meeting spot some signs were completely written in other languages than English or Finnish, for example in Russian, Hindi or Arabic, whereas in the other workplace there was noticeably far less visibility of other languages used in the space in signs or brochures, as in most cases the dominant codes were only visible. Some few instances of Swedish and Arabic was found in some informative brochures but the visibility of these was really scarce.

Moving towards discussing how the use of English as a lingua franca affected the working environment and how employees perceived it both from the perspective of their identities as well as the general dynamics, the strongest finding was that it raised up several different emotions amongst employees, considering its relation to their own linguistic identities as well as the usage of English generally in the workplace as a means of communication. Several employees stated that they do not see English as the utmost dominant language of the workplace even though the main common language of the everyday activities is mostly English. English was described as the type of working language that aids the communication on the workplace and unites employees, but it does not eat out the use of other languages or lower their importance on a general level. This proved to be the case as Finnish and other smaller language varieties were present in the everyday activities of the workplace and the visibility and utilization of them was accepted and considered positive both from the perspective of the bosses as well as the employees themselves. The general atmosphere towards diversity in languages was thus gladly welcomed and none saw it as a hindrance to the community around or for the daily activities. It was stated by the participants that multiple languages and their visibility enhances the general multiculturalism on the workplace and invites tolerance and understanding of the different varieties.

However, one could detect also some negative and even contradictory connotations and views considering English language use and its status as a dominant lingua franca. For example, one employee stated that English does not give enough room to the flourish of other languages, not even those that are the other dominant languages used in the world today as it overshadows them

with its powerful status. This employee also stated that the power dominance of English is problematic; there is a need for other languages, but the problem lies in the slow expansion and access to them and the process of their growth is often disadvantaged compared to bigger varieties. Many other participants related to this by criticizing that the use of English as an only, dominant workplace language is complicated because the fact is that the reality of multicultural workplaces is changing, and cultural diversity and linguistic diversity is growing and there is a need for understanding and including other language varieties, global and local, to the workplace. This was fruitfully emphasized by one employee who pointed out as exemplary that many multicultural workplaces in Finnish soil where a multicultural and multilingual person could work, rely still heavily on the dominance of just Finnish and one having brilliant command of it, thus making the job prospects harder for foreign employees to fit in. As a result, language problems reduce possibilities of multicultural employees. Last, considering the workplaces at present, many participants, especially the bosses, stated that other language varieties are actually often more useful in a culturally diverse workplace than English and especially in Finnish multicultural places, the employees and users of the space who arrive there are rarely the ones with English language in their repertoire as dominant language or have competence in it as much. Thus, there is a need for other languages also in the future.

To point out lastly to the linguistic identity side, many described English to be often the language they "work with" and thus part of their professional self rather than their personal self. Though many employees did see the importance of using a language that everyone can understand in a workplace, some pointed out that English language did not make them feel always the most comfortable in communicative situations and would even describe using it dominantly as somewhat tiring. This feeling thus explained also why some participants did made a strong distinction between their professional and personal linguistic identity and why they deployed languages in specific ways. Thus, English was seen a part of the identity, affecting some situations but it was mostly illustrated as an aid to the other languages and as a work-related language, but it was not seen as dominant or heavily important amongst the other languages used by participants. Many would naturally consider their mother tongue to be closest to their heart and emotions.

7.1 Evaluation of the study

The main purpose of this study was to provide a fresh outlook on the multicultural workplaces in Finland today and show how their language practices are constructed and in which ways multiculturalism and multilingualism is visible in the actual everyday life of the workplace, in the linguistic landscape. The aim was to illustrate how multiculturalism and languages are practically captured in the space, from signs to different decorative elements, from dominant workplace language English to other varieties, showcasing the lived reality of their existence, placement, versatility and multiplicity. Further, the study aimed to direct attention to the versatility of linguistic identities utilized, constructed and possessed by multicultural employees, offering insight to how through a variety of ways these are portrayed and how they affect both the dynamics of the workforce as well as the language use in a diverse work environment. Hence, through the findings the goal was to both encourage different professionals to recognize and comprehend these identities better and also utilize them as a route to raising potential in workforce and daily dynamics, tasks and communication and also to realize the important role of physical space in building intercultural communication and cultural diversity.

In its entirety, since this study revolved around three distinctive interests combined together, linguistic landscape, language practices and multiculturalism and multilingualism and linguistic identities, it was reasonable to conduct the research in a smaller scale, to keep the balance between all research topics included and to enable better possibility for an in-depth conduction of the matters, especially considering linguistic identities. It ought to be clarified that though smaller data sample might help having time to focus on the findings and different aspects of the data more in depth, for example in this case the interview comments of participants, it is still difficult to capture the full essence of all the three aspects of the work and all their countless possibilities and variabilities. I recognize that I could not go as much in depth to all three areas as I wanted and thus decided to place focus on the strongest area of the study which was the interviews on linguistic identities. Smaller scale naturally brings some limitation to the study and thus the findings of this researched can not be generalized into all multicultural people. However, the findings did show relevance and similarity, but also contradiction, to the other studies conducted earlier on same matters. However, it is true that complete reliability, in other words possible repetitiveness of the study with same results, may most likely not be possible due to the complexity and subjectivity of

the discussed issues, though some similar results and ideas could occur.

Considering the data collection, the study utilized in-depth interviews and taking photographs of the workplaces. To find out how the multiculturalism and multilingualism is portrayed and supported, I believe this combination was a suitable choice for a study such as this which deal with these matters mostly from point of view of linguistic identity and linguistic landscape. With in-depth interviews, it was possible get more fruitful and deeper answers to the research questions as to what could have been reached with an extensive questionnaire or possibly group interview. A group interview could have possibly narrowed down the variability of answers and also decreased the emergence of more personal, even striking opinions considering the matters discussed. After all, most of the researched questions dealt with big, even sensitive issues such as identity and thus some important findings might not have come alive as in the solo, in-depth interviews. Also, these solo interviews gave more chance for the freedom of speech and the real voice and emotions of the participants to be captured effectively. It is true that there is always a possibility for the researcher to make his or her own assumptions of the answers of the participants, but to avoid this, in the beginning of each interview and even during it, as a researcher I sought to give them always extra room to fill in their answers and encouraged them for openness and trusting their own personal view of the matters and bringing it forth in their own way. Though many of the questions were heavily detailed and could in a sense limit the study findings and guide too much but since many of the aspects of the work were quite complex issues, it was inevitable to include thoroughly "explained" questions. Nevertheless, by encouragement and also relating to the issues myself as a person, I believe I gave the interviewees the feeling of a conversation about the situation, rather than data collection. I believe this helped the participants to really reflect on the research matters in themselves and at workplace and thus the data came out as deep and rich in detail. I believe this contributes well to both reliability as well as validity of the study.

Reflecting briefly on the participants of this study, one naturally could have had maybe more fruitful findings with a bigger data sample, offering thus bigger theme categories to be taken into consideration, but I believe small data sample was beneficial for the purposes of this paper, as three-dimensional research was a huge task by itself. Furthermore, I managed to receive very out-spoken participants, all of which had extensive multicultural work experience behind and several linguistic identities to themselves. Thus, in this study I received an extensive range of opinions, even the types of answers I did not expect to arise at all. Most of the participants did mention

having thought of these issues a lot in their own life and that is a likely reason for the prolific nature of the data.

Last, since the data in this research was that of a qualitative one, it was required to have analysis tool that would support the interpretations well, thus in this case choosing content analysis and ethnographic linguistic landscape analysis. Nevertheless, it is true that the interpretations of the researcher are always that of his or her own and can sometimes result into misinterpretations. To ensure this would happen as little as possible, I made the research questions in a very thorough manner and asking always clarifying questions about the answers of any of the participants when needed to understand all remarks they made. Participants themselves could vice versa ask questions of the discussed matters in return. Further, since this study was that of extensive kind with multiple points to be taken into consideration, I did not make any hypothesis beforehand because I did not want it to guide my thinking, not in the interviews or during photographing or even before that. I also read the data through multiple times before, during and after producing the final analysis. As final, as a personal choice, I wanted to focus more in bringing alive the experiences and inner thoughts of the participants rather than producing "overanalysis" of everything that occured in the data, enabling the data also to speak for itself.

7.2 Reflections on previous research

As we move to discuss the outcomes of this study and their relation to existing knowledge, considering the perspective of general multiculturalism and multilingualism in language practices of multicultural workplaces, multiculturalism and multilingualism visibility in linguistic landscape, the linguistic identities of employees and the role of English as a lingua franca, it shall be the key focus of this section to introduce a variety of findings from previous research and relate it to the main findings of this research, comparing and contrasting the most interesting notions. However, it must be remembered that since the conducted research on the fields around these research interests are that of incessant nature, only some few, brief examples will be given here reflection, to provide the last conclusion and few insights to the matters discussed in this paper.

To begin with the general multiculturalism and multilingualism from the perspective of language practices and intercultural communication, the findings in this study showed that though in multicultural workplaces the linguistic diversity seems to be generally accepted and respected

every day trait, giving chance for other languages than just the dominant ones occur on a daily basis, the reality is still that oftentimes the other varieties stay behind the communication that is directed at the dominant language varieties in workplace. This study showed that though many nationalities and cultural groups can be present in the workplace and be a part of the everyday practices, many workplaces function with the introduction of a corporate language and other language varieties come often as a sideproduct. Thus, in these cases the successful, multilingual intercultural communication can be a type of "lived dream" rather than the actual reality, proving that introduction of multilingualism is a complex issue to pull through in a diverse workforce where employees' competences and linguistic selves vary greatly, not to mention the possible access to languages. It thus seems that internationalization of practices is either stuck with creating uniformity and standardization or specializationg and localization around language use (Yanaprasart and Lüdi 2018). Since this proves challenging, the communication is sorted out often with dominant varieties, one of them being English in most cases. These findings of the present study was supported similarly by Ladegaard and Jenks (2015: 4-5) who stated that these type of problems in intercultural communication often rise from the unequal access, lack of resources of workplace or power matters in the workplace, thus also creating social issues around the communication. They also stated that oftentimes the local context is neglected in workplace, forgetting the reality around employees and their various backgrounds, forgetting that for some employees it might be challenging to discuss specific matters or negotiate in a foreign language, let alone voice their needs. This is what came alive in the remarks of the participants in this study too who recognised the need for other varieties and their considering language barriers and the diversity of identities amongst multicultural workplace.

Nevertheless, what Ladegaard and Jenks (2015) did highlight in a bit different light than the participants in this research was that though multiculturalism is an integral part of communication on global workplaces, it is still not what dominantly constitutes one's way to communicate and behave in different situations. Ladegaard and Jenks (2015) argued instead that though culture's existence is recognisable on people in communicative situations, people still create culture also simultaneously in communication as they interact with people in various ways. Thus, culture is more flexible than what we consider it to be when we interact with people from different origins. In other words, culture has creative flexibility to itself, including continuous dynamic nature and thus we rarely orient towards only it when engaging in conversations (Ladegaard and Jenks 2015:

5). This was rather critical contrast, as in this research many of the ideas that came alive were highly represented through one's relation to their cultural group or self and thus related to the ways of communication and behaviour. It seems that the current belief is still very much directed to the traditional views of intercultural communication being culture-centered phenomenon.

Continueing to the linguistic landscape area of the study, Taylor-Leech (2012) suggested that the way in which languages and cultures are explored, formed and viewed in the space in signs and other visual representations, depends greatly on the perceptions of the author of the sign and what he or she suggests as the viewers of the given sign (Taylor-Leech 2012: 20). Related to this comes together the history, location and the cultural, also societal frame around the sign, all of which can affect the linguistic style of the sign. What became similarly evident in the study of this paper was that surroundings and emplacements affected greatly the nature of the given sign, the usage of colours and even the choice between official language use and informal language use. It seemed that in this study the more central the location was and that of closer to bigger parts of the workplace, the more official the language use was and dominant varities of the community were placed as most visible. Further, the more one moved towards smaller and for example specific activity-based spaces, the more informal or multifaceted the language visibility became. Several language varieties were present, though some of them not always located in the most successful way. However, it clearly seemed that in all these signs the base idea was the interpretation of the possible viewers of the signs and visual representations. In addition, as Taylor-Leech's (2012) study also realized, the informative basis of the sign usually affect the choice between multiple languages as well as the choice between official and informal. Considering the case of Taylor-Leech (2012) study showing that the more official, information based the sign was the more the preferred code was that of a local variety, the results of this study can be seen understandable as also in the case of the two workplaces in this study, the similar outcome occured. However, it should be noted that in this case the local variety was that of dominant status in both workplaces and thus it is difficult to say whether the multilingualism has enough floor to flourish in the scenery though other varieties could be found visually placed on different locations. With the outcomes of this study it was clear that the space itself offered more culturally rich and multilingual signs than the actual practices themselves.

Approaching the matters related to the linguistic identities of employees, Angouri and Marra (2012) note that language is often the indicator that allows flexibility between our multiple

identities as we engage in interaction with others. They state that these identities are constructed through such matters as linguistic choices, social structures and the utilization of various linguistic repertoires (Angouri and Marra 2012: 1). This came similarly alive in the present study, as many participants reflected that their use of language, even code-switching between one language to another, is affected by each communicative situation as separate, opting for the most suitable language to fit the situation and fit with the person they are interacting with. Similarly, they stated to own considerably different type of linguistic repertoire when it comes to their mothertongue and other language varieties, noting that many social aspects also affect they ways in which they behave.

However, Molinelli (2017: 33-34) reflects that language use actually has two different faces when discussing identity: on the other hand that language can emerge externalised from the speaker, in the environment as its own creation to which individual then grasps in his or her own manner, making it personal. On the other hand, it is seen as an inseparable part of individual's identity and lives in the ideologies and agency of the person itself. In other words, Molinelli (2017) highlights that language is a communicative event which is affected by several matters, from communicative intentions to social aspects, all the way to the goals and desires of speakers to interact, either in negative or positive light to those they are engaged in conversation with. The idea behind this can be reflected to the multifaceted nature of the identities that were presented in this paper by the participants. As it became clear, many of them relied both on external as well as internal resources in the construction of their linguistic identities, also realizing the fluidity of them in communication in various, different situations. To many, the linguistic identity and their nature, even constitution, was greatly shaped by the working environment and the surrounding community too, let alone their own personal goals. Hence, it can be realized to be true that language use and identity's relation to it is rarely simplistic and the different identifications can be also created anew, altered both from outside as well as from inside, also considering the needs and wishes of the person itself. As many participants portrayed it that personalized individuality is a key ingredient in the formation of one's linguistic identity and its uniqueness.

Turning to the last aspect of this study, which was the role of English as a lingua franca in multicultural workplace and the attitudes towards it, it was noticed that the participants of this study both realized negative and positive nature around its usage, some of them even expressing strong opinions on its ultimate dominance as a language of multicultural work. There was definite,

fluctuating attitudes towards its usefulness to workplace communication as well as to its dominant, often times favoured status amongst other language varieties. Neither of these proved to be unexpected findings since we are at the moment in the middle of a critical era when viewing the role of English language in the internationalising work world. Just as this study showed multifaceted views on the matter, so has the views on other works been just as extensively from one end to another. House (2003) started by presenting over ten years ago a contrasting view to the idea that English would threaten other language varieties. She opted against the common belief of English being a killer language, destroying the chances of other varieties with its existence. Especially discussing English as a lingua franca, she pointed out that it is as much of a multifaceted variety of language as that of any other variety.

However, Hämäläinen (2018) points out that the dominance of one language, in many international workplace contexts that being English as a lingua franca, can even result in burnout stage on employees if their needs and welfare towards language use is not taken into consideration. Hämäläinen (2018) thus reflects that the introduction of one dominant corporate language variety can prove harmful effects to the employees of diverse backgrounds, suggesting that English language requires further ethical inspection. However, there has also emerged studies that suggest that language maintenance and shared language learning can prove useful for multicultural employees in organizations where English is one of the common languages, giving one chance for better intercultural communication and also a possible introduction of other languages. The article by Hämäläinen (2018) suggested that when support in language maintenance is given both in Finnish learning on societal level, as well as supporting English learning in workplace scenario, to survive the daily tasks, the employees are in better position to focus on their other additional languages and the maintenance of them. Thus, this study gave a view to the importance of encouragement in the use and maintenance of additional languages, enhancing employees' feeling of being included in the community as they are with this other varieties. All of these studies show the utterly fluctuating essence of English, providing some viewpoints to its good and bad parts. As the present study here further showed, it seems that the complex and unpredictable reality in the role and understanding of English as a lingua franca will continue to prevail. However, from these insights one can realize that multilingualism and its increase and need in the society will likely grow and more research is needed to face the challenges it brings, as world steers towards slowly the ideas of glocalization versus globalisation.

7.3 Implications for practitioners and academic audience

Considering the topic of this study, it is possible that the findings of this study might prove to be useful for many multicultural workers and multicultural workplaces who deal with various types of issues surrounding the multicultural or diverse workplace or intercultural communication. This type of research might offer interesting but also applicable information to several academic professionals, people who come face to face with cultural versatility on day to day basis. It could be for example seen as useful to employers to better comprehend their employees and make the most of the diverse workforce, letting the employees themselves also further influence the practices and management choices. Moreover, this might open the eyes of the employers to the multifaceted nature of the identities of their employees and how those possessed identities can be used beneficially for the firm's successfulness and general work dynamics, let alone the wellbeing of employees and general atmosphere. Acknowledging those identities, not just their surface level, might also improve the understanding of the needs of the employees, ignite the introduction and development of versatile working methods and encourage employers and employees to work harder for effective intercultural communication. After all most of the behavior, actions and choices that individuals make are affected strongly by their linguistic and cultural identities they have and wish to portray, the social groups they identify with and the general atmosphere that the workplace offers. Nevertheless, the eyes should not be directed at just global leaders on these matters, but both employees too: both leaders and employees ought to receive training and education on these matters in order to build and develop their flexibility, openness and understanding. With the help of such education, several professionals could estables new traditions, creating a colorful set of common values to the workplace (Castenada and Bateh 2013).

Viewing this in a bigger scale, international companies or other global companies could use this information to their advantage for the enhancement of intercultural communication and workplace management and create material packages together where they share the best information and advice considering the comprehension of diverse workforce and the ways of combining the potential of culturally diverse employees (See for example Schnurr and Zayts 2017 and Lisak, Erez, Sui and Lee 2016) They could provide fresh information and guide on the importance of making use of multiple identities and competences of employees. They could build programmes or tools, even technological devices and programs, especially tailored for multicultural or multinational

workplaces, working in teams of multicultural people to ensure various viewpoints and ensure versatility, equality and adaptability of the materials. These materials could help with several challenges that are related to the integration of multiculturalism and multilingualism in work scene. After all, there is a growing need for this type of material packages in multicultural working, not just globally, but especially on Finnish multicultural workplaces (See Kilpinen 2013 and Arola 2007).

Considering the role of English as a lingua franca and general multilingualism in multicultural workplaces, this study could offer fresh, useful information on understanding the language dynamics of multicultural workplace and what influence the dominance of English has in it. It could show new viewpoints to the variety of aspects that influence the choices of utilized languages, as well as how English is used as oftentimes more as a tool of intercultural communication in today's multicultural workplace in Finland and abroad. It would be essential to realize how dominant language codes, such as English, can influence the usage of other languages in the workplace and affect the reality and representation of multilingualism and multiculturalism, both positively and negatively. This study could provide points for various workplaces and academics in understanding that there exist also weak points in the dominance of English language that are not always detected right away. In addition, often the role and usage of English in different communicative situations might not be so clear-cut or predetermined and its status not as watertight. Related to this is the importance of how multicultural employees, even bosses, personally relate to the usage of English, its status and its adaptation in different communicative situations in workplace scenarios and how different cultural values are represented and dealt with. As this study has shown, it is essential to realize the trends of the future: how other languages, not just English or other dominant codes, but for example local varieties, can offer and open different possibilities to the workplace and make it more successful. However, reaching a fruitful reality of multilingualism and multiculturalism in workplaces does not come without the effort of both the bosses as well as the employees.

Lastly to reflect this study and its outcomes especially on the Finnish context, this study could offer general and useful information for work life professionals all over Finland about culturally diverse work settings and how Finnish multicultural workplaces function in present day Finland. It could provide some new understanding of the relationships between matters such as identity, linguistic landscape and multiculturalism and multilingualism in Finnish scene. As for example

Kärnä (2016) who has among others already suggested, there is a growing need to understand the relation between English as a lingua franca, multilingualism and its various aspects, multicultural employees and the culturally diverse work settings that are to increase in number in the years to come: not just locally but also globally. Further, as briefly mentioned in the previous research section of Finnish context (2.3), the Diversity Barometer compiled in Finland in 2016 showed that multiculturalism and its growth proves a useful advantage to several work dynamics in everyday work life. According to the barometer, ethnic diversity affects workplace communication and dynamics, giving a chance for different viewpoints to arise, allowing the enhancement of investing and development, the diversification of know-how, better customer service, the expansion of world view of employees and growth of tolerance (Työterveyslaitos, Diversity Barometer 2016). So this as a finding further proves that it is crucial to research these matters and pay attention to them in Finnish soil, enhancing positive attitude towards the increase of multicultural and multilingual workforces.

7.4 Aspirations for broader community

Taking a more general everyday life approach, this study could provide general important information for anyone interested in intercultural competence, identification of multicultural employees, language practices of Finnish multicultural workplaces and the identity construction of people from diverse backgrounds. In other words, this could be useful to any person who is facing any type of multiculturality on his or her daily life and hopes to build his or her own linguistic, cultural awareness. They could gain new insights to how also themselves to enrich and discuss their own identities related to the multiculturalism and multilingualism and perhaps find new ways to promote those various identities and their potential in themselves. Further, they could gain more knowledge on how to understand the complexity of these issues and how to encounter people from various origins in a more effective and open way, developing their "cultural lens" and intercultural communication skills. In addition, this study could be useful for other workplaces, not necessarily just multicultural, who have intentions of diversifying their staff or introducing their business to international markets. It could help them to foresee how multicultural workplaces proceed these matters and apply it to their own scenarios, realizing the complexities ahead beforehand.

   To continue, to reflect some notions what I, the author of this study, would desire this work to

ignite is the understanding that nothing comes black and white in present day multicultural workplaces and employees are more than ever eager to bring into daylight different identities and viewpoints they possess. It has become almost a trend to let one's these identities and their potential to flourish in the workplaces, enhancing communication: not just for the effectiveness of the dynamics but also for the general atmosphere surrounding workforce in daily tasks and communication. Frequently these multiple identifications are taken for granted or not recognized to their full picture, some of them even overshadowed by dominant, non-fluid working methods or even dominant language use in certain situations. Hence, this paper encourages to see through the veil and understand that for example the linguistic choices made each day by employees and bosses often have deep-rooted reasons behind, in other words, conscious choices affected by identifications but also one's personality and cultural self. Several employees and bosses deploy a variety of tools, repertoires and strategies to communicate as effectively as they can, and these affect greatly how several everyday situations turn out.

Thus, this paper is aimed for anyone interested in multiculturalism and multilingualism matters in general and naturally, even more specifically for various workplace professionals, to acknowledge better the importance of these aspects in everyday work life. Information and knowledge about these factors are needed to enhance communication, exclude unnecessary tensions, lessen power status differences, remove discrimination and in general increase linguistic and cultural awareness. It is impossible to work through these matters unless stepping into discomfort zone occasionally and working together with the whole workforce. Everyone should receive fresh information on how to cope with multiculturalism in daily life and thus workforce should be educated on these matters, teaching professionals to recognize also their own ways of thinking and acting and thus learn to adapt better in challenging situations and cultural clashes. This could enhance greatly the social relations and interactions between multiethnic staff.

Also, what has become quite relevant recently in the field of intercultural communication and about multiculturalism and multilingualism, is the discussion around competences. Nowadays work life pays even more attention to different competences of employees, even those that are outside their professional work self. Related to this comes also different language expectations that are becoming relevant to several workplaces and their dynamics. However, though it is relevant to see this change in work life, also in multicultural workplaces, it should be noted that not all matters should be changed at once and if changes or education is needed, all work force should be kept at

the same level about these things and everyone should have equal chances to show their needs regarding self-improvement at work. It should be the common goal of all work force to be educated about work matters and multiculturalism equally, not just those that have for example wider and more multiform language competences than others. This becomes more evident as multinational teams and projects and team building are becoming the main themes of today's workplaces. So thus, with this research I desire to encourage the idea that enhancing multicultural work is possible through tightly knit teamwork and taking challenges as possibilities for learning.

7.5 Towards future research

For future research it would be highly important to shift the research focus from school and higher education contexts to workplace contexts in order to understand the versatile issues related to language practices and multiculturalism and multilingualism in workplaces. This is essential as working life is becoming more multicultural rapidly and more understanding and learning of international competence and cultural and linguistic identifications is needed. One needs to realize that the Finnish scene has not yet seen a strong increase in workplace related studies, especially when reflecting on multiculturalism, multilingualism and linguistic landscape. Thus, there definitely is room for more studies conducted in these settings and more information is needed. Ultimately, this is the step the working life must take to ensure better intercultural communication and better, more flexible language practices and efficient multicultural work. Related to this is the understanding of multiple language identities that employees possess and how they construct themselves through it daily and also the role of physical space in the support of multilingualism. For future professionals and bosses of multicultural firms it is essential to understand and recognize the potential as well as the challenges of these matters, not just from the academic point of view but also personal point of view, especially when discussing identity construction and language maintenance. It is relevant for these workplaces to aim for as good as possible workplace dynamics and fluidity in communication, allowing the different cultural identifications flourish and working together towards a more tolerant and accepting future.

In addition, it would be necessary to take a deeper look into the importance of linguistic landscapes of workplaces, focusing on bigger, specific locations such as buildings, centers, organizations, public sector workplaces, to cite a few, rather than just paying attention to whole

streets or bigger cityscapes in general. It is true that those studies that have dealt with city and schoolscapes and the multiple languages that emerge in them are relevant, but there still seems to be relatively scarce amount of studies that would examine multilingualism and multiculturalism in more specific locations or especially workplace scenarios. Why studying workplaces thoroughly is important is that we are facing an era where workplaces are not only becoming diverse by cultures, but also diverse in international measures, meaning that workplace dynamics and work techniques are becoming more multiethnic and multifaceted, even more linguistically plural. This poses new challenges for present and future professionals, pushing them to discover the effective solutions and strategies for workplace communication, management and leadership. Internationalization as well as exploiting the possibilities of global trends becomes the new "black" of these workplaces, making it also essential to uncover the potential of diverse workforce and the language choices and practices of workplace.

Alongside these, considering the importance of understanding the reality of multilingualism and English language in space, it would be crucial to ponder more the different insights about English language usage and its dominance on these spaces. For future it is necessary to critically discuss and reflect on those choices people so often deem watertight and self-evident about languages, but which in reality are substantially fluid and continuously changing matters, such as the dominant languages of workplaces, including English. As this research and many others have shown, it is not always so clear-cut that English should rule all possible communication of multicultural workplaces, but that there are room and importance in the usage of other languages, global and local, next to it. Furthermore, the general attitudes and identification of different employees towards this language should be given more critical attention and these opinions and insights of multicultural staff should be brought into better light in future. Thus, conducting new workplace-related research on these notions, as bigger scale studies or as separate entities, especially on Finnish scene, would provide more nuanced views next to the traditional ones about the importance, role and use of English as a means of communication in different workplaces.

8 CONCLUSION

The aim of this work was to investigate Finnish multicultural workplaces, exploring the multiculturalism and multilingualism and different language patterns utilized in a diverse work setting. Second aim was to showcase and envisage the linguistic landscape and further discuss the linguistic identities of multicultural employees, from the perspective of how they construct these identities on daily basis and how different language uses, English included, affect their linguistic identity repertoire and portrayal. This paper thus aspired to illustrate the reality of these matters in a Finnish setting and give a fresh insight to culturally diverse workplaces and their practices. In this research, two different workplaces were chosen from two different locations in Finland, both of which had several nationalities in them. The workplaces were chosen on the basis of the diversity of the staff, the requirement of them having at least one third of their workforce completely multicultural. Another requirement was that they would clearly market themselves or their services as multicultural. On the basis of these requirements, two workplaces were chosen for the final data collection, both of which had strongly multicultural community and activities in them.

The data collection took place in the beginning of January for two days, both data samples collected in the actual workplace scenes on the same day. For this study, semi-structured, qualitative interviews and photographs were used as the main methods, both of which supported one another in the final analysis. In the picture part, 38 pictures were taken in total of the linguistic landscapes of two different workplaces, of which then 10 pictures were chosen for final analysis, focusing on aspects such as visibility of multiple languages, code preference, the placement and languages of different signs and other visual representations, such as brochures and postures. In the interview part, five employees, including bosses, were interviewed of their linguistic identities with the set of guiding questions, leaving yet room for other questions to come up naturally in the conversation. The interviews consisted of two parts where in the first part the discussion topics delved with the general aspects related to multilingualism and multiculturalism in the workplace and the everyday language practices and the use of English. The second part dealt with the linguistic identities of the employees, the relation of professional and personal linguistic identities in themselves, their ways to construct these identities and ideas about the portrayal of several identities on workplace setting. All the interviews lasted from 45 minutes to one hour and were audio-recorded for later documentation and usage. The participants could decide whether they

wanted the interview to be held in Finnish or in English, allowing them to choose the more familiar preference for the discussion of the aforementioned topics. Considering the methodology part, this paper chose to use a thematic-centered content analysis for the interview part and ethnographically oriented linguistic landscape analysis for the photograph part.

The findings of this research showed that both multilingualism and multiculturalism was supported in various ways in the physical environment of the workspace, by the use of several visual representations such as brochures, worldmaps, artworks of the users of the space and the selection of several cultural objects. In all of these, strong colour representations and decorativeness played a crucial role. Furthermore, the constitution of this matter and their visibility was also heavily affected by the users of the space, whose contribution and wishes were a substantial part of the successfulness of a multicultural outlook of the workspace. Multilingualism was also present in both of the workplaces, though the degrees to which these were visible varied greatly between the two. However, it could be clearly noted that Finnish and English were the main varieties of both workplaces, their dominance altering greatly, depending on the values and activities of the spaces. However, it seemed that though multilingualism was considered a major part of the outlooks of the workplaces, the instances of these were less clear in the space as what one could assume. In the case of the two workplaces, the other workplace relied mostly in the dominant codes and their visibility in the space rather than representing the variety of other linguistic codes. The other workplace then revealed a more fruitful view in multilingualism, providing spaces with also non-Finnish and non-English signs, showcasing more linguistic diversity both visually and textually. Nevertheless, the clarity of multiculturalism was clear and detectable in both workplaces, but the values, goals and services of the workplace affected the changes and visuality.

Considering linguistic identity construction and the professional and personal side of linguistic identity amongst diverse employees, the most notable finding was that all the participants constructed their identities in multiple manners, ranging from self-education to outside workplace pastime activities. They saw learning from others and life-long learning attitude as most crucial to themselves, considering that the work field requires it. However, depending on the context, employees did make lesser or stronger distinction between their professional linguistic identity when reflecting on engaging in communication with different people. Though participants admitted that one works in such an environment with mostly one's personality and self, there are still

differences to language use and manner of it when it comes to professional and personal language use. On several instances it was noted that some languages can feel more natural than others in specific situations and thus cultural and situational awareness was seen as highly crucial.

In addition, to continue with the language practices of the workplace, the use of English as a lingua franca inflicted a lot of varying emotions amongst employees when considering its role, usage and status as one of the workplace languages and most often the dominant code. Though many saw its crucial importance as a tool of communication for several activities of the workplace, many still regarded it as a hindrance to understand the versatility of communication that still takes place in diverse work environments. For example in some cases it was expressed that English does not give enough floor to other languages to flourish even if they are recognised to exist in the workplace. Further, some reflected the reality that English creates anxiety or frustration to them sometimes, making it sometimes more difficult to express one's thoughts in a more nuanced way. However, it came evident on several occasions that English is a good base for communication, as long as the dynamics of the workplace in relation to its use are discussed together and the goals are the same. Nevertheless, it was noted that the reality of English might be changing in near future as actually for multicultural workplaces, language varieties such as Hindi, Arabic, Russian and Persian are becoming more common and needed. Thus, it was noted that there definitely is a grain of truth in the possible rise of local varieties and other lingua francas.

Thus, it can be concluded from these that oftentimes multilingualism and multiculturalism are both connected to one another when discussing the overall visibility of them in space as they often exist with another or support each other. Nevertheless, the representation, location and other visual elements matter a lot in the successfulness of them both. Oftentimes the visibility of them seems to support the activities happening in the workplace but there is also a role for what languages are heard and also there can emerge language varieties that are not necessarily dominant but which are clearly visible in the place and part of the overall multilingualism of the surrounding community. For example in both of the workplaces studied in this paper, one could notice that though it was visually evident which languages were used as the main codes in the workplace, there were still some other instances of language use that supported the reality of a wider cultural community than what it would seem at first look. Furthermore, the participants themselves brought alive in their interviews that there is a role and importance for each of them still, despite the status or dominance. Thus, it must be noted that multilingualism is a complex, multifaceted matter and one cannot tone

down the importance of different varieties just by the number of their instances in space. Furthermore, it became clear that the visual support of multiculturalism and multilingualism is built and should be in future be built with the hands of both staff and the users of the space, creating a colourful unity of their own.

Considering the linguistic identity part of the research, this study illustrated that the multifaceted nature of these identities is real and the importance and influence of these to the behavior and linguistic choices made by employees is clear and significant. However, the fruitful nature of these identities cannot be easily seen without delving deeper into these matters or showing interest towards them and thus it should be realized that the workforce, bosses and employees, need to pay more attention to these together by communicating and negotiating effectively, both in formal and informal instances. Furthermore, this study revealed that some employees truly make a clear distinction between their professional and personal identities and can thus act different according to the language used in situation. Hence, many stereotypes or misjudgments can occur, and the workforce needs to be increasingly aware of the fluidity of identity related matters in multicultural work. It is essential to realize these as they strongly affect both the intercultural communication in the workplace as well as the general group dynamics and atmosphere.

It is the aspiration of this paper that the results of this study could be used as one possible guide on how to see multicultural employees in a lens where they are considered just as multifaceted as the number of languages that they all in total use. It could help create perhaps some guidance and material packages for international and local companies to manage their workforce in a more diverse way, introducing them to approach their employees effectively and enhancing the overall unity and successfulness of the workplace. It could also refresh the mindsets of people about the variety of linguistic identities that affect often the linguistic choices of individuals, encouraging to pay attention to these details in everyday work. Further, studies could do this type of research in many other workplace locations that have culturally diverse workforce, delving into these issues in bigger scale and generally producing more knowledge of these matters, especially in Finnish context as the research is scarce. More deeper, detailed and extensive analyses could be done of the linguistic landscape of multicultural workplaces in Finland with bigger research samples and thus delving to the reality of multilingualism and multiculturalism in Finnish scene through for example different multilingual signs in spaces, creating more information about their influence and offering better ways to manage challenging issues related to them. Also, since the ideal aim would

be to examine these matters in a more extensive light, perhaps follow-up researches could focus on larger, Finnish international companies which have had multicultural and multilingual practices for long and see how the linguistic reality or language use shows in these locations, in their everyday tasks and between diverse work force in intercultural communication.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questions – form

Two parts:

Part 1: The general multiculturalism, mirroring on linguistic landscape, position/role of languages, multilingualism, English as a workplace language

Part 2: Linguistic identity, personal and professional, Meanings, construction, use, representation of language

*NOTE! Bolded ones are the MAIN, OBGLIGATORY questions - others are extra (asked if needed) and used if it comes naturally in conversation

PART 1

• **Would you please first introduce yourself.** (Name, age, country of origin, number of years in Finland or whether a native, mother tongue and other languages (competence levels), your position in the workplace & daily tasks)

• **What languages are used on daily basis in your everyday work life and tasks? How are they used in communication? (social situations, meetings, activities)**

• Are all the languages equal in the use or are some highlighted? Why or why not?

• **Would you say there is a pattern in the use of languages in some situations?** In other words, are languages of the working space positioned in some way? if yes, what do you think about them or their meaning to the communication? (e.g. where is the place of minority languages)

• **Do languages carry different meanings to the communication/ social situations? if yes, what are they?**

• Do you switch to other language when changing from formal to informal talk? or is there just one unanimous language?

• How do you feel about the overall overview of the languages in the workplaces? Are all represented enough? Tell your personal thoughts.

• **Does the workplace support multilingualism (bosses, other workers, children, activities)?** Are all languages important despite their position on daily activities?

• **Are some things/actions/activities done to support multilingualism?** e.g. does the workplace have some "special ways or days" or values to do this?

• Do you have more positive or negatives ideas of the multilingualism in your workplace? Why?

• **Would you say that the physical environment envisages the language practices used in the space? In what ways?** is multilingualism "supported" and seen positively?

• **What is the role of English in the workplace? How is it used and what is its main function?**

• Are other languages used in daily communication? if yes, how and for which purposes?

• **Does English language or using it bring more positive or negative thoughts?** Do you ever feel pressure or discomfort when speaking it? Why/why not?

• **Would you say English is a hindrance or a benefit to the use of other languages in the working environment?** does it eat out the other languages?

• What is your personal view towards the use of English as a dominant language in multicultural workplace settings? (the role, use, relation to other languages, positions)

• According to your own opinion, do you think that English language dominates too much the multicultural work settings? What are your experiences on this?

• Do you think the situation should change and English should step lower?

PART 2

Introducing some terminology:

• **Linguistic identity** = Language (way of communicating thoughts and feelings, way of being, one's behavior, expressing unique characters), thinking in certain way (creating culture through language)

- Cultural identity, might or might not change it when using other language → relevant to cultural identity because using one's language is a way of practicing their culture and keeping it alive.

- Linguistic identities may refer to the sense of belonging to a community as mediated through the symbolic resource of language, or to the varying ways in which we come to understand the relationship between our language and ourselves. These are closely related aspects of how we position ourselves in social context through language

- Movement of people, ideas, products, and cultural forms across national boundaries intensifies contact among languages.
- Linguistic exchanges, new possibilities, new identities, new conceptualisations of self → role of languages in our life and our choices
- Power of accent, regional origin (local vs. global languages), language and thought connection, choices, emotionality, social & political, use and utilisation, exclusion and inclusion → identity might change through language use (e.g. different between friends and colleagues or when using other languages, other parts of your personality apply etc)

- **Professional linguistic identity** = professional ethics, professional work team languages, codes of practice, personal values and attitudes and morals and beliefs when using language in work scenery
- the idea of "work me" → might also relate to itself the laws, rules and principles of work community etc → in other words **professional identity but in relation to language use**
- might fluctuate depending on communicative situations → constant ongoing process

- **Personal linguistic identity** = mother tongue, your "inner self" through the use of language
- Can relate to what languages you were "born" into, different outside workplace social groups you are part of, other communities or other non-work related language use from hobbies, interests etc or anything else → the language use and codes in these
- Can be even related to one's living area and one's cultural groups and personality, communication of personal life between friends, family etc.
- Changes and develops throughout life → ongoing process like professional identity too

• **Describe the languages you use each day and their dominant usage. Meaning which languages you use and for what purpose, what is the role of each.** (Describe in your own words what meaning does different languages have in your life. Both professional and personal.)

• **What do these languages mean to you as a person?** Are they way to express yourself, part of your life, part of something you identify with, tools for some situations/aspects of life etc? All in

all, do you consider yourself multilingual?

• What language(s) carry more importance/meaning to you than others? Why and in what ways? Can u describe in detail? Give examples.

• **Do you use languages differently, considering whether one talks about personal self and professional self? or would u say that these are inseparable?**

• What is the role of different languages on daily communicative situations? Do you switch between languages, according to people or context?

• **Is there a difference between your personal identity and professional identity? if yes, how? What differs in the use?**

• How do you connect these two identities or portray their difference? Or how does the difference show? Describe.

• **In workplace, do you deploy more your personal identity or professional identity or the mixture of both?** Give examples. (e.g. does your values, race, opinions, interests, behaviours etc change etc etc)

• **How do you construct your language identity? (meaning, do you do some actions/activities to enhance the use or competence of your languages, ways to communicate, chances to communicate)? Does the workplace offer chances for this?**

• **Would you say that your linguistic identity, other than just English, is supported in the workplace?**

• **How do you construct your linguistic identity daily?** You can think about it in a way that how do you make it "known" that you speak specific languages or do you use some tools or do some actions or take part in some hobbies etc that construct your linguistic identity or are you a part of some committee etc in your workplace.

• In what ways do you represent your multilingual identity in this working environment? Do you for example apply some specific behaviour or identity in different situations with different people? Do you act differently on different occasions?

• **Would you say that the workers are encouraged to build their identities here or show different linguistic identities?**

• What does the use of different languages mean to you, both personal and professional? What emotions do you have related to it?

• **What are your emotions towards English language?**

• Does the work force or the boss encourage for the use and representation of different identities/use of languages?

• Are the workforce's personal or professional needs, considering language use and communication, taken into consideration? In other words, are linguistic identities taken into consideration?